

# people known as The Great

List of people known as The Great



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# List of people known as The Great

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This is a list of people whose names in English are commonly appended with the phrase "*the Great*", or who were called that or an equivalent phrase in their own language. Other languages have their own suffixes such as *e Bozorg* and *e azam* in Persian and Urdu respectively.

In Persia, the title "the Great" at first seems to be a colloquial version of the Old Persian title "Great King". This title was first used by the conqueror Cyrus II of Persia.<sup>[1]</sup>

The Persian title was inherited by Alexander III of Macedon (336–323 BC) when he conquered the Persian Empire, and the epithet "Great" eventually became personally associated with him. The first reference (in a comedy by Plautus)<sup>[2]</sup> assumes that everyone knew who "Alexander the Great" was; however, there is no earlier evidence that Alexander III of Macedon was called "*the Great*".

The early Seleucid kings, who succeeded Alexander in Persia, used "Great King" in local documents, but the title was most notably used for Antiochus the Great (223–187 BC).

Later rulers and commanders began to use the epithet "the Great" as a personal name, like the Roman general Pompey. Others received the surname retrospectively, like the Carthaginian Hanno and the Indian emperor Ashoka the Great. Once the surname gained currency, it was also used as an **honorific surname** for people without political careers, like the philosopher Albert the Great.

As there are no objective criteria for "greatness", the persistence of later generations in using the designation greatly varies. For example, Louis XIV of France was often referred to as "The Great" in his lifetime but is rarely called such nowadays, while Frederick II of Prussia is still called "The Great". A later Hohenzollern - Wilhelm I - was often called "The Great" in the time of his grandson Wilhelm II, but rarely later.

## Rulers

- Abbas I of Persia (1571–1629), Shah of Iran
  - Akbar (1542–1605), ruler of the Mughal Empire of South Asia, mainly India
  - Alain I of Albret (1440–1522), French aristocrat
  - Alexander the Great (356–323 BC), King of Macedonia, Persia, Greece, Egypt, and all of Mesopotamia
  - Alexander I of Georgia (1386–1446), King of Georgia
  - Alfonso III of León (c. 848–910), King of León, Galicia and Asturias
  - Alfred the Great (848/849–899), King of Wessex
  - Antiochus III the Great (c. 241–187 BC), ruler of the Seleucid Empire
  - Ashoka the Great (c. 304–232 BC), Indian emperor of the Maurya dynasty
  - Ashot I of Iberia "the Great" (died 826/830), presiding prince of Iberia (modern Georgia),
  - Askia Mohammad I (c. 1442–1538), ruler of the Songhai Empire
  - Bhumibol Adulyadej (born 1927), King of Thailand
  - Bolesław I Chrobry (967–1025), sometimes called "the Great", first King of Poland
  - Bruno the Great (925–965), Archbishop of Cologne and Duke of Lotharingia (also listed in the following section)
  - Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke (1736–1809), founder and ruler of the Rattanakosin Kingdom (in what is now Thailand)
  - Cnut the Great (c. 985 or 995–1035), King of Denmark, England, Norway and parts of Sweden
  - Casimir III the Great (1310–1370), King of Poland
  - Catherine the Great (1729–1796), Empress of Russia
  - Chandragupta II (reigned 375–413/415), also known as Vikramaditya, ruler of the Gupta empire in India
  - Charlemagne (died 814), King of the Franks and Emperor of the Romans
  - Chulalongkorn (1853–1910), King of Siam (now Thailand)
  - Chlothar II (584–629), King of Neustria and King of the Franks
-

- Conrad, Margrave of Meissen (c. 1097-1157), Margrave of Meissen
  - Constantine I (c. 272-337), Roman emperor
  - Cyaxares the Great (c. 625-585 BC), third king of Media
  - Cyrus the Great (c. 600 BC or 576 BC–530 BC), founder and ruler of the Persian or Achaemenid Empire
  - Darius the Great (550 – 486 BC), third ruler of the Persian Empire
  - Devapala (died 850), ruler of the Pala Empire in the Indian subcontinent
  - Dionysius I, Greek tyrant of Syracuse<sup>[3]</sup>
  - Ferdinand I of León and Castile (c. 1015–1065), King of León and Count of Castile
  - Frederick the Great (1712–1786), King of Prussia
  - Genghis Khan (1162?-1227), founder and Great Khan of the Mongol Empire
  - Gero (c. 900–965), ruler of Marca Geronis, a very large march in Europe
  - Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (1594–1632), King of Sweden, founder of the Swedish Empire, and noted military leader
  - Gwanggaeto the Great, King of Goguryeo, one of the Three Kingdoms of Korea<sup>[4][5]</sup>
  - Hanno the Great, the name of three leaders of Carthage, in the 4th, 3rd, and 2nd centuries BC
  - Henry I, Duke of Burgundy (946–1002)
  - Henry IV of France (1553–1610), King of France and King of Navarre
  - Herod the Great (73/74 BC-4 BC), King of Judea
  - Hugh the Great (898-956), Duke of the Franks and Count of Paris
  - Hugh Magnus of France (1007–1025), co-King of France
  - Hugh I, Count of Vermandois (1057–1101)
  - Humphrey I de Bohun (died c. 1123), Anglo-Norman aristocrat
  - Ivan III of Russia (1440–1505), Tsar of Russia
  - John I of Portugal (1358–1433), King of Portugal and the Algarve
  - John II of Aragon (1398–1479), King of Aragon and, through his wife, King of Navarre
  - Justinian I (483-565), Byzantine Emperor
  - Kamehameha I (c. 1758-1819), first King of Hawai'i
  - Kanishka (died c. 127), ruler of the Kushan Empire in Central Asia and parts of India
  - Kvirike III of Kakheti (1010–1029), King of Kakheti in eastern Georgia
  - Kublai Khan (1215–1294), Mongol ruler in the 13th century and Emperor of China; founder of the Yuan Dynasty
  - Llywelyn the Great (c. 1172–1240), Prince of Gwynedd and de facto ruler of most of Wales
  - Louis I of Hungary (1326–1382), King of Hungary, Croatia and Poland
  - Mangrai the Great (1238–1317), Lanna, northern Thailand
  - Emperor Meiji (1852–1912), Emperor of Japan
  - Mircea I of Wallachia (1355–1418)
  - Mithridates II of Parthia (died 88 BC), ruler of the Parthian Empire (in present day Iran)
  - Mithridates VI of Pontus (134 BC–63 BC), ruler of Pontus and the Bosporan Kingdom
  - Mstislav I of Kiev (1076–1132), Grand Prince of Kievan Rus
  - Naresuan (1555–1605), King of Ayutthaya
  - Narai (1633–1688), King of Ayutthaya (in what is now modern Thailand)
  - Odo the Great (died c. 735), Duke of Aquitaine
  - Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor (912-973)
  - K'inich Janaab' Pakal (603-683), ruler of the Mayan city-state of Palenque
  - Parakramabahu I of Polonnaruwa (1123–1186), King of Sri Lanka
  - Peter Krešimir IV of Croatia (died 1075), King of Croatia
  - Peter the Great (1672–1725), Tsar of Russia
  - Peter III of Aragon (1239–1285), King of Aragon and King of Sicily
-

- Pompey (106 BC-48 BC), military and political leader of the late Roman Republic, rival of Julius Caesar
  - Radama I (1793–1828), first king of greater Madagascar
  - Raja Raja Chola I (c. 947-1014), Indian emperor of the Cholas.<sup>[6][7][8]</sup>
  - Rajendra Chola I (reigned 1014–1044), Tamil King of India
  - Ramesses II (reigned 1279 BC – 1213 BC), considered the greatest pharaoh of Ancient Egypt
  - Ram Khamhaeng (around 1237 to 1247-1298), King of Sukhothai (in present day Thailand)
  - Ramon Berenguer III, Count of Barcelona (1082–1131), also Count of Provence and various other counties
  - Rhodri the Great (c. 820–878), King of Gwynedd (in present day Wales)
  - Roman the Great (after 1160-1205), Grand Prince of Kiev
  - Saladin (c. 1138-1193), Kurdish Sultan of Egypt and Syria, founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, and victor over the Crusaders
  - Samudragupta (c. 335–375), ruler of the Gupta empire in the Indian subcontinent
  - Sancho III of Navarre (c. 992-1035), King of Kingdom of Navarre
  - Sargon of Akkad (died c. 2215 BC), ruler of the Akkadian Empire
  - Sejong the Great (1397–1450), Korean king<sup>[9]</sup>
  - Shapur II (309-379), king of the Sassanid Empire, Persia
  - Simeon I of Bulgaria (864/865-927), ruler of the First Bulgarian Empire
  - Stephen III of Moldavia (1433–1504), Prince of Moldavia (Romania)
  - Stephen Uroš IV Dušan of Serbia (c. 1308-1355), King of Serbia and Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks
  - Taksin (1734–1782), King of the Thonburi Kingdom (Thailand)
  - Tamar (1160-1123), Queen of the Georgian Empire
  - Timur (1336–1405), better known as Tamerlane, founder of the Timurid Dynasty
  - Theobald II, Count of Champagne (1090–1151), Count of Blois and of Chartres as Theobald IV, Count of Champagne and of Brie
  - Theodoric the Great (454-526), King of the Ostrogoths, regent of the Visigoths and a viceroy of the Byzantine Empire
  - Theodosius I (347-395), Roman emperor
  - Tigranes the Great (140-55 BC), Emperor of Armenia
  - Tiridates III of Armenia (285-339), King of Armenia
  - Umar (c. 586 to 590–644), second caliph of the Muslim Empire
  - Valdemar I of Denmark (1131–1182), King of Denmark
  - Valentinian I (364-375), Roman Emperor
  - Vladimir I of Kiev (c. 958-1015), ruler of Kievan Rus
  - Vytautas (c. 1350-1430), archduke of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy
  - William I, Count of Burgundy (1020–1087), Count of Burgandy and Mâcon
  - William V, Duke of Aquitaine (969-1030), also Count of Poitou
  - Xerxes I (519-465 BC), King of Kings of the Achaemenid Empire (Persia)
  - Yu the Great (c. 2200-2100 BC), legendary ruler in ancient China
-

## Religious figures

- Abraham the Great of Kashkar (ca. 492-586), monk and saint of the Assyrian Church of the East
- Abraham Kidunaia (died c. 366, hermit, priest, and Christian saint of Mesopotamia)
- Albertus Magnus (1193/1206–1280), medieval German philosopher and theologian
- Anthony the Great (c. 251–356), early Christian saint of Egypt
- Babai the Great (c. 551–628), Assyrian church leader
- Basil of Caesarea (330-379), Greek bishop and theologian
- Bruno the Great (925–965), Archbishop of Cologne and Duke of Lotharingia (also listed in the previous section)
- Euthymius the Great (377-473), abbot and Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox saint
- Gertrude the Great (1256-c. 1302), German Benedictine, mystic, theologian and Roman Catholic saint
- Pope Gregory I (c. 540-604)
- Hiyya the Great, 3rd-century rabbi, Palestine
- Pope John Paul II (1920–2005)
- Pope Leo I (c. 391 or 400-461)
- Macarius of Egypt (c. 300-391), Egyptian hermit
- Pope Nicholas I (c. 800-867)
- Photius I of Constantinople (c. 810–c. 893), Eastern Orthodox saint and Patriarch of Constantinople
- William of Maleval (died 1157), founder of the Catholic congregation of Williamites

## Other

- Beli Mawr, a figure in medieval Welsh literature and genealogies
- Emmy the Great, folk singer
- Matteo Rosso the Great, Roman politician and father of Pope Nicholas III
- Prokop the Great, Hussite general in Bohemia


## Notes

- [1] In a clay cylinder ( online ([http://www.livius.org/ct-cz/cyrus\\_I/cyrus\\_cylinder.html](http://www.livius.org/ct-cz/cyrus_I/cyrus_cylinder.html))). The expression was used in a propagandistic context: the conqueror wants to show he is a normal Babylonian ruler. The first Persian ruler to use the title in an Iranian context was Darius I of Persia (*Darius the Great*), in the Behistun Inscription ( online (<http://www.livius.org/be-bm/behistun/behistun01.html>)).
- [2] Plautus, *Mostellaria* 775.
- [3] History, Istituto Geografico De Agostini S.p.A., p. 479
- [4] *World and Its Peoples: Korea*. Marshall Cavendish Corporation. September 2008. p. 887. ISBN 0-7614-7631-8.
- [5] Alison Behnke (2004). *North Korea in Pictures* (<http://books.google.com/?id=ovWwhyLc6hAC&pg=RA1-PA70&dq=Gwanggaeto+the+Great>). Twenty-First Century Books. p. 70. ISBN 0-8225-1908-9. .
- [6] Sarkar, Benoy Kumar (December 1919). "An English History of India". *Political Science Quarterly* **34** (4): 644–653. doi:10.2307/2142032. JSTOR 2142032. ""The finances of the state were not more centralized under Louis XIV than under Rajaraja the Great.""
- [7] "Heaven sent: Michael Wood explores the art of the Chola dynasty" (<http://www.royalacademy.org.uk/ra-magazine/winter2006/features/heaven-sent,47,RAMA.html>). Royal Academy, UK. . Retrieved 2007-04-26.
- [8] "The Chola Dynasty: Accession of Rajaraja, the Great" (<http://sify.com/itihaas/fullstory.php?id=13219885>). Sify.com. . Retrieved 2007-04-26.
- [9] Christoph Bluth; Gareth Schott (2007). *Korea*. Polity. p. 10. ISBN 0-7456-3356-0.



# Rulers

## Abbas I of Persia

<b>Shah ‘Abbās I</b> شاه عباس بزرگ <i>Shahanshah</i>	
	
Shah of Iran	
<b>Reign</b>	1 October 1587 - 19 January 1629 (41 years, 110 days)
<b>Predecessor</b>	Mohammad I
<b>Successor</b>	Safi
<b>Dynasty</b>	Safavid
<b>Father</b>	Mohammed Khodabanda
<b>Mother</b>	Khayr al-Nisa Begum
<b>Born</b>	27 January 1571 Herat, Iran
<b>Died</b>	19 January 1629 (aged 57) Mazandaran, Iran
<b>Religion</b>	Shia Islam

**Shāh ‘Abbās the Great** (or **Shāh ‘Abbās I**) (Persian: شاه عباس بزرگ) (January 27, 1571 – January 19, 1629) was Shah (king) of Iran, and generally considered the greatest ruler of the Safavid dynasty. He was the third son of Shah Mohammad.<sup>[1]</sup>

Abbas came to the throne during a troubled time for Iran. Under his weak-willed father, the country was riven with discord between the different factions of the Qizilbash army, who killed Abbas' mother and elder brother. Meanwhile, Iran's enemies, the Ottoman Empire and the Uzbeks, exploited this political chaos to seize territory for themselves. In 1587, one of the Qizilbash leaders, Murshid Qoli Khan, overthrew Shah Mohammed in a coup and placed the 16-year-old Abbas on the throne. But Abbas was no puppet and soon seized power for himself. He reduced the influence of the Qizilbash in the government and the military and reformed the army, enabling him to fight the Ottomans and Uzbeks and reconquer Iran's lost provinces. He also took back land from the Portuguese and the Mughals. Abbas was a great builder and moved his kingdom's capital from Qazvin to Isfahan. In his later years, the shah became suspicious of his own sons and had them killed or blinded.

## Early years

Abbas was born in Herat (now in Afghanistan, then one of the two chief cities of Khorasan) to the royal prince Mohammed Khodabanda and his wife Khayr al-Nisa Begum (known as "Mahd-i Ulya"), the daughter of the governor of Mazandaran province, who claimed descent from the fourth Shi'a Imam Zayn al-Abidin.<sup>[2][3]</sup> At the time of his birth, Abbas' grandfather Shah Tahmasp I was ruler of Iran. Abbas' parents gave him to be nursed by Khani Khan Khanum, the mother of the governor of Herat, Ali Qoli Khan Shamlu. When Abbas was four, Tahmasp sent his father to stay in Shiraz where the climate was better for Mohammed's fragile health. Tradition dictated that at least one prince of the royal blood should reside in Khorasan, so Tahmasp made Abbas nominal governor of the province, despite his young age, and Abbas was left behind in Herat.<sup>[4]</sup>



Shah Abbas I and his court.

In 1578, Abbas' father became Shah of Iran. Abbas' mother soon came to dominate the government, but she had little time for Abbas, preferring to promote the interests of his elder brother Hamza. The queen antagonised leaders of the powerful Qizilbash army, who plotted against her and strangled her in July, 1579. Mohammed was a weak ruler who was incapable of preventing Iran's rivals, the Ottoman Empire and the Uzbeks, invading the country or stopping factional feuding among the Qizilbash. The young crown prince Hamza was more promising and led a campaign against the Ottomans, but he was murdered in mysterious circumstances in 1586. Attention now turned to Abbas.<sup>[5][6]</sup>

At the age of 14, Abbas had come under the power of Murshid Qoli Khan, one of the leaders of the Qizilbash in Khorasan. When a large Uzbek army invaded Khorasan in 1587, Murshid decided the time was right to overthrow the ineffectual Shah Mohammed. He rode to the Safavid capital Qazvin with the young prince and proclaimed him king. Mohammed made no protest against his deposition and handed the royal insignia over to his son on 1 October 1587. Abbas was 16 years old.<sup>[7][8]</sup>

## Absolute monarch

### Abbas takes control



The kingdom Abbas inherited was in a desperate state. The Ottomans had seized vast territories in the west and the north-west (including the major city of Tabriz) and the Uzbeks had overrun half of Khorasan in the north-east. Iran itself was riven by fighting between the various factions of the Qizilbash, who had mocked royal authority by killing the queen in 1579 and the grand vizier in 1583.

First, Abbas settled his score with his mother's killers, executing four of the ringleaders of the plot and exiling three others.<sup>[9]</sup> His next task was to free himself from the power of the "kingmaker", Murshid Qoli Khan. Murshid made Abbas marry Hamza's widow and a Safavid cousin, and began distributing important government posts among his own friends, gradually confining Abbas to the palace. Meanwhile the Uzbeks continued their conquest of Khorasan. When Abbas heard they were besieging his old friend Ali Qoli Khan Shamlu in Herat he pleaded with Murshid to take action. Fearing a rival, Murshid did nothing until the news came that Herat had fallen and the Uzbeks had slaughtered the entire population. Only then did he set out on campaign to Khorasan. But Abbas planned to avenge the death of Ali Qoli Khan and he suborned four Qizilbash leaders to kill Murshid after a banquet on 23 July 1589. With Murshid gone, Abbas could now rule Iran in his own right.<sup>[10][11]</sup>

Abbas decided he must re-establish order within Iran before he took on the foreign invaders. To this end he made a humiliating peace treaty with the Ottomans in 1589/90, ceding them the provinces of Azerbaijan, Karabagh, Ganja and Qarajadagh as well as parts of Georgia, Luristan and Kurdistan.<sup>[12][13]</sup>

## Reducing the power of the Qizilbash

The Qizilbash had provided the backbone of the Iranian army from the very beginning of Safavid rule and they also occupied many posts in the government. To counterbalance their power, Abbas turned to another element in Iranian society, the *ghulams* (a word literally meaning "slaves"). These were Georgians, Armenians and Circassians who had converted to Islam and taken up service in the army or the administration. Abbas promoted such *ghulams* to the highest offices of the state. They included the Georgian Allahverdi Khan, who became leader of the *ghulam* regiments in the army as well as governor of the rich province of Fars. Abbas removed provincial governorships from some Qizilbash leaders and transferred Qizilbash groups to the lands of other Qizilbash tribes, thus weakening Qizilbash tribal unity.<sup>[14]</sup> Budgetary problems were resolved by restoring the shah's control of the provinces formerly governed by the Qizilbash chiefs, the revenues of which supplemented the royal treasury.

## Reforming the army

Abbas needed to reform the army before he could hope to confront the Ottoman and Uzbek invaders. He also used military reorganisation as another way of sidelining the Qizilbash.<sup>[15]</sup> Instead, he created a standing army of 40,000 *ghulams* and Iranians to fight alongside the traditional, feudal force provided by the Qizilbash. The new army regiments had no loyalty but to the shah. They consisted of 10,000-15,000 cavalry armed with muskets and other weapons, a corps of musketeers (12,000 strong) and one of artillery (also 12,000 strong). In addition Abbas had a personal bodyguard of 3,000 *ghulams*.<sup>[16]</sup>

Abbas also greatly increased the amount of cannons at his disposal, permitting him to field 500 in a single battle. Ruthless discipline was enforced and looting was severely punished. Abbas was also able to draw on military advice from a number of European envoys, particularly from the English adventurers Sir Anthony, and his brother Robert Shirley, who arrived in 1598 as envoys from the Earl of Essex on an unofficial mission to induce Persia into anti-Ottoman alliance.<sup>[17]</sup>

## Reconquest

### War against the Uzbeks

Abbas' first campaign with his reformed army was against the Uzbeks who had seized Khorasan and were ravaging the province. In April, 1598 he went on the attack. One of the two main cities of the province, Mashhad, was easily recaptured but the Uzbek leader Din Mohammed Khan was safely behind the walls of the other chief city, Herat. Abbas managed to lure the Uzbek army out of the town by feigning a retreat. A bloody battle ensued on 9 August 1598, in the course of which the Uzbek khan was wounded and his troops retreated (the khan was murdered by his own men on the way). Abbas' north-east frontier was now safe for the time being and he could turn his attention to the Ottomans in the west.<sup>[18]</sup>



Anthony Shirley and Robert Shirley (pictured in 1622) helped modernize the Persian Army.

## War against the Ottomans

Since the treaty of 1589-90 Abbas had been regarded as almost an Ottoman vassal. The Safavids had never beaten their western neighbours in a straight fight. In 1602, Abbas decided he would no longer put up with Ottoman insults. After a particularly arrogant series of demands from the Turkish ambassador, the shah had him seized, had his beard shaved and sent it to his master, the sultan, in Constantinople. This was a declaration of war.<sup>[19]</sup> Abbas first recaptured Nahavand and destroyed the fortress in the city, which the Ottomans had planned to use as an advance base for attacks on Iran.<sup>[20]</sup> The next year, Abbas pretended he was setting off on a hunting expedition to Mazandaran with his men. This was merely a ruse to deceive the Ottoman spies in his court – his real target was Azerbaijan.<sup>[21]</sup> He changed course for Qazvin where he assembled a large army and set off to retake Tabriz, which had been in Ottoman hands for decades.

For the first time, the Iranians made great use of their artillery and the town – which had been ruined by Ottoman occupation – soon fell.<sup>[22]</sup> Abbas set off to besiege Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, and one of the main Turkish strongholds in the Caucasus. It finally fell in June 1604 and with it the Ottomans lost the loyalty of most Armenians, Georgians and other Caucasians. But Abbas was unsure how the new sultan, Ahmed I, would respond and withdrew from the region using scorched earth tactics.<sup>[23]</sup> For a year, neither side made a move, but in 1605, Abbas sent his general Allahverdi Khan to meet Ottoman forces on the shores of Lake Van. On 6 November 1605 the Iranians led by Abbas scored a decisive victory over the Ottomans at Sufiyan, near Tabriz.<sup>[24]</sup>

Several years of peace followed as the Ottomans carefully planned their response. But their secret training manoeuvres were observed by Iranian spies. Abbas learnt the Ottoman plan was to invade via Azerbaijan, take Tabriz then move on to Ardabil and Qazvin, which they could use as bargaining chips to exchange for other territories.<sup>[25]</sup> The shah decided to lay a trap. He would allow the Ottomans to enter the country, then destroy them. He had Tabriz evacuated of its inhabitants while he waited at Ardabil with his army. In 1618, an Ottoman army of 50,000 led by the grand vizier, invaded and easily seized Tabriz. The vizier sent an ambassador to the shah demanding he make peace and return the lands taken since 1602. Abbas refused and pretended he was ready to set fire to Ardabil and retreat further inland rather than face the Ottoman army. When the vizier heard the news, he decided to march on Ardabil right away. This was just what Abbas wanted. His army of 40,000 was hiding at a crossroads on the way and they ambushed the Ottoman army in a battle which ended in complete victory for the Iranians.<sup>[26]</sup>

In 1623, Abbas decided to take back Mesopotamia which had been lost by his grandfather Tahmasp. Profiting from the confusion surrounding the accession of the new sultan Murad IV, he pretended to be making a pilgrimage to the Shi'ite shrines of Kerbala and Najaf, but used his army to seize Baghdad. He was distracted by the rebellion in Georgia in 1624 which allowed an Ottoman force to besiege Baghdad, but the shah came to its relief the next year and crushed the Turkish army decisively. In 1638, however, after Abbas' death, the Ottomans retook Baghdad and the Iranian–Ottoman border became finalised.<sup>[27]</sup>

Although his success to restore the former lands of western Iran to his empire, he continued the Safavi military policy of avoiding a pitch battle with Ottomans, only previous exception being Caldiran War, 1517, in which Shah Ismail lost his Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian territories to Ottomans.



"Abbas King of Persia", as seen by Thomas Herbert in 1627.



## Kandahar and the Mughals



Jahangir's dream: Mughal picture showing Jahangir (right) embracing Abbas

Iran was traditionally allied with Mughal India against the Uzbeks, who coveted the province of Khorasan. The Mughal emperor Humayun had given Abbas' grandfather, Shah Tahmasp, the province of Kandahar as a reward for helping him back to his throne. In 1590, profiting from the confusion in Iran, Humayun's successor Akbar seized Kandahar. Abbas continued to maintain cordial relations with the Mughals, while always asking for the return of Kandahar. Finally, in 1620, a diplomatic incident in which the Iranian ambassador refused to bow down in front of the Emperor Jahangir led to war. India was embroiled in civil turmoil and Abbas found he only needed a lightning raid to take back Kandahar in 1622. After the conquest, he was very conciliatory to Jahangir, claiming he had only taken back what was rightly his and disavowing any further territorial ambitions. Jahangir was not appeased but he was unable to recapture the province.<sup>[28][29]</sup>



Muhammad 'Ali Beg was the ambassador sent to the Mughal court by Shah Abbas of Iran, arriving in time for the New Year festival in March 1631. He remained there until October 1632, during which time his portrait was painted by the royal artist, Hashim.

## War against the Portuguese

During the 16th century the Portuguese had established bases in the Persian Gulf. In 1602, the Iranian army under the command of Imam-Quli Khan Undiladze managed to expel the Portuguese from Bahrain.<sup>[30]</sup> In 1622, with the help of four English ships, Abbas retook Hormuz from the Portuguese in the Capture of Ormuz (1622). He replaced it as a trading centre with a new port, Bandar Abbas, nearby on the mainland, but it never became as successful.<sup>[31]</sup>

## The shah and his subjects

### Isfahan: a new capital

Abbas moved his capital from Qazvin to the more central and more Persian Isfahan in 1598. Embellished by a magnificent series of new mosques, baths, colleges, and caravansarais, Isfahan became one of the most beautiful cities in the world. As Roger Savory writes, "Not since the development of Baghdad in the eighth century A.D. by the Caliph al-Mansur had there been such a comprehensive example of town-planning in the Islamic world, and the scope and layout of the city centre clear reflect its status as the capital of an empire."<sup>[32]</sup> Isfahan became the centre of Safavid architectural achievement, with the mosques Masjed-e Shah and the Masjed-e Sheykh Lotfollah and other monuments like the Ali Qapu, the Chehel Sotoun palace, and the Naghsh-e Jahan Square.

### Arts

Abbas' painting ateliers (of the Isfahan school established under his patronage) created some of the finest art in modern Iranian history, by such illustrious painters as Reza Abbasi, Muhammad Qasim and others. Despite the ascetic roots of the Şafavid dynasty and the religious injunctions restricting the pleasures lawful to the faithful, the art of Abbas' time denotes a certain relaxation of the strictures. Historian James Saslow interprets the portrait by Muhammad Qasim as showing that the Muslim taboo against wine, as well as that against male intimacy, "were more honored in the breach than in the observance". Abbas brought 300 Chinese potters to Iran to enhance local production of Chinese-style ceramics.<sup>[33]</sup> From E. Sykes's "Persia and Its People": "Early in the seventeenth century, Shah Abbas imported Chinese workmen into his country to teach his subjects the art of making porcelain, and the Chinese influence is very strong in the designs on this ware. Chinese marks are also copied, so that to scratch an article is sometimes the only means of proving it to be of Persian manufacture, for the Chinese glaze, hard as iron, will take no mark."<sup>[34][35]</sup>



The island of Hormuz was captured by an Anglo-Persian force in the 1622 Capture of Ormuz.

## Religious attitude and religious minorities

Like all other Safavid monarchs, Abbas was a Shi'ite Muslim. He had a particular veneration for Imam Hussein. In 1601, he made a pilgrimage on foot from Isfahan to Mashhad, site of the shrine of Imam Reza, which he restored (it had been despoiled by the Uzbeks).<sup>[36]</sup> Since Sunni Islam was the religion of Iran's main rival, the Ottoman Empire, Abbas often treated Sunnis living in western border provinces harshly.<sup>[37]</sup>

Abbas was generally tolerant of Christianity. The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle was astonished at the shah's knowledge of Christian history and theology and establishing diplomatic links with European Christian states was a vital part of the shah's foreign policy.<sup>[38]</sup> Christian Armenia was a key province on the border between Abbas' realm and the Ottoman Empire. From 1604 Abbas implemented a "scorched earth" policy in the region to protect his north-western frontier against any invading Ottoman forces, a policy which involved the forced resettlement of many Armenians from their homelands. Many were transferred to New Julfa, a town the shah had built for the Armenians near his capital Isfahan. Thousands of Armenians died on the journey.<sup>[39]</sup> Those who survived enjoyed considerable religious freedom in New Julfa, where the shah built them a new cathedral. Abbas' aim was to boost the Iranian economy by encouraging the Armenian merchants who had moved to New Julfa. As well as religious liberties, he also offered them interest-free loans and allowed the town to elect its own mayor (*kalantar*).<sup>[40]</sup> Other Armenians were transferred to the provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran. These were less lucky. Abbas wanted to establish a second capital in Mazandaran, Farahabad, but the climate was unhealthy and malarial. Many settlers died and others gradually abandoned the city.<sup>[41][42][43]</sup>



Kelisa-e Vank (the Armenian Vank Cathedral) in New Julfa

In 1614-15, Abbas suppressed a rebellion by the Christian Georgians of Kakheti, killing 60-70,000 and deporting over 100,000 Georgian peasants to Iran.<sup>[44]</sup> He later had the Georgian queen Ketevan tortured to death when she refused to renounce Christianity.<sup>[45][46]</sup>



## Contacts with Europe

Abbas' tolerance towards Christians was part of his policy of establishing diplomatic links with European powers to try to enlist their help in the fight against their common enemy, the Ottoman Empire. The idea of such an anti-Ottoman alliance was not a new one - over a century before, Uzun Hassan, then ruler of part of Iran, had asked the Venetians for military aid - but none of the Safavids had made diplomatic overtures to Europe and Abbas' attitude was in marked contrast to that of his grandfather, Tahmasp I, who had expelled the English traveller Anthony Jenkinson from his court on hearing he was a Christian.<sup>[47]</sup> For his part, Abbas declared that he "preferred the dust from the shoe soles of the lowest Christian to the highest Ottoman personage."<sup>[48]</sup>



The ambassador Husain Ali Beg led the first Persian embassy to Europe (1599–1602).



Fresco in the Doge's Palace in Venice depicting Doge Mariano Grimani receiving the Persian Ambassadors, 1599

In 1599, Abbas sent his first diplomatic mission to Europe. The group crossed the Caspian Sea and spent the winter in Moscow, before proceeding through Norway, Germany (where it was received by Emperor Rudolf II) to Rome where Pope Clement VIII gave the travellers a long audience. They finally arrived at the court of Philip III of Spain in 1602. Although the expedition never managed to return to Iran, being shipwrecked on the journey around Africa, it marked an important new step in contacts between Iran and Europe and Europeans began to be fascinated by the Iranians and their culture - Shakespeare's 1601-02

*Twelfth Night*, for example, makes two references (at II.5 and III.4) to 'the Sophy', then the English term for the Shahs of Iran.<sup>[49][50]</sup> Henceforward, the number of diplomatic missions to and fro greatly increased.<sup>[51]</sup>

The shah had set great store on an alliance with Spain, the chief opponent of the Ottomans in Europe. Abbas offered trading rights and the chance to preach Christianity in Iran in return for help against the Ottomans. But the stumbling block of Hormuz remained, a port which had fallen into Spanish hands when the King of Spain inherited the throne of Portugal in 1580. The Spanish demanded Abbas break off relations with the English East India Company before

they would consider relinquishing the town. Abbas was unable to comply. Eventually Abbas became frustrated with Spain, as he did with the Holy Roman Empire, which wanted him to make his 170,000 Armenian subjects swear allegiance to the Pope but did not trouble to inform the shah when the Emperor Rudolf signed a peace treaty with the Ottomans. Contacts with the Pope, Poland and Moscow were no more fruitful.<sup>[52]</sup>

More came of Abbas' contacts with the English, although England had little interest in fighting against the Ottomans. The Sherley brothers arrived in 1598 and helped reorganise the Iranian army. The English East India Company also began to take an interest in Iran and in 1622 four of its ships helped Abbas retake Hormuz from the Portuguese in the capture of Hormuz. It was the beginning of the East India Company's long-running interest in Iran.<sup>[53]</sup>

## Family tragedies and death



Shah Abbas in later life with a page. By Muhammad Qasim (1627).<sup>[54]</sup>

Of Abbas' five sons, three had survived past childhood, so the Safavid succession seemed secure. He was on good terms with the crown prince, Mohammed Baqir Mirza (born 1587; better known in the West as Safi Mirza). In 1614, however, during a campaign in Georgia, the shah heard rumours that the prince was conspiring against his life with a leading Circassian, Fährad Beg. Shortly after, Mohammed Baqir broke protocol during a hunt by killing a boar before the shah had chance to put his spear in. This seemed to confirm Abbas' suspicions and he sunk into melancholy; he no longer trusted any of his three sons. In 1615, he decided he had no choice but to have Mohammed killed. A Circassian named Behbud Beg executed the Shah's orders and the prince was murdered in a hammam in the city of Resht. The shah almost immediately regretted his action and was plunged into grief.<sup>[55]</sup>

In 1621, Abbas fell seriously ill. His heir, Mohammed Khodabanda, thought he was on his deathbed and began to celebrate his accession to the throne with his Qizilbash supporters. But the shah recovered and punished his son with blinding, which would disqualify him from ever taking the throne.<sup>[56]</sup> The blinding was only partially successful and the prince's followers planned to smuggle him out of the country to safety with the Great Mughal whose aid they would use to overthrow Abbas and install Mohammed on the throne. But the plot was betrayed, the prince's

followers were executed and the prince himself imprisoned in the fortress of Alamut where he would later be murdered by Abbas' successor, Shah Safi.<sup>[57]</sup>

Imam Qoli Mirza, the third and last son, now became the crown prince. Abbas groomed him carefully for the throne but, for whatever reason, in 1627, he had him partially blinded and imprisoned in Alamut.<sup>[58]</sup>

Unexpectedly, Abbas now chose as heir the son of Mohammed Baqir Mirza, Sam Mirza, a cruel and introverted character who was said to loathe his grandfather because of his father's murder. It was he who in fact did succeed Shah Abbas at the age of seventeen in 1629, taking the name Shah Safi. Abbas's health was troubled from 1621 onwards. He died at his palace in Mazandaran in 1629 and was buried in Kashan.<sup>[59]</sup>

## Character and legacy

According to Roger Savory: "Shah Abbas I possessed in abundance qualities which entitle him to be styled 'the Great'. He was a brilliant strategist and tactician whose chief characteristic was prudence. He preferred to obtain his ends by diplomacy rather than war, and showed immense patience in pursuing his objectives."<sup>[60]</sup> In Michael Axworthy's view, Abbas "was a talented administrator and military leader, and a ruthless autocrat. His reign was the outstanding creative period of the Safavid era. But the civil wars and troubles of his childhood (when many of his relatives were murdered) left him with a dark twist of suspicion and brutality at the centre of his personality."<sup>[61]</sup>

*The Cambridge History of Iran* rejects the view that the death of Abbas marked the beginning of the decline of the Safavid dynasty as Iran continued to prosper throughout the 17th century, but blames him for the poor statemanship of the later Safavid shahs: "The elimination of royal princes, whether by blinding or immuring them in the harem, their exclusion from the affairs of state and from contact with the leading aristocracy of the empire and the generals, all the abuses of the princes' education, which were nothing new but which became the normal practice with Abbas at the court of Isfahan, effectively put a stop to the training of competent successors, that is to say, efficient princes prepared to meet the demands of ruling as kings."<sup>[62]</sup>

Abbas gained strong support from the common people. Sources report him spending much of his time among them, personally visiting bazaars and other public places in Isfahan.<sup>[63]</sup> Short in stature but physically strong until his health declined in his final years, Abbas could go for long periods without needing to sleep or eat and could ride great distances. At the age of 19 Abbas shaved off his beard, keeping only his moustache, thus setting a fashion in Iran.<sup>[64]</sup>

## Offspring

### Sons

- Prince *Shahzadeh* Soltan Mohammad Baqer *Feyzi Mirza* (b. 15 September 1587, Mashhad, Khorasan-k. 25 January 1615, Rasht, Gilan), was Governor of Mashhad 1587-1588, and of Hamadan 1591-1592. Married (1st) at Esfahan, 1601, Princess Fakhri-Jahan, daughter of Ismail II. Married (2nd) Del Aram, a Georgian. Married (3rd) Marta daughter of Eskandar Mirza. He had issue, two sons:
  - (By Del Aram) Prince *Shahzadeh* Soltan Abul-Naser Sam Mirza, succeeded as Safi.
  - (By Fakhri-Jahan) Prince *Shahzadeh* Soltan Soleyman Mirza (k. August 1632 at Alamut, Qazvin). He had issue.
- Prince *Shahzadeh* Soltan Hasan Mirza (b. September 1588, Mazandaran - d. 18 August 1591, Qazvin)
- Prince *Shahzadeh* Soltan Hosein Mirza (b. 26 February 1591, Qazvin - d. before 1605)
- Prince *Shahzadeh* Tahmasp Mirza
- Prince *Shahzadeh* Soltan Mohammad Mirza (b. 18 March 1591, Qazvin - k. August 1632, Alamut, Qazvin) Blinded on the orders of his father, 1621.
- Prince *Shahzadeh* Soltan Ismail Mirza (b. 6 September 1601, Esfahan - k. 16 August 1613)
- Prince *Shahzadeh* Imam Qoli Amano'llah Mirza (b. 12 November 1602, Esfahan - k. August 1632, Alamut, Qazvin) Blinded on the orders of his father, 1627. He had issue, one son:
  - Prince *Shahzadeh* Najaf Qoli Mirza (b. 1625-k. August 1632, Alamut, Qazvin)

### Daughters

- Princess *Shahzadeh* 'Alamiyan Shazdeh Beygom (d. before 1629), married Mirza Mohsen Razavi. She had issue, two sons.
- Princess *Shahzadeh* 'Alamiyan Zobeydeh Beygom (b. 4 December 1586 -k. 20 February 1632). She had issue, three sons and one daughter, including: Jahan-Banoo Begum, married in 1623, Simon II of Kartli son of Bagrat VII of Kartli by his wife, Queen Anna, daughter of Alexander II of Kakheti. She had issue, a daughter: Princess 'Izz-e-Sharif.



- Princess *Shahzadeh 'Alamiyan* Khan Agha Beygom, married Mirza Abu Talib 'Ala ud-din Muhammad al-Husaini al-Marashi, son of Mir Rafi ud-din Muhammad Khalifa Isfahani. She had issue, four sons and four daughters.
- Princess *Shahzadeh 'Alamiyan* Havva Beygom (d. 1617, Zanjan)
- Princess *Shahzadeh 'Alamiyan* Shahbanoo Beygom.
- Princess *Shahzadeh 'Alamiyan* Malek-Nesa Beygom (d. 1629)

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# Akbar

Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar	
 3rd Mughal Emperor	
Predecessor	Humayun
Successor	Jahangir
Regent	Bairam Khan (1556–1561)
Spouse	30 wives including Mariam-uz-Zamani
Issue	Jahangir, Murad, Danyal, 6 daughters others
Full name	Abu'l-Fath Jalal ud-din Muhammad Akbar I
House	Timurid
Father	Humayun
Mother	Hamida Banu Begum <sup>[1]</sup>
Born	15 October 1542 Umerkot, Sind
Died	27 October 1605 (aged 63) Fatehpur Sikri, Agra
Burial	Sikandra, Agra
Religion	Din-i-Ilahi

**Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar** (Urdu: جلال الدین محمد اکبر Hunterian *Jalāl ud-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar*), also known as Shahanshah Akbar-e-Azam or *Akbar the Great* (14 October 1542 – 27 October 1605),<sup>[2][3]</sup> was the third Mughal Emperor. He was of Timurid descent; the son of Emperor Humayun, and the grandson of the Mughal Emperor Zaheeruddin Muhammad Babur, the ruler who founded the Mughal dynasty in India. At the end of his reign in 1605 the Mughal empire covered most of northern and central India. He is most appreciated for having a liberal outlook on all faiths and beliefs and during his era, culture and art reached a zenith as compared to his predecessors. Akbar was 13 years old when he ascended the Mughal throne in Delhi (February 1556), following the death of his father Humayun.<sup>[4]</sup> During his reign, he eliminated military threats from the powerful Pashtun descendants of Sher Shah Suri, and at the Second Battle of Panipat he decisively defeated the newly self-declared Hindu king Hemu.<sup>[5][6]</sup> It took him nearly two more decades to consolidate his power and bring all the parts of northern and central India into his direct realm. He influenced the whole of the Indian Subcontinent as he ruled a greater part of it as an emperor. As an emperor, Akbar solidified his rule by pursuing diplomacy with the powerful Hindu Rajput caste, and by marrying Rajput princesses.<sup>[5][7]</sup> Akbar's reign significantly influenced art and culture in the country. He was a great patron of art and architecture<sup>[8]</sup> He took a great interest in painting, and had the walls of his palaces adorned with murals. Besides encouraging the development of the Mughal school, he also patronised the European style of painting. He was fond of literature, and had several Sanskrit works translated into Persian and Persian scriptures translated in Sanskrit apart from getting many Persian works illustrated by painters from his court.<sup>[8]</sup> During the early years of his reign, he showed intolerant attitude towards Hindus and other religions, but later exercised tolerance towards non-Islamic faiths by rolling back some of the strict sharia laws.<sup>[9][10][11]</sup> His administration included numerous Hindu landlords, courtiers and military

generals. He began a series of religious debates where Muslim scholars would debate religious matters with Hindus, Jains, Zoroastrians and Portuguese Roman Catholic Jesuits. He treated these religious leaders with great consideration, irrespective of their faith, and revered them. He not only granted lands and money for the mosques but the list of the recipients included a huge number Hindu temples in north and central India, Christian churches in Goa.

## Early years and name

Shahzada (son of the emperor) Akbar was born on 15 October 1542 (the fourth day of Rajab, 949 AH), at the Rajput Fortress of Umerkot in Sindh (in modern day Pakistan), where Emperor Humayun and his recently wedded wife, Hamida Banu Begum, daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Jami, a Persian Shia, were taking refuge. After the capture of Kabul by Humayun, Badruddin's circumcision ceremony was held and his date of birth and name were changed to throw off evil sorcerers<sup>[12]</sup> and he was re-named Jalal-ud-din Muhammad by Humayun, a name which he had heard in his dream at Lahore.<sup>[3]</sup> Part 10:...the birth of Akbar<sup>[13]</sup> *Humayun nama*, Columbia University.



Humayun had been driven into exile in Persia by the Pashtun leader Sher Shah Suri.<sup>[14]</sup> Akbar did not go to Persia with his parents but grew up in the village of Mukundpur in Rewa (in present day Madhya Pradesh). Akbar and prince Ram Singh I, who later became the Maharajah of Rewa, grew up together and stayed close friends through life. Later, Akbar moved to the eastern parts of the Safavid Empire (now a part of Afghanistan) where he was raised by his uncle Mirza Askari. He spent his youth learning to hunt, run, and fight, but he never learned to read or write. This lifestyle of his childhood made him a daring, powerful and a brave warrior but he remained illiterate throughout his life. Although this did not hinder his search of knowledge as it is said whenever he used to go to bed, there would be somebody reading for the king.<sup>[15]</sup>

Following the chaos over the succession of Sher Shah Suri's son Islam Shah, Humayun reconquered Delhi in 1555, leading an army partly provided by his Persian ally Tahmasp I. A few months later, Humayun died. Akbar's guardian, Bairam Khan concealed the death in order to prepare for Akbar's succession. Akbar succeeded Humayun on 14 February 1556, while in the midst of a war against Sikandar Shah to reclaim the Mughal throne. In Kalanaur, Punjab, the 13

year old Akbar was enthroned by Bairam Khan on a newly constructed platform, which still stands.<sup>[16][17]</sup> He was proclaimed *Shahanshah* (Persian for "King of Kings"). Bairam Khan ruled on his behalf until he came of age.<sup>[18][19]</sup>

## Military achievements

### Military innovations

Akbar was known in his own time as a military genius. Due to the constant state of war between the Hindu Rajputs and the Mughal Empire, particularly after the wounding of the Mughal commander Khan Kilan by Rajput nobles in the year 1572, Akbar began to utilize the Kitar alongside the Mughal Talwars in battle. The latest Matchlocks were mass produced by the finest craftsmen and effectively employed during various conflicts. Akbar also ordered the manufacture of the finest chain-plate armors other protections that made his War elephants and Sowars invincible in combat. Akbar also began to utilize metal cylinder rockets known as *bans*<sup>[20]</sup> particularly against War elephants, during the Battle of Sanbal.

Akbar also began to believe that War elephants were the keys to military success, he believed that a single "Armored Elephant" was equal to 500 Sowars at the center of the battlefield. Akbar also noted that elephants have the ability to move through the densest of forests clearing through woods and paving way for both the Mughal Sepoys, Sowars

and Cannons. Akbar personally owned 5000 well trained elephants and recorded the use of almost 40,000 across his Mughal Empire. Akbar is also known to have replaced pairs of elephant tusks with a pair of double-curved *Tusk Swords*. War elephants were also utilized to carry out executions of those who fought against the Mughal Emperor.<sup>[21]</sup> Akbar was also the first to place advanced swivel guns and cannons atop of Howdahs, thus combining firepower and mobility on the battlefield and sieges.<sup>[22]</sup>

The Mughal Emperor Akbar also distributed crescent military standards and kettledrums to his finest servicemen.

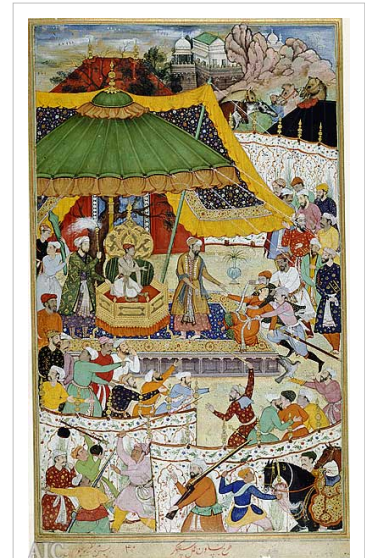
## Early conquests

Akbar decided early in his reign that he should conquer the threat of Sher Shah's dynasty, and decided to lead an army against the strongest of the three, Sikandar Shah Suri, in the Punjab. He left Delhi under the regency of Tardi Baig Khan. Sikandar Shah Suri presented no major concern for Akbar, and often withdrew from territory as Akbar approached.<sup>[23]</sup>

The Hindu king Hemu, however, commanding the Afghan forces, defeated the Mughal Army and captured Delhi on 6 October 1556.<sup>[18]</sup> Urged by Bairam Khan, who remmarshalled the Mughal army before Hemu could consolidate his position, Akbar marched on Delhi to reclaim it.<sup>[24]</sup> Akbar's army, led by Bairam Khan, met the larger forces of Hemu on November 5, 1556 at the Second Battle of Panipat, 50 miles (**unknown operator: u'strong'** km) north of Delhi. The battle was going in Hemu's favour when an arrow pierced Hemu's eye, rendering him unconscious. The leaderless army soon capitulated and Hemu was captured and executed.<sup>[25]</sup>

The victory also left Akbar with over 1,500 war elephants which he used to re-engage Sikandar Shah at the siege of Choopa. Sikandar, along with several local chieftains who were assisting him, surrendered and so was spared death. With this, the whole of Punjab was annexed to the Mughal empire. Before returning to Agra, Akbar sent a detachment of his army to Jammu, which defeated the ruler Raja Kapur Chand and captured the kingdom.<sup>[26]</sup> Between 1558 and 1560, after moving the capital from Delhi to Agra, Akbar further expanded the empire by capturing and annexing the kingdoms of Gwalior, northern Rajputana and Jaunpur.<sup>[27]</sup>

After a dispute at court, Akbar dismissed Bairam Khan in the spring of 1560 and ordered him to leave on Hajj to Mecca.<sup>[27]</sup> Bairam left for Mecca, but on his way was goaded by his opponents to rebel.<sup>[25]</sup> He was defeated by the Mughal army in the Punjab and forced to submit. Akbar, however forgave him and gave him the option of either continuing in his court or resuming his pilgrimage, of which Bairam chose the latter.<sup>[28]</sup>



The court of young Akbar, age 13, showing his first imperial act: the arrest of an unruly courtier, who was once a favorite of Akbar's father. Illustration from a manuscript of the Akbarnama



After dealing with the rebellion of Bairam Khan and establishing his authority, Akbar went on to expand the Mughal empire by subjugating local chiefs and annexing neighbouring kingdoms.<sup>[30]</sup> The first major conquest was of Malwa in 1561, an expedition that was led by Adham Khan and carried out with such savage cruelty that it resulted in a backlash from the kingdom enabling its ruler Baz Bahadur to recover the territory while Akbar was dealing with the rebellion of Bairam Khan.<sup>[31]</sup> Subsequently, Akbar sent another detachment which captured Malwa in 1562, and Baz Bahadur eventually surrendered to the Mughals and was made an administrator by Akbar. Around the same time, the Mughal army also conquered the kingdom of the Gonds, after a fierce battle between Asaf Khan, the Mughal governor of Allahabad, and Rani Durgavati queen of the Gonds.<sup>[32]</sup> However after the victory of the Mughals, Asaf Khan allegedly misappropriated most of the wealth plundered from the kingdom and later Akbar subsequently ordered him to restore some of the wealth, apart from installing Durgavati's son, a convert to Islam, as the local administrator of the newly conquered region.<sup>[33]</sup>

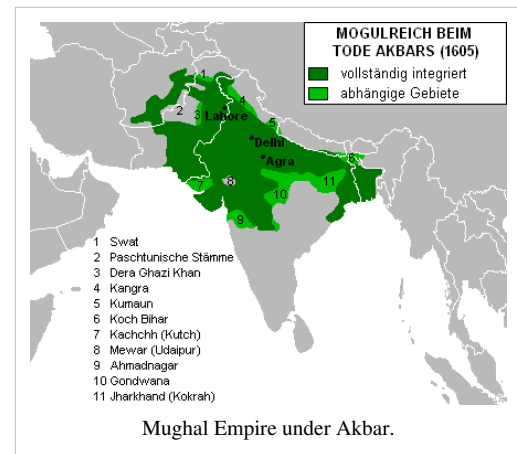
Over the course of Akbar's conquest of Malwa, he brought most of present-day Rajasthan, Gujarat and Bengal under his control, but Akbar believed that Chittorgarh Fort was a major threat to Mughal Empire because it housed Rajputs who were considered sworn enemies of the Mughals, in the year 1567 Akbar began to gather his forces who were briefly interrupted during the Battle of Thanesar, but by autumn Akbar was prepared to mount his siege. Chittorgarh Fort was ruled by Udai Singh who often gave refuge to the enemies of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Udai Singh's kingdom was of great strategic importance as it lay on the shortest route from Agra to Gujarat and was also considered a key to central Rajasthan. Fearing Akbar's impending assault Udai Singh retired to the hills, leaving two warriors Jaimal and Patta in charge of the fort.<sup>[33]</sup>

In October 1567, the Mughal army of approximately 5000 men led by Akbar surrounded and besieged 8000 Hindu Rajputs during the Siege of Chittorgarh and within a few months Akbar's ranks expanded to over 50,000 men. After an arduous siege Akbar ordered his men and augmented them to lift baskets of earth in order to create a hill in front of the fort by which the Mughal Cannons could be placed. As the *Mohur Hill* was completed Akbar placed his cannons and mortars near its tip, he then organized his sappers to plant mines under the heavy stone walls of the fortress of Chittor, but the mines exploded prematurely during an assault killing about a hundred Mughal Sowars, as the

siege

continued

it



Mughal Empire under Akbar.



The third Mughal Emperor Akbar leads his armies during the Siege of Ranthambore in the year 1569, against Rai Surjan Hada.<sup>[29]</sup>

is believed that a shot from Akbar's own Matchlock wounded or killed the commander of the already demoralized Hindu Rajputs.<sup>[34]</sup> The fortress of Chittor finally fell on February 1568 after a siege of four months. The fort was then stormed by the Mughal forces, and a fierce resistance was offered by members of the garrison stationed inside. When the Rajput women were ordered to commit *Jauhar* (self immolation), Akbar had realized that victory was near and the Mughals launched their final assault over 30,000 inhabitants of Chittorgarh Fort were killed by the victorious Mughal army. Akbar then ordered the heads of his enemies to be displayed upon towers erected throughout the region, in order to demonstrate his authority.<sup>[35][36]</sup>

The total loot that fell into the hands of the Mughal was distributed throughout the Mughal Empire.<sup>[37]</sup> Akbar then ordered the statues of two of the "armored elephants" that led the Mughal assault be carved and erected at the chief gate of the Agra Fort.<sup>[33][38]</sup> Akbar then built similar spiked-gates throughout his fortresses in order to deter elephant attacks. It is said that the brass candlesticks taken from the Kalika temple after its destruction were given to the shrine of Moinuddin Chishti in Ajmer, a shrine that Akbar vowed to rebuild after his victory.<sup>[35][39]</sup> Akbar then celebrated the victory over Chittor and Ranthambore by laying the foundation of a new city, 23 miles (**unknown operator: u'strong'** km) W.S.W of Agra in 1569. It was called Fatehpur Sikri ("city of victory").<sup>[40]</sup>



The Mughal Emperor Akbar shoots a Rajput leader, using a Matchlock, during the Siege of Chittorgarh.

In the year 1568, the 26 year old Mughal Emperor Akbar reigned supreme, bolstered by his success, he was looking forward to widespread acclamation as one of the greatest Muslim conqueror within and beyond his realm and was given the honorable title *Zill-e-Ilahi* (Zeal of Allah). He gathered miniature painters, who illustrated the Mughal forces that fought during the Siege of Chittorgarh in the *Fatahnama-i-Chittor* issued by him after the conquest of Chittor at Ajmer, where he stayed for some time and then returned to Agra, on Ramadan 10, 975.AH/March 9, 1568AD. After Akbar's conquest of Chittor, two major Rajput clans remained opposed to him - the Sisodiyas of Mewar and Hadas of Ranthambore.

Ranthambore Fort was reputed to be the most powerful fortress in Rajasthan, was conquered by the Mughal army in 1569 during the Siege of Ranthambore, making Akbar the master of almost the whole of Rajputana. As a result, most of the Rajput kings, including those of Bikaner, Bundelkhand and Jaisalmer submitted to Akbar. Only the clans of Mewar continued to resist Mughal conquest and Akbar had to fight with them from time to time for the greater part of his reign.<sup>[33][35]</sup> Among the most prominent of them was Maharana Pratap who declined to accept Akbar's suzerainty and also opposed the marriage etiquette of Rajputs who had been giving their daughters to Mughals. He renounced all matrimonial alliances with Rajput rulers who had married into the Mughal dynasty, refusing such alliances even with the princes of Marwar and Amer until they agreed to sever ties with the Mughals.<sup>[41]</sup>

## Consolidation

Having conquered Rajputana, Akbar turned to Gujarat, whose government was in a state of disarray after the death of its previous ruler, Bahadur Shah. The province was a tempting target as it was a center of world trade, it possessed fertile soil and had highly developed crafts.<sup>[42]</sup> The province had been occupied by Humayun for a brief period, and prior to that was ruled by the Delhi Sultanate.<sup>[33]</sup> In 1572, Akbar marched to Ahmedabad, which capitulated without offering resistance. He took Surat by siege, and then crossed the Mahi river and defeated his estranged cousins, the Mirzas, in a hard-fought battle at Sarnal.<sup>[42][43]</sup> During the campaign, Akbar met a group of Portuguese merchants

for the first time at Cambay. Having established his authority over Gujarat, Akbar returned to Agra, but Mirza-led rebellions soon broke out. Akbar returned, crossing Rajasthan at great speed on camels and horses, and reached Ahmedabad in eleven days - a journey that normally took six weeks. Akbar's army of 3000 horsemen then defeated the enemy forces numbering 20000 in a decisive victory on 2 September 1573.<sup>[42]</sup>

## Administration

### Political government

Akbar's system of central government was based on the system that had evolved since the Delhi Sultanate, but the functions of various departments were carefully reorganised by laying down detailed regulations for their functioning.<sup>[44]</sup>

- The revenue department was headed by a *wazir*, responsible for all finances and management of *jagir* and *inam* lands.
- The head of the military was called the *mir bakshi*, appointed from among the leading nobles of the court. The *mir bakshi* was in charge of intelligence gathering, and also made recommendations to the emperor for military appointments and promotions.
- The *mir saman* was in charge of the imperial household, including the harems, and supervised the functioning of the court and royal bodyguard.
- The judiciary was a separate organization headed by a chief *qazi*, who was also responsible for religious endowments.

Akbar departed from the policy of his predecessors in his treatment of the territories he conquered. Previous Mughals extracted a large tribute from these rulers and then leave them to administer their dominions autonomously; Akbar integrated them into his administration, providing them the opportunity to serve as military rulers. He thus simultaneously controlled their power while increasing their prestige as a part of the imperial ruling class.<sup>[45]</sup> Some of these rulers went on to become the navaratnas in Akbar's court.



Young Abdul Rahim Khan-I-Khana son of Bairam Khan being received by Akbar, being helped by Ataga Khan, (Akbarnama)

### Taxation

Akbar set about reforming the administration of his empire's land revenue by adopting a system that had been used by Sher Shah Suri. A cultivated area where crops grew well was measured and taxed through fixed rates based on the area's crop and productivity. However, this placed hardship on the peasantry because tax rates were fixed on the basis of prices prevailing in the imperial court, which were often higher than those in the countryside.<sup>[46]</sup> Akbar changed to a decentralized system of annual assessment, but this resulted in corruption among local officials and was abandoned in 1580, to be replaced by a system called the *dahsala*.<sup>[47]</sup> Under the new system, revenue was calculated as one-third of the average produce of the previous ten years, to be paid to the state in cash. This system was later refined, taking into account local prices, and grouping areas with similar productivity into assessment circles. Remission was given to peasants when the harvest failed during times of flood or drought.<sup>[47]</sup> Akbar's *dahsala* system is credited to Raja Todar Mal, who also served as a revenue officer under Sher Shah Suri,<sup>[48]</sup> and the structure of the revenue administration was set out by the latter in a detailed memorandum submitted to the emperor



in 1582-83.<sup>[49]</sup>

Other local methods of assessment continued in some areas. Land which was fallow or uncultivated was charged at concessional rates.<sup>[50]</sup> Akbar also actively encouraged the improvement and extension of agriculture. The village continued to remain the primary unit of revenue assessment.<sup>[51]</sup> Zamindars of every area were required to provide loans and agricultural implements in times of need, to encourage farmers to plough as much land as possible and to sow seeds of superior quality. In turn, the zamindars were given a hereditary right to collect a share of the produce. Peasants had a hereditary right to cultivate the land as long as they paid the land revenue.<sup>[50]</sup> While the revenue assessment system showed concern for the small peasantry, it also maintained a level of distrust towards the revenue officials. Revenue officials were guaranteed only three-quarters of their salary, with the remaining quarter dependent on their full realisation of the revenue assessed.<sup>[52]</sup>

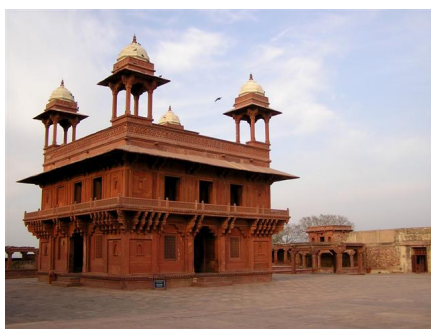
## Military organization

*An Emperor shall be ever Intent on Conquest, Ohterwise His enemies shall rise in arms against him.*

**Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar,**

Akbar organized his army as well as the nobility by means of a system called the *mansabdari*. Under this system, each officer in the army was assigned a rank (a *mansab*), and assigned a number of cavalry that he had to supply to the imperial army.<sup>[48]</sup> The *mansabdars* were divided into 33 classes. The top three commanding ranks, ranging from 7000 to 10000 troops, were normally reserved for princes. Other ranks between 10 and 5000 were assigned to other members of the nobility. The empire's permanent standing army was quite small and the imperial forces mostly consisted of contingents maintained by the *mansabdars*.<sup>[53]</sup> Persons were normally appointed to a low *mansab* and then promoted, based on their merit as well as the favour of the emperor.<sup>[54]</sup> Each *mansabdar* was required to maintain a certain number of cavalymen and twice that number of horses. The number of horses was greater because they had to be rested and rapidly replaced in times of war. Akbar employed strict measures to ensure that the quality of the armed forces was maintained at a high level; horses were regularly inspected and only Arabian horses were normally employed.<sup>[55]</sup> The *mansabdars* were remunerated well for their services and constituted the highest paid military service in the world at the time.<sup>[54]</sup>

## Capital of the empire



*Diwan-i-Khas – Hall of Private Audience, Fatehpur Sikri is a city and a municipal board in Agra district in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India. Built near the much older Sikri, the historical city of Fatehabad, as it was first named, was constructed by Akbar beginning in 1570, in honour of Sufi saint Shaikh Salim Chisti*

Akbar was a follower of Salim Chishti, a holy man who lived in the region of Sikri near Agra. Believing the area to be a lucky one for himself, he had a mosque constructed there for the use of the priest. Subsequently, he celebrated the victories over Chittor and Ranthambore by laying the foundation of a new walled capital, 23 miles (**unknown operator: u'strong'** km) west of Agra in 1569, which was named Fatehpur ("town of victory") after the conquest of Gujarat in 1573 and subsequently came to be known as Fatehpur Sikri in order to distinguish it from other similarly named towns.<sup>[33]</sup> Palaces for each of Akbar's senior queens, a huge artificial lake, and sumptuous water-filled courtyards were built there. However, the city was soon abandoned and the capital was moved to Lahore in 1585. The reason may have been that the water supply in Fatehpur Sikri was insufficient or of poor quality. Or, as some historians believe, Akbar had to attend to the northwest areas of his empire and therefore moved his capital northwest. Other sources indicate Akbar simply lost interest in the

city<sup>[56]</sup> or realised it was not militarily defensible. In 1599, Akbar shifted his capital back to Agra from where he reigned until his death.

## Diplomacy

### Matrimonial alliances

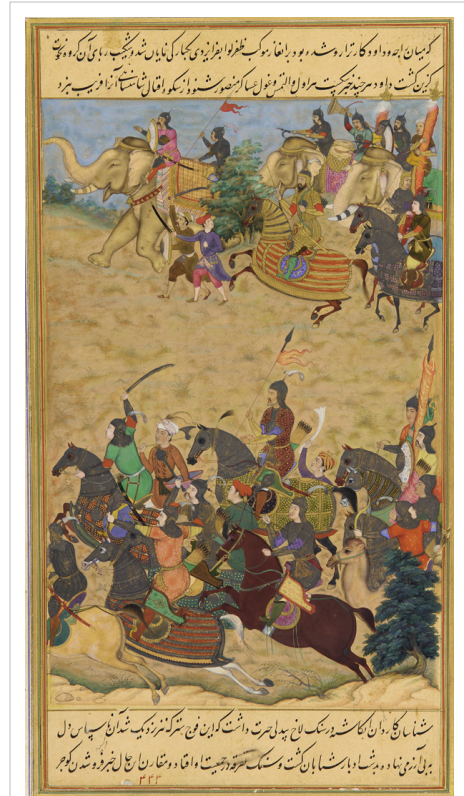
The practice of giving Hindu princesses to Muslim kings in marriage was known much before Akbar's time, but in most cases these marriages did not lead to any stable relations between the families involved, and the women were lost to their families and did not return after marriage.<sup>[57][58]</sup>

However, Akbar's policy of matrimonial alliances marked a departure from India from previous practice in that the marriage itself marked the beginning of a new order of relations, wherein the Hindu Rajputs who married their daughters or sisters to him would be treated on par with his Muslim fathers-in-law and brothers-in-law in all respects except being able to dine and pray with him or take Muslim wives. These Rajputs were made members of his court and their daughters' or sisters' marriage to a Muslim ceased to be a sign of degradation, except for certain orthodox elements who still considered it a sign of humiliation.<sup>[58]</sup>

The Kacchwaha Rajput, Raja Bharmal, of Amber, who had come to Akbar's court shortly after the latter's accession, entered into an alliance by giving his daughter Harkha Bai (also called Jodhaa Bai) in marriage to the emperor.<sup>[59][60]</sup> Harkha Bai became Muslim and was renamed Mariam-uz-Zamani. She died in 1623. A mosque was built in her honor by her son Jahangir in Lahore.<sup>[61]</sup> Bharmal was made a noble of high rank in the imperial court, and subsequently his son Bhagwant Das and grandson Man Singh also rose to high ranks in the nobility.<sup>[57]</sup>

Other Rajput kingdoms also established matrimonial alliances with Akbar, but matrimony was not insisted on as a precondition for forming alliances. Two major Rajput clans remained aloof – the Sisodiyas of Mewar and Hadas of Ranthambore. In another turning point of Akbar's reign, Raja Man Singh I of Amber went with Akbar to meet the Hada leader, Surjan Hada, to effect an alliance. Surjan accepted an alliance on the condition that Akbar did not marry any of his daughters. Consequently, no matrimonial alliance was entered into, yet Surjan was made a noble and placed in charge of Garh-Katanga.<sup>[57]</sup> Certain other Rajput nobles did not like the idea of their kings marrying their daughters to Mughals. Rathore Kalyandas threatened to kill both Mota Raja Rao Udaisingh and Jahangir because Udai Singh had decided to marry his daughter to Jahangir. Akbar on hearing this ordered imperial forces to attack Kalyandas at Siwana. Kalyandas died fighting along with his men and the women of Siwana committed Jauhar.<sup>[62]</sup>

The political effect of these alliances was significant. While some Rajput women who entered Akbar's harem converted to Islam, they were generally provided full religious freedom, and their relatives, who continued to remain Hindu, formed a significant part of the nobility and served to articulate the opinions of the majority of the common populace in the imperial court.<sup>[57]</sup> The interaction between Hindu and Muslim nobles in the imperial court resulted in exchange of thoughts and blending of the two cultures. Further, newer generations of the Mughal line represented a merger of Mughal and Rajput blood, thereby strengthening ties between the two. As a result, the Rajputs became the strongest allies of the Mughals, and Rajput soldiers and generals fought for the Mughal army under Akbar, leading it



Akbar leads the Mughal Army during a campaign.

in several campaigns including the conquest of Gujarat in 1572.<sup>[63]</sup> Akbar's policy of religious tolerance ensured that employment in the imperial administration was open to all on merit irrespective of creed, and this led to an increase in the strength of the administrative services of the empire.<sup>[64]</sup>

Another legend is that Akbar's daughter Meherunnissa was enamoured by Tansen and had a role in his coming to Akbar's court.<sup>[65]</sup> Tansen converted to Islam from Hinduism, apparently on the eve of his marriage with Akbar's daughter.<sup>[66][67]</sup>

## Relations with the Portuguese



Death of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat at Diu, in front of the Portuguese in 1537.<sup>[68]</sup>

At the time of Akbar's ascension in 1556, the Portuguese had established several fortresses and factories on the western coast of the subcontinent, and largely controlled navigation and sea-trade in that region. As a consequence of this colonialism, all other trading entities were subject to the terms and conditions of the Portuguese, and this was resented by the rulers and traders of the time including Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.<sup>[69]</sup>

in the year 1572 the Mughal Empire annexed Gujarat and acquired its first access to the sea, the local officials informed Akbar that the Portuguese have begun to exert their control in the Indian Ocean. Hence Akbar's was conscious of the threat posed by the presence of the Portuguese, remained content with obtaining a *cartaz* (permit) from them for sailing in the Persian Gulf region.<sup>[70]</sup> At the initial meeting of the Mughals and the Portuguese during the Siege of Surat in 1572, the Portuguese, recognising the superior strength of the Mughal army, chose to adopt diplomacy instead of war, and the Portuguese Governor, upon the request of Akbar, sent him an ambassador to establish friendly relations.<sup>[71]</sup> Akbar's efforts to purchase and secure from the Portuguese some of their compact Artillery pieces were unsuccessful and that is the reason why Akbar could not establish the Mughal navy along the

Gujarat coast.<sup>[72]</sup>

Akbar accepted the offer of diplomacy, but the Portuguese continually acknowledged their authority and power in the Indian Ocean, in fact Akbar was highly concerned when he had to request a permit from the Portuguese before any ships from the Mughal Empire were to depart for the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.<sup>[73]</sup> In 1573, he issued a *firman* directing Mughal administrative officials in Gujarat not to provoke the Portuguese in the territory they held in Daman. The Portuguese, in turn, issued passes for the members of Akbar's family to go on Hajj to Mecca. The Portuguese made mention of the extraordinary status of the vessel and the special status to be accorded to its occupants.<sup>[74]</sup>

In the year 1579 Jesuits from Goa were allowed to visit the court of Akbar, the Jesuit did not confine themselves to the exposition of their own beliefs, but reviled Islam and the Prophet in unrestrained language. Their comments enraging the Imam's and Ulama, who objected to the remarks of the Jesuit, but Akbar however ordered their comments to be recorded and observed the Jesuits and their behavior carefully. This event was followed by a rebellion of Muslim clerics led by Mullah Muhammad Yazdi and Muiz-ul-Mulk, the chief Qadi of Bengal in the year 1581, when these rebels wanted to overthrow Akbar and insert his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim ruler of Kabul on the Mughal throne. Akbar however successfully defeated the rebels and had grown more cautious about his guests and his proclamations, which he later checked with his advisers carefully.<sup>[75]</sup>



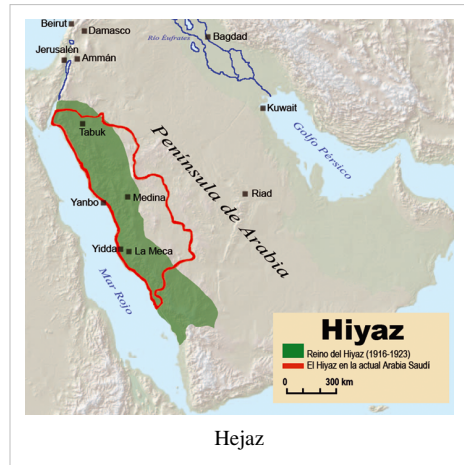
## Relations with the Ottoman Empire

In the year 1555, while Akbar was still a child the Ottoman Admiral Seydi Ali Reis visited the Mughal Emperor Humayun. Later in the year 1569, during the early years of Akbar's rule another Ottoman Admiral Kurtoğlu Hızır Reis arrived on the shores of the Mughal Empire. These Ottoman Admirals sought to end the growing threats of the Portuguese Empire during their Indian Ocean campaigns. During his reign Akbar himself is known to have sent six documents addressing the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.<sup>[76][77]</sup>

In 1576 Akbar sent a very large contingent of pilgrims led by Khwaja Sultan Naqshbandi, Yahya Saleh, with 600,000 gold and silver coins and 12,000 Kaftans of honor and large consignments of rice.<sup>[78]</sup> In October 1576, the Mughal Emperor Akbar, sent a delegation including members of his family including his aunt Gulbadan Begum and his consort Salima, on Hajj by two ships from Surat including an Ottoman vessel, which reached the port of Jeddah in 1577 and then proceeded towards Mecca and Medina.<sup>[79]</sup> Four more caravans were sent from 1577 to 1580, with exquisite gifts for the authorities of Mecca and Medina.<sup>[80][81]</sup>

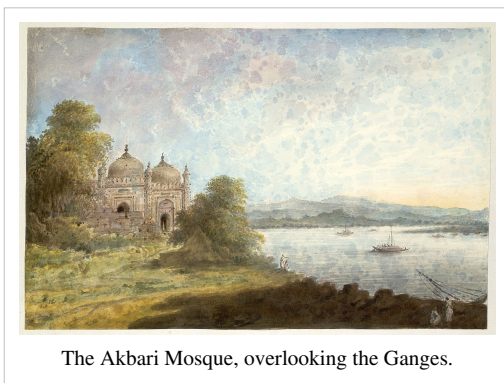
The imperial Mughal entourage stayed in Mecca and Medina for nearly four years, and attended the Hajj four times. During this period Akbar even financed the pilgrimages of many poor Muslims from the Mughal Empire and also funded the foundations of the Qadiriyya Sufi Order's dervish lodge in the Hijaz<sup>[82]</sup>. The Mughals eventually set out for Surat and their return was assisted by the Ottoman Pasha in Jeddah.<sup>[83]</sup> Due to Akbar's attempts to build Mughal presence in Mecca and Medina, the local Sharif's began to have more confidence in the financial support provided by Mughal Empire, this lessened their dependency upon Ottoman bounty<sup>[84]</sup>. Mughal-Ottoman trade also flourished during this period, in fact merchants loyal to Akbar are known to have reached and sold spices, dyestuff, cotton and shawls in the Bazaars of Aleppo after arriving and journeying upriver through the port of Basra.<sup>[85]</sup>

According to some accounts Mughal Emperor Akbar expressed a desire to form an alliance with the Portuguese, mainly in order to advance his interests, but whenever the Portuguese attempted to invade the Ottomans, the Mughal Emperor Akbar proved abortive.<sup>[86][87]</sup> In 1587 a Portuguese fleet sent to attack Yemen was ferociously routed and defeated by the Ottoman Navy, thereafter the Mughal-Portuguese alliance, immediately collapsed mainly due to the continuing pressure by the Mughal Empire's prestigious vassals at Janjira.<sup>[88]</sup>



Hejaz

## Relations with the Safavid Dynasty



The Akbari Mosque, overlooking the Ganges.

The Safavids and the Mughals had a long history of diplomatic relationship, with the Safavid ruler Tahmasp I having provided refuge to Humayun when he had to flee the Indian subcontinent following his defeat by Sher Shah Suri. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the two empires, along with the Ottoman Empire to the west, were the site of major power struggles in Asia. However, the Safavids differed from the Mughals and the Ottomans in following the Shiite sect of Islam as opposed to the Sunni sect practised by the other two.<sup>[89]</sup> One of the longest standing disputes between the Safavids and the Mughals pertained to the control of the city of Qandahar in the Hindukush

region, forming the border between the two empires.<sup>[90]</sup> The Hindukush region was militarily very significant owing to its geography, and this was well-recognised by strategists of the times.<sup>[91]</sup> Consequently, the city, which was being

administered by Bairam Khan at the time of Akbar's accession, was invaded and captured by the Persian ruler Husain Mirza, a cousin of Tahmasp I, in 1558.<sup>[90]</sup> Subsequent to this, Bairam Khan sent an envoy to Tahmasp I's court, in an effort to maintain peaceful relations with the Safavids. This gesture was reciprocated and a cordial relationship continued to prevail between the two empires during the first two decades of Akbar's reign.<sup>[92]</sup> However, the death of Tahmasp I in 1576 resulted in civil war and instability in the Safavid empire, and diplomatic relations between the two empires ceased for more than a decade, and were restored only in 1587 following the accession of Shah Abbas to the Safavid throne.<sup>[93]</sup> Shortly afterwards, Akbar's army completed its annexation of Kabul, and in order to further secure the north-western boundaries of his empire, it proceeded to Qandahar. The city capitulated without resistance on April 18, 1595, and the ruler Muzaffar Hussain moved into Akbar's court.<sup>[94]</sup> Qandahar continued to remain in Mughal possession, and the Hindukush the empire's western frontier, for several decades until Shah Jahan's expedition into Badakhshan in 1646.<sup>[95]</sup> Diplomatic relations continued to be maintained between the Safavid and Mughal courts until the end of Akbar's reign.<sup>[96]</sup>

### Relations with other medieval kingdoms

Vincent Arthur Smith observes that the merchant Mildenhall was employed in 1600 while the establishment of the Company was under adjustment to bear a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar requesting liberty to trade in his dominions on terms as good as those enjoyed by the Portuguese.<sup>[97]</sup>

Akbar was also visited by the French explorer Pierre Malherbe.<sup>[98]</sup>

### Religious policy

Akbar, as well as his mother and other members of his family, are believed to have been Sunni Hanafi Muslims.<sup>[99]</sup> His early days were spent in the backdrop of an atmosphere in which liberal sentiments were encouraged and religious narrow-mindedness was frowned upon.<sup>[100]</sup> From the 15th century, a number of rulers in various parts of the country adopted a more liberal policy of religious tolerance, attempting to foster communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims.<sup>[101]</sup> These sentiments were earlier encouraged by the teachings of popular saints like Guru Nanak, Kabir and Chaitanya,<sup>[100]</sup> the verses of the Persian poet Hafez which advocated human sympathy and a liberal outlook,<sup>[102]</sup> as well as the Timurid ethos of religious tolerance that persisted in the polity right from the times of Timur to Humayun, and influenced Akbar's policy of tolerance in matters of religion.<sup>[103]</sup> Further, his childhood tutors, who included two Irani Shias, were largely above sectarian prejudices, and made a significant contribution to Akbar's later inclination towards religious tolerance.<sup>[103]</sup>

One of Akbar's first actions after gaining actual control of the administration was the abolition of *jizya*, a tax which all non-Muslims were required to pay, in 1562.<sup>[100]</sup> The tax was reinstated in 1575,<sup>[104]</sup> a move which has been viewed as being symbolic of vigorous Islamic policy,<sup>[105]</sup> but was again repealed in 1580.<sup>[106]</sup> Akbar adopted the *Sulh-e-Kul* (or Peace to All) concept of Sufism as official policy, integrated many Hindus into high positions in the administration, and removed restrictions on non-Muslims, thereby bringing about a composite and diverse character to the nobility.<sup>[107][108]</sup> As a mark of his respect for all religions, he ordered the observance of all religious festivals of different communities in the imperial court.<sup>[109]</sup>

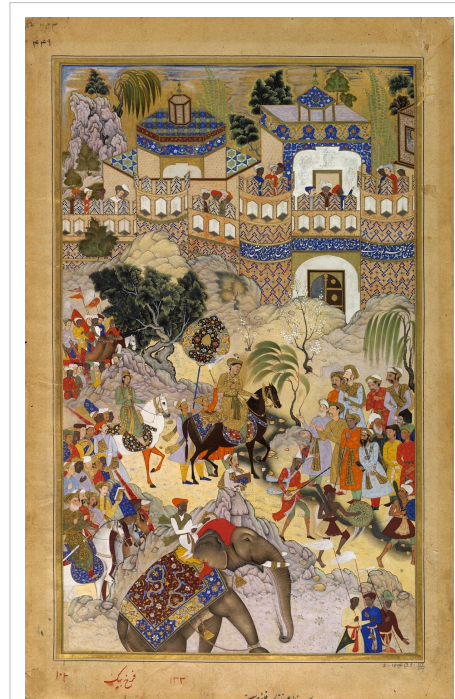


## Relation with Jains

Akbar regularly held discussions with Jain scholars and was also greatly impacted by some of their teachings. His first encounter with Jain rituals was when he saw a Jain shravika named Champa's procession after a six month long fast. Impressed by her power and devotion, he invited her guru or spiritual teacher Acharya Hiravijaya Suri to Fatehpur Sikri. Acharya accepted the invitation and began his march towards the Mughal capital from Gujarat.<sup>[110]</sup>

Akbar was greatly impressed by the scholastic qualities and character of the Acharya. He held several debates and discussions on religion and philosophy in his courts. Arguing with Jains, Akbar remained sceptical of their rituals, and yet became convinced by their arguments for vegetarianism and ended up deploring the eating of all flesh.<sup>[111]</sup>

The Indian Supreme Court too has cited examples of co-existence of Jain and Mughal architecture. Terming Mughal emperor Akbar as "the architect of modern India", a bench said that Akbar, who had great respect for Jainism, had declared "Amari Ghosana" banning the killing of animals during Paryushan and Mahavir Jayanti. He rolled back the Jazia tax from Jain pilgrim places like Palitana. These farmans were also issued in 1592, 1584 and 1598.<sup>[112]</sup>



The Mughal Emperor Akbar triumphantly enters Surat.

## Relations with Shias and Islamic clergy

During the early part of his reign, Akbar adopted an attitude of suppression towards Muslim sects that were condemned by the orthodoxy as heretical.<sup>[111]</sup> In 1567, on the advice of Shaikh Abdu'n Nabi, he ordered the exhumation of Mir Murtaza Sharifi Shirazi - a Shia buried in Delhi - because of the grave's proximity to that of Amir Khusrau, arguing that a "heretic" could not be buried so close to the grave of a Sunni saint, reflecting a restrictive attitude towards the Shia, which continued to persist till the early 1570s.<sup>[113]</sup> He suppressed Mahdavidism in 1573 during his campaign in Gujarat, in the course of which the Mahdavi leader Bandagi Miyan Shiek Mustafa was arrested and brought in chains to the court for debate and released after eighteen months.<sup>[113]</sup> However, as Akbar increasingly came under the influence of pantheistic Sufi mysticism from the early 1570s, it caused a great shift in his outlook and culminated in his shift from orthodox Islam as traditionally professed, in favor of a new concept of Islam transcending the limits of religion.<sup>[113]</sup> Consequently, during the latter half of his reign, he adopted a policy of tolerance towards the Shias and declared a prohibition on Shia-Sunni conflict, and the empire remained neutral in matters of internal sectarian conflict.<sup>[114]</sup> In the year 1578, the Mughal Emperor Akbar famously referred to himself as:

*Emperor of Islam, Emir of the Faithful, Shadow of God on earth, Abul Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi (whose empire Allah perpetuate), is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing ruler.*

In 1580, a rebellion broke out in the eastern part of Akbar's empire, and a number of *fatwas*, declaring Akbar to be a heretic, were issued by Qazis. Akbar suppressed the rebellion and handed out severe punishments to the Qazis. In order to further strengthen his position in dealing with the Qazis, Akbar issued a *mazhar* or declaration that was signed by all major *ulemas* in 1579.<sup>[115][116]</sup> The *mahzar* asserted that Akbar was the *Khalifa* of the age, the rank of the *Khalifa* was higher than that of a *Mujtahid*, in case of a difference of opinion among the Mujtahids, Akbar could select any one opinion and could also issue decrees which did not go against the *nass*.<sup>[117]</sup> Given the prevailing Islamic sectarian conflicts in various parts of the country at that time, it is believed that the *Mazhar* helped in stabilizing the religious situation in the empire.<sup>[115]</sup> It made Akbar very powerful due to the complete supremacy accorded to the *Khalifa* by Islam, and also helped him eliminate the religious and political influence of the Ottoman *Khalifa* over his subjects, thus ensuring their complete loyalty to him.<sup>[118]</sup>

Throughout his reign the Mughal Emperor Akbar was a patron of influential Muslim scholars such as Mir Ahmed Nasrallah Thattvi and Tahir Muhammad Thattvi.

### Din-i-Ilahi



Silver coin of Akbar with inscriptions of the Islamic declaration of faith, the declaration reads: "There is none worthy of worship but God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God."

Akbar was deeply interested in religious and philosophical matters. An orthodox Muslim at the outset, he later came to be influenced by Sufi mysticism that was being preached in the country at that time, and moved away from orthodoxy, appointing to his court several talented people with liberal ideas, including Abul Fazl, Faizi and Birbal. In 1575, he built a hall called the Ibadat Khana ("House of Worship") at Fatehpur Sikri, to which he invited theologians, mystics and selected courtiers renowned for their intellectual achievements and discussed matters of spirituality with them.<sup>[100]</sup> These discussions, initially restricted to Muslims, were acrimonious and resulted in the participants shouting at and abusing each other. Upset by this, Akbar opened the Ibadat Khana to people of all religions as well as atheists, resulting in the scope of the discussions broadening and extending even into areas such as the validity of the Quran and the nature of God. This shocked the orthodox theologians, who sought to discredit Akbar by circulating rumours of his desire to forsake Islam.<sup>[115]</sup> Akbar's choices, decisions, decrees, discussions and regulations on religious matters even caused some of his brilliant courtiers like Qutb-ud-din Khan Koka and Shahbaz Khan Kamboh to criticize the emperor in the court.

Akbar's effort to evolve a meeting point among the representatives of various religions was not very successful, as each of them attempted to assert the superiority of their respective religions by denouncing other religions. Meanwhile, the debates at the Ibadat Khana grew more acrimonious and, contrary to their purpose of leading to a better understanding among religions, instead led to greater bitterness among them, resulting to the discontinuance of the debates by Akbar in 1582.<sup>[119]</sup> However, his interaction with various religious theologians had convinced him that despite their differences, all religions had several good practices, which he sought to combine into a new religious movement known as Din-i-Ilahi.<sup>[120][121]</sup> However, some modern scholars claim that Akbar did not initiate a new religion and did not use the word *Din-i-Ilahi*.<sup>[122]</sup> According to the contemporary events in the Mughal court Akbar was indeed angered by the acts of embezzlement of wealth by many high level Muslim clerics.<sup>[123]</sup>

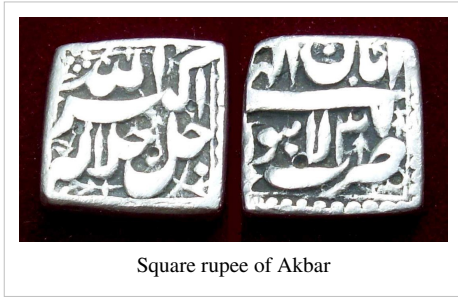
The purported Din-i-Ilahi was more of an ethical system and is said to have prohibited lust, sensuality, slander and pride, considering them sins. Piety, prudence, abstinence and kindness are the core virtues. The soul is encouraged to purify itself through yearning of God.<sup>[124]</sup> Celibacy was respected, chastity enforced, the slaughter of animals was forbidden and there were no sacred scriptures or a priestly hierarchy.<sup>[125]</sup> However, a leading Noble of Akbar's court, Aziz Koka, wrote a letter to him from Mecca in 1594 arguing that the discipleship promoted by Akbar amounted to nothing more than a desire on Akbar's part to portray his superiority regarding religious matters.<sup>[126]</sup> To commemorate Din-e-Ilahi, he changed the name of Prayag to Allahabad (pronounced as *ilahabad*) in 1583.<sup>[127][128]</sup>

It has been argued that the theory of Din-i-Ilahi being a new religion was a misconception which arose due to erroneous translations of Abul Fazl's work by later British historians.<sup>[129]</sup> However, it is also accepted that the policy of *sulh-e-kul*, which formed the essence of Din-i-Ilahi, was adopted by Akbar not merely for religious purposes, but as a part of general imperial administrative policy. This also formed the basis for Akbar's policy of religious toleration.<sup>[130]</sup> At the time of Akbar's death in 1605 there were no signs of discontent amongst his Muslim subjects and the impression of even a theologian like Abdu'l Haq was that close ties remained.<sup>[131]</sup>



Akbar holds a religious assembly of different faiths in the Ibadat Khana in Fatehpur Sikri.





Square rupee of Akbar

## Historical accounts

### Personality

Akbar's reign was chronicled extensively by his court historian Abul Fazal in the books *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-akbari*. Other contemporary sources of Akbar's reign include the works of Badayuni, Shaikhzada Rashidi and Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi.

Akbar was an artisan, warrior, artist, armourer, blacksmith, carpenter, emperor, general, inventor, animal trainer (reputedly keeping thousands of hunting cheetahs during his reign and training many himself), lacemaker, technologist and theologian.<sup>[132]</sup>

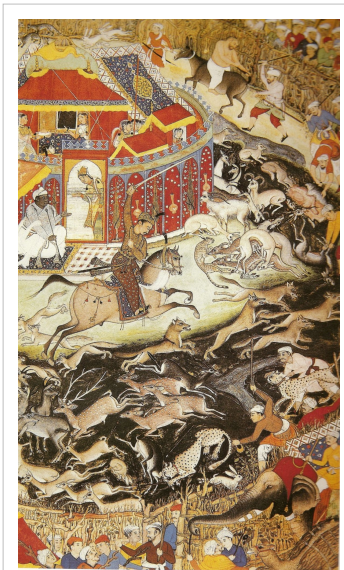
Akbar was said to have been a wise emperor and a sound judge of character. His son and heir, Jahangir, wrote effusive praise of Akbar's character in his memoirs, and dozens of anecdotes to illustrate his virtues.<sup>[133]</sup> According to Jahangir, Akbar was "of the hue of wheat; his eyes and eyebrows were black and his complexion rather dark than fair". Antoni de Montserrat, the Catalan Jesuit who visited his court described him as follows:

"One could easily recognize even at first glance that he is King. He has broad shoulders, somewhat bandy legs well-suited for horsemanship, and a light brown complexion. He carries his head bent towards the right shoulder. His forehead is broad and open, his eyes so bright and flashing that they seem like a sea shimmering in the sunlight. His eyelashes are very long. His eyebrows are not strongly marked. His nose is straight and small though not insignificant. His nostrils are widely open as though in derision. Between the left nostril and the upper lip there is a mole. He shaves his beard but wears a moustache. He limps in his left leg though he has never received an injury there."<sup>[134]</sup>

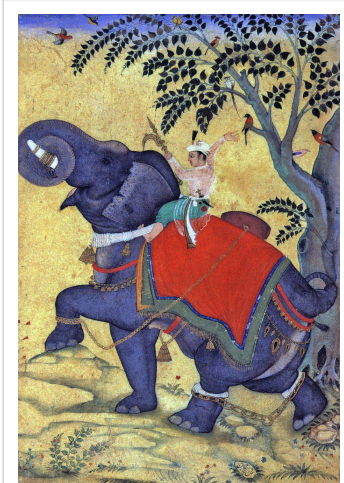
Akbar was not tall but powerfully built and very agile. He was also noted for various acts of courage. One such incident occurred on his way back from Malwa to Agra when Akbar was 19 years of age.

Akbar rode alone in advance of his escort and was confronted by a tigress who, along with her cubs, came out from the shrubbery across his path. When the tigress charged the emperor, he was alleged to have dispatched the animal with his sword in a solitary blow. His approaching attendants found the emperor standing quietly by the side of the dead animal.<sup>[135]</sup>

Abul Fazal, and even the hostile critic Badayuni, described him as having a commanding personality. He was notable for his command in battle, and, "like Alexander of Macedon, was always ready to risk his life, regardless of



Akbar hunting with cheetahs, c. 1602



Akbar on an elephant

political consequences". He often plunged on his horse into the flooded river during the rainy seasons and safely crossed it. He rarely indulged in cruelty and is said to have been affectionate towards his relatives. He pardoned his brother Hakim, who was a repented rebel. But on rare occasions, he dealt cruelly with offenders, such as his maternal uncle Muazzam and his foster-brother Adham Khan, who was twice defenestrated for drawing Akbar's wrath.

He is said to have been extremely moderate in his diet. *Ain-e-Akbari* mentions that during his travels and also while at home, Akbar drank water from the Ganges river, which he called 'the water of immortality'. Special people were stationed at Sorun and later Haridwar to dispatch water, in sealed jars, to wherever he was stationed.<sup>[136]</sup> According to Jahangir's memoirs, he was fond of fruits and had little liking for meat, which he stopped eating in his later years. He was more religiously tolerant than many of the Muslim rulers before and after him. Jahangir wrote:

"As in the wide expanse of the Divine compassion there is room for all classes and the followers of all creeds, so... in his dominions, ... there was room for the professors of opposite religions, and for beliefs good and bad, and the road to altercation was closed. Sunnis and Shias met in one mosque, and Franks and Jews in one church, and observed their own forms of worship."<sup>[133]</sup>

To defend his stance that speech arose from hearing, he carried out a language deprivation experiment, and had children raised in isolation, not allowed to be spoken to, and pointed out that as they grew older, they remained mute.<sup>[137]</sup>

Akbar is also said to have thrown a man out of a window, then grab his body and proceed to throw him out again to make sure he was dead.<sup>[138]</sup>

## Hagiography

During Akbar's reign, the ongoing process of inter-religious discourse and syncretism resulted in a series of religious attributions to him in terms of positions of assimilation, doubt or uncertainty, which he either assisted himself or left unchallenged.<sup>[139]</sup> Such hagiographical accounts of Akbar traversed a wide range of denominational and sectarian spaces, including several accounts by Parsis, Jains and Jesuit missionaries, apart from contemporary accounts by Brahminical and Muslim orthodoxy.<sup>[140]</sup> Existing sects and denominations, as well as various religious figures who represented popular worship felt they had a claim to him. The diversity of these accounts is attributed to the fact that his reign resulted in the formation of a flexible centralised state accompanied by personal authority and cultural heterogeneity.<sup>[139]</sup>

## Akbarnāma, the *Book of Akbar*

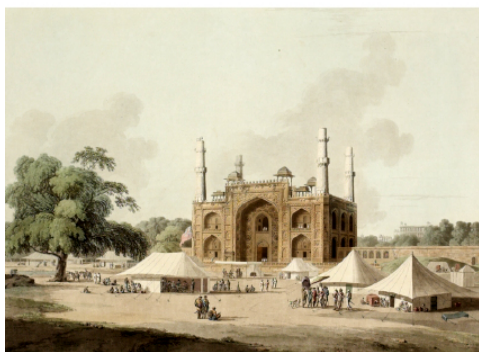
The Akbarnāma (Persian: اکبر نامہ), which literally means *Book of Akbar*, is an official biographical account of Akbar, the third Mughal Emperor (r. 1542–1605), written in Persian. It includes vivid and detailed descriptions of his life and times.<sup>[141]</sup>

The work was commissioned by Akbar, and written by Abul Fazl, one of the *Nine Jewels* (Hindi: Navaratnas) of Akbar's royal court. It is stated that the book took seven years to be completed and the original manuscripts contained a number of paintings supporting the texts, and all the paintings represented the Mughal school of painting, and work of masters of the imperial workshop, including Basawan, whose use of portraiture in its illustrations was an innovation in Indian art.<sup>[141]</sup>



Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak presenting *Akbarnama* to Akbar, Mughal miniature

## Death and legacy



Gate of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, Agra, 1795

On 3 October 1605, Akbar fell ill with an attack of dysentery, from which he never recovered. He is believed to have died on or about 27 October 1605, after which his body was buried at a mausoleum in Sikandra, Agra.<sup>[142]</sup>

Akbar left behind a rich legacy both for the Mughal Empire as well as the Indian subcontinent in general. He firmly entrenched the authority of the Mughal empire in India and beyond, after it had been threatened by the Afghans during his father's reign,<sup>[143]</sup> establishing its military and diplomatic superiority.<sup>[144]</sup> During his reign, the nature of the state changed to a secular and liberal one, with emphasis on cultural integration. He also introduced several far-sighted social reforms, including prohibiting *sati*, legalising

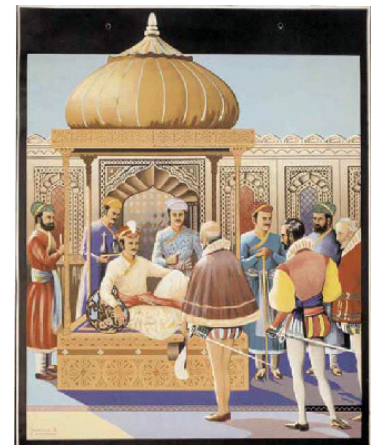
widow remarriage and raising the age of marriage.

The Mughal descendants include Imran Mughal Imran (1986–present) who resides in Old Lahore, Pakistan.<sup>[145]</sup>

Citing Akbar's melding of the disparate 'fiefdoms' of India into the Mughal Empire as well as the lasting legacy of "pluralism and tolerance" that "underlies the values of the modern republic of India", Time magazine included his name in its list of top 25 world leaders.<sup>[146]</sup>

## In popular culture

- In 2008, director Ashutosh Gowariker released a film telling the story of Akbar and his wife Hira Kunwari (known more popularly as Jodha Bai), titled *Jodhaa Akbar*. Akbar was played by Hrithik Roshan and Jodhaa was played by Aishwarya Rai.
- Akbar was portrayed in the award-winning 1960 Hindi movie *Mughal-e-Azam* (The great Mughal), in which his character was played by Prithviraj Kapoor.
- Akbar and Birbal were portrayed in the Hindi series *Akbar-Birbal* aired on Zee TV in late 1990s where Akbar's role was essayed by Vikram Gokhale.
- A television series, called Akbar the Great, directed by Sanjay Khan was aired on DD National in the 1990s.
- A fictionalized Akbar plays an important supporting role in Kim Stanley Robinson's 2002 novel, *The Years of Rice and Salt*.
- Akbar is also a major character in Salman Rushdie's 2008 novel *The Enchantress of Florence*.
- Amartya Sen uses Akbar as a prime example in his books *The Argumentative Indian* and *Violence and Identity*.
- Bertrice Small is known for incorporating historical figures as primary characters in her romance novels, and Akbar is no exception. He is a prominent figure in two of her novels, and mentioned several times in a third, which takes place after his death. In *This Heart of Mine* the heroine becomes Akbar's fortieth "wife" for a time, while *Wild Jasmine* and *Darling Jasmine* centre around the life of his half-British daughter, Yasaman Kama Begum (alias Jasmine).
- Akbar is featured in the video game *Sid Meier's Civilization 4: Beyond the Sword* as a "great general" available in the game.
- Akbar is also the AI Personality of India in the renowned game *Age of Empires III: The Asian Dynasties*.
- The violin concerto nicknamed "Il Grosso Mogul" written by Antonio Vivaldi in the 1720s, and listed in the standard catalogue as RV 208, is considered to be indirectly inspired by Akbar's reign.
- In Kunal Basu's *The Miniaturist*, the story revolves around a young painter during Akbar's time who paints his own version of the *Akbarnamu*.
- Akbar is mentioned as 'Raja Baadshah' in the Chhattisgarhi folktale of Mohna de gori kayina
- Akbar is the main character in *Empire of the Moghul: Ruler of the World*, the third book in a quintet based on the 5 great Mughal Emperors of the Mughal Dynasty by Alex Rutherford.
- Akbar is the protagonist in Dirk Collier's historical novel 'The Emperor's Writings, Memories of Akbar the Great' (Delhi, 2011; translated into Dutch under the title 'Afscheid van de keizer'), a fictional autobiography in which Akbar speaks to his son Jahangir, via a series of posthumous letters.



Akbar receives an embassy sent by Queen Elizabeth



## Notes

- [1] Google Images (<http://www.google.com.pk/imgres?q=akbarnama&hl=en&biw=1024&bih=673&tbnid=ZV3LjBwYAx0Q1M:&imgrefurl=http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O9283/painting-akbars-mother-travels-by-boat/&docid=roKrcHUoKz9a5M&w=498&h=768&ei=VliFTrXVPMPf4QTGspWHDw&zoom=1&iact=hc&vpx=316&vpy=157&dur=12469&hovh=279&hovw=181&tx=129&ty=197&page=3&tbnh=143&tbnw=95&start=41&ndsp=21&ved=1t:429,r:9,s:41>)
- [2] "Akbar" (<http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00generallinks/tennyson/akbarsnotes.html>). TENNYSON'S OWN NOTES TO AKBAR'S DREAM. . Retrieved 18 May 2011.
- [3] Conversion of Islamic and Christian dates (Dual) (<http://www.oriold.uzh.ch/static/hegira.html>) As per the date convertor Baadshah Akbar's birth date, as per *Humayun nama*, of 04 Rajab, 949 AH, corresponds to 14 October 1542.
- [4] Majumdar 1984, p. 104
- [5] Fazl, Abul. *Akbarnama Volume II*.
- [6] Prasad, Ishwari (1970). *The life and times of Humayun* (<http://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=Ishwari Prasad life and times of humayun&hl=en&lr=&oi=scholar>). .
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- [13] <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00litlinks/gulbadan/part10.html>
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- [16] "Gurdas" (<http://web.archive.org/web/20080527210721/http://punjabgovt.nic.in/government/gurdas1.GIF>). Government of Punjab. Archived from the original (<http://punjabgovt.nic.in/government/gurdas1.GIF>) on 27 May 2008. . Retrieved 30 May 2008.
- [17] History (<http://gurdaspur.nic.in/html/profile.htm#history>) Gurdaspur district website.
- [18] Chandra 2007, p. 226
- [19] Smith 2002, p. 337
- [20] Islamic Mughal Empire: War Elephants Part 3 - YouTube (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LbZr26t8H2U>)
- [21] Warrior Empire-The Mughals 3/9 - YouTube (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i0YIQSXQcAM>)
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# Alain I of Albret

Alain I of Albret	
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Spouse(s)	Françoise de Blois-Bretagne, Comtesse de Périgord
Noble family	House of Albret
Father	Jean I of Albret
Mother	Catherine de Rohan
Born	1440
Died	1522

**Alain I of Albret** (1440-1522), called "The Great", was a powerful French aristocrat. He was 16th Lord of Albret, Viscount of Tartas, the 2nd Count of Graves, and the Count of Castres. He was the son of Catherine de Rohan and Jean I of Albret.<sup>[1]</sup> He was the grandson and heir of Charles II of Albret, and became head of the House of Albret in 1471.

He was skillful, but also very fickle, greedy, and unscrupulous. During his half century of rule, he took a political course which was more agitated than effective, following his father's example, making him one of the most visible actors on the stage of Europe.

## Early career

Alain I initially benefited from his fidelity to King Louis XI of France, and thereby enlarged his principality. He married Françoise de Châtillon, and this marriage brought him the inheritance of the county of Périgord as well as the viscounty of Limoges.

He then seized Armagnac, and married his son John to Catherine of Navarre, heiress of the counties of Foix and Bigorre and of the Kingdom of Navarre.

## The Mad War

At this time, Alain I hoped to consolidate his power by taking control of the Duchy of Brittany by marriage to Anne of Brittany, the daughter and heir of Duke Francis II. He entered into rebellion against the royal authority in support of the Duchy, during the so-called Mad War. His intrigues were unsuccessful, and he was defeated, having been unable to provide support to the Duke in 1487. The following year, he brought reinforcements by sea, but was defeated by Louis II de la Trémoille at the Battle of Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier. He continued, however, to claim the legacy of Francis II, occupying Nantes with his Gascon troops. He still hoped to marry Anne and inherit the Duchy but found it expedient to deliver Nantes to the royal army in exchange for an agreement that the French would support his claim to Anne's hand. Anne had no intention of marrying Alain, who she considered crude and brutal.<sup>[2]</sup> Instead she married the French king, putting an end of Alain's dynastic ambition in Brittany.



The pattern of royal lands, independent duchies and lordly domains in 1477, shortly before the *Guerre Folle*

## Family

Despite his failure in Brittany, Alain established other dynastic links through his daughter, Charlotte of Albret, who married Caesar Borgia in 1500. His great-granddaughter, who married Antoine de Bourbon, was the mother of King Henry IV of France.

His children included:


- Jean d'Albret - married (1484) Catherine, Queen of Navarre
- Gabriel, lord of Avesnes-sur-Helpe
- Charlotte of Albret, lady of Châlus - married (1500) César Borgia
- Amanieu d'Albret († 1520), became bishop of Pamiers, of Comminges and of Lescar, then cardinal
- Pierre, count of Périgord
- Louise, vicountess of Limoges († 1531), married (1495) Charles de Croy count of Chimay
- Isabelle, married Gaston II, captal de Buch
- Anne, married Charles de Croy
- Isabelle, married Jean de Foy
- Marie, friend (amie) of Jean de Foy

Alain d'Albret died in Castel Jaloux on 1 (?) October 1522.

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- This article was initially translated from the Wikipedia article Alain d'Albret, mostly from this version ([http://fr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Alain\\_d'Albret&oldid=27302062](http://fr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Alain_d'Albret&oldid=27302062)), but with the final paragraph from this version ([http://fr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Alain\\_d'Albret&oldid=25270116](http://fr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Alain_d'Albret&oldid=25270116)).*

# Alexander the Great

Alexander the Great	
Basileus of Macedon	
<div></div> <p>Alexander fighting the Persian king Darius III. From Alexander Mosaic, Naples National Archaeological Museum</p>	
Reign	336–323 BC
Full name	Alexander III of Macedon
Greek	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος<sup>iii[1]</sup> (Mégas Aléxandros, Great Alexander)</li><li>Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μέγας (Aléxandros ho Mégas, Alexander the Great)</li></ul>
Titles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>King of Macedon</li><li>Hegemon of the Hellenic League</li><li>Shahanshah of Persia</li><li>Pharaoh of Egypt</li><li>Lord of Asia</li></ul>
Born	20 or 21 July 356 BC
Birthplace	Pella, Macedon
Died	10 or 11 June 323 BC (aged 32)
Place of death	Babylon
Predecessor	Philip II of Macedon
Successor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Alexander IV of Macedon</li><li>Philip III of Macedon</li></ul>
Wives	Roxana of Bactria Stateira II of Persia Parysatis II of Persia
Offspring	Alexander IV of Macedon
Dynasty	Argead dynasty
Father	Philip II of Macedon
Mother	Olympias of Epirus
Religious beliefs	Greek polytheism

**Alexander III of Macedon** (20/21 July 356 – 10/11 June 323 BC), commonly known as **Alexander the Great** (Greek: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μέγας, *Aléxandros ho Mégas*<sup>iii[1]</sup> from the Greek ἀλέξω *alexo* "to defend, help" + ἀνὴρ *aner* "man"), was a king of Macedon, a state in northern ancient Greece. Born in Pella in 356 BC, Alexander was tutored by Aristotle until the age of 16. By the age of thirty, he had created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from the Ionian Sea to the Himalayas. He was undefeated in battle and is considered one of history's most

successful commanders.<sup>[1]</sup>

Alexander succeeded his father, Philip II of Macedon, to the throne in 336 BC after Philip was assassinated. Upon Philip's death, Alexander inherited a strong kingdom and an experienced army. He was awarded the generalship of Greece and used this authority to launch his father's military expansion plans. In 334 BC, he invaded Persian-ruled Asia Minor and began a series of campaigns that lasted ten years. Alexander broke the power of Persia in a series of decisive battles, most notably the battles of Issus and Gaugamela. He subsequently overthrew the Persian King Darius III and conquered the entirety of the Persian Empire.<sup>i[1]</sup> At that point, his empire stretched from the Adriatic Sea to the Indus River.

Seeking to reach the "ends of the world and the Great Outer Sea", he invaded India in 326 BC, but was eventually forced to turn back at the demand of his troops. Alexander died in Babylon in 323 BC, without executing a series of planned campaigns that would have begun with an invasion of Arabia. In the years following his death, a series of civil wars tore his empire apart, resulting in several states ruled by the Diadochi, Alexander's surviving generals and heirs.

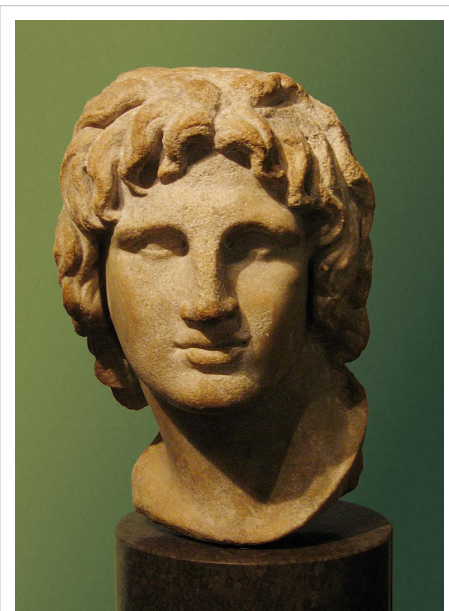
Alexander's legacy includes the cultural diffusion his conquests engendered. He founded some twenty cities that bore his name, most notably Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander's settlement of Greek colonists and the resulting spread of Greek culture in the east resulted in a new Hellenistic civilization, aspects of which were still evident in the traditions of the Byzantine Empire in the mid-15th century. Alexander became legendary as a classical hero in the mold of Achilles, and he features prominently in the history and myth of Greek and non-Greek cultures. He became the measure against which military leaders compared themselves, and military academies throughout the world still teach his tactics.<sup>[2]ii[1]</sup>

## Early life

### Lineage and childhood

Alexander was born on the 6th day of the ancient Greek month of Hekatombaion, which probably corresponds to 20 July 356 BC, although the exact date is not known,<sup>[3]</sup> in Pella, the capital of the Ancient Greek Kingdom of Macedon.<sup>[4]</sup> He was the son of the king of Macedon, Philip II, and his fourth wife, Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus I, king of Epirus.<sup>[5][6][7]</sup> Although Philip had seven or eight wives, Olympias was his principal wife for some time, likely a result of giving birth to Alexander.<sup>[8]</sup>

Several legends surround Alexander's birth and childhood.<sup>[9]</sup> According to the ancient Greek biographer Plutarch, Olympias, on the eve of the consummation of her marriage to Philip, dreamed that her womb was struck by a thunder bolt, causing a flame that spread "far and wide" before dying away. Some time after the wedding, Philip is said to have seen himself, in a dream, securing his wife's womb with a seal engraved with a lion's image.<sup>[10]</sup> Plutarch offered a variety of interpretations of these dreams: that Olympias was pregnant before her marriage, indicated by the sealing of her womb; or that Alexander's father was Zeus. Ancient commentators were divided about whether the ambitious Olympias promulgated the story of Alexander's divine parentage, variously claiming that she had told Alexander, or that she dismissed the suggestion as impious.<sup>[10]</sup>



Bust of a young Alexander the Great from the Hellenistic era, British Museum.



On the day that Alexander was born, Philip was preparing a siege on the city of Potidea on the peninsula of Chalcidice. That same day, Philip received news that his general Parmenion had defeated the combined Illyrian and Paeonian armies, and that his horses had won at the Olympic Games. It was also said that on this day, the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, burnt down. This led Hegesias of Magnesia to say that it had burnt down because Artemis was away, attending the birth of Alexander.<sup>[6][11]</sup> Such legends may have emerged when Alexander was king, and possibly at his own instigation, to show that he was superhuman and destined for greatness from conception.<sup>[9]</sup>

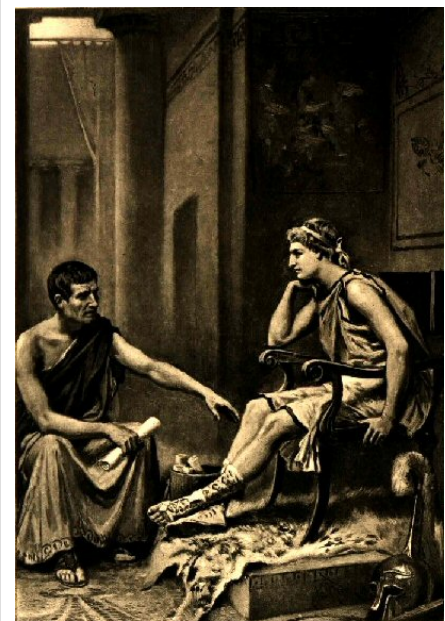
In his early years, Alexander was raised by a nurse, Lanike, sister of Alexander's future general Cleitus the Black. Later in his childhood, Alexander was tutored by the strict Leonidas, a relative of his mother, and by Philip's general Lysimachus.<sup>[12]</sup> Alexander was raised in the manner of noble Macedonian youths, learning to read, play the lyre, ride, fight, and hunt.<sup>[13]</sup>

When Alexander was ten years old, a trader from Thessaly brought Philip a horse, which he offered to sell for thirteen talents. The horse refused to be mounted and Philip ordered it away. Alexander however, detecting the horse's fear of its own shadow, asked to tame the horse, which he eventually managed.<sup>[9]</sup> Plutarch stated that Philip, overjoyed at this display of courage and ambition, kissed his son tearfully, declaring: "My boy, you must find a kingdom big enough for your ambitions. Macedon is too small for you", and bought the horse for him.<sup>[14]</sup> Alexander named it Bucephalus, meaning "ox-head". Bucephalus carried Alexander as far as India. When the animal died (due to old age, according to Plutarch, at age thirty), Alexander named a city after him, Bucephala.<sup>[7][15][16]</sup>

## Adolescence and education

When Alexander was 13, Philip began to search for a tutor, and considered such academics as Isocrates and Speusippus, the latter offering to resign to take up the post. In the end, Philip chose Aristotle and provided the Temple of the Nymphs at Mieza as a classroom. In return for teaching Alexander, Philip agreed to rebuild Aristotle's hometown of Stageira, which Philip had razed, and to repopulate it by buying and freeing the ex-citizens who were slaves, or pardoning those who were in exile.<sup>[17][18][19]</sup>

Mieza was like a boarding school for Alexander and the children of Macedonian nobles, such as Ptolemy, Hephaestion, and Cassander. Many of these students would become his friends and future generals, and are often known as the 'Companions'. Aristotle taught Alexander and his companions about medicine, philosophy, morals, religion, logic, and art. Under Aristotle's tutelage, Alexander developed a passion for the works of Homer, and in particular the *Iliad*; Aristotle gave him an annotated copy, which Alexander later carried on his campaigns.<sup>[17][20][21]</sup>



Aristotle tutoring Alexander, by Jean Leon  
Gerome Ferris

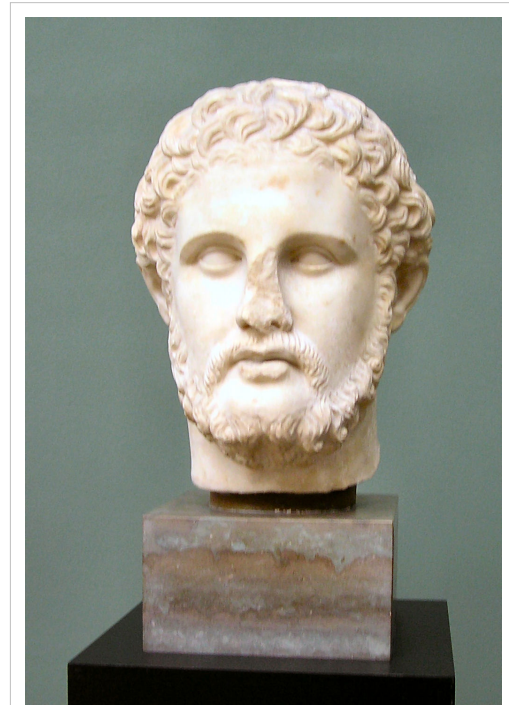
## Philip's heir

### Regency and ascent of Macedon

At age 16, Alexander's education under Aristotle ended. Philip waged war against Byzantium, leaving Alexander in charge as regent and heir apparent.<sup>[9]</sup> During Philip's absence, the Thracian Maedi revolted against Macedonia. Alexander responded quickly, driving them from their territory. He colonized it with Greeks, and founded a city named Alexandropolis.<sup>[22][23][24]</sup>

Upon Philip's return, he dispatched Alexander with a small force to subdue revolts in southern Thrace. Campaigning against the Greek city of Perinthus, Alexander is reported to have saved his father's life. Meanwhile, the city of Amphissa began to work lands that were sacred to Apollo near Delphi, a sacrilege that gave Philip the opportunity to further intervene in Greek affairs. Still occupied in Thrace, he ordered Alexander to muster an army for a campaign in Greece. Concerned that other Greek states might intervene, Alexander made it look as though he was preparing to attack Illyria instead. During this turmoil, the Illyrians invaded Macedonia, only to be repelled by Alexander.<sup>[25]</sup>

Philip and his army joined his son in 338 BC, and they marched south through Thermopylae, taking it after stubborn resistance from its Theban garrison. They went on to occupy the city of Elatea, only a few days' march from both Athens and Thebes. The Athenians, led by Demosthenes, voted to seek alliance with Thebes against Macedonia. Both Athens and Philip sent embassies to win Thebes' favor, but Athens won the contest.<sup>[26][27][28]</sup> Philip marched on Amphissa (ostensibly acting on the request of the Amphictyonic League), capturing the mercenaries sent there by Demosthenes and accepting the city's surrender. Philip then returned to Elatea, sending a final offer of peace to Athens and Thebes, who both rejected it.<sup>[29][30][31]</sup>



Philip II of Macedon, Alexander's father.

As Philip marched south, his opponents blocked him near Chaeronea, Boeotia. During the ensuing Battle of Chaeronea, Philip commanded the right wing and Alexander the left, accompanied by a group of Philip's trusted generals. According to the ancient sources, the two sides fought bitterly for some time. Philip deliberately commanded his troops to retreat, counting on the untested Athenian hoplites to follow, thus breaking their line. Alexander was the first to break the Theban lines, followed by Philip's generals. Having damaged the enemy's cohesion, Philip ordered his troops to press forward and quickly routed them. With the Athenians lost, the Thebans were surrounded. Left to fight alone, they were defeated.<sup>[32]</sup>

After the victory at Chaeronea, Philip and Alexander marched unopposed into the Peloponnese, welcomed by all cities; however, when they reached Sparta, they were refused, but did not resort to war.<sup>[33]</sup> At Corinth, Philip established a "Hellenic Alliance" (modeled on the old anti-Persian alliance of the Greco-Persian Wars), which included most Greek city-states except Sparta. Philip was then named *Hegemon* (often translated as "Supreme Commander") of this league (known by modern scholars as the League of Corinth), and announced his plans to attack the Persian Empire.<sup>[34][35]</sup>



Statue of Alexander in Istanbul Archaeology Museum.

## Exile and return

When Philip returned to Pella, he fell in love with and married Cleopatra Eurydice, the niece of his general Attalus.<sup>[36]</sup> The marriage made Alexander's position as heir less secure, since any son of Cleopatra Eurydice would be a fully Macedonian heir, while Alexander was only half-Macedonian.<sup>[37]</sup> During the wedding banquet, a drunken Attalus publicly prayed to the gods that the union would produce a legitimate heir.<sup>[36]</sup>

At the wedding of Cleopatra, whom Philip fell in love with and married, she being much too young for him, her uncle Attalus in his drink desired the Macedonians would implore the gods to give them a lawful successor to the kingdom by his niece. This so irritated Alexander, that throwing one of the cups at his head, "You villain," said he, "what, am I then a bastard?" Then Philip, taking Attalus's part, rose up and would have run his son through; but by good fortune for them both, either his over-hasty rage, or the wine he had drunk, made his foot slip, so that he fell down on the floor. At which Alexander reproachfully insulted over him: "See there," said he, "the man who makes preparations to pass out of Europe into Asia, overturned in passing from one seat to another."

—Plutarch, describing the feud at Philip's wedding.<sup>[38]</sup>

Alexander fled Macedon with his mother, dropping her off with her brother, King Alexander I of Epirus in Dodona, capital of the Molossians.<sup>[39]</sup> He continued to Illyria,<sup>[39]</sup> where he sought refuge with the Illyrian King and was treated as a guest, despite having defeated them in battle a few years before. However, it appears Philip never intended to disown his politically and militarily trained son.<sup>[39]</sup> Accordingly, Alexander returned to Macedon after six months due to the efforts of a family friend, Demaratus the Corinthian, who mediated between the two parties.<sup>[40][41]</sup>

In the following year, the Persian satrap (governor) of Caria, Pixodarus, offered his eldest daughter to Alexander's half-brother, Philip Arrhidaeus.<sup>[39]</sup> Olympias and several of Alexander's friends suggested this showed Philip intended to make Arrhidaeus his heir.<sup>[39]</sup> Alexander reacted by sending an actor, Thessalus of Corinth, to tell Pixodarus that he should not offer his daughter's hand to an illegitimate son, but instead to Alexander. When Philip

heard of this, he stopped the negotiations and scolded Alexander for wishing to marry the daughter of a Carian, explaining that he wanted a better bride for him.<sup>[39]</sup> Philip exiled four of Alexander's friends, Harpalus, Nearchus, Ptolemy and Erigyius, and had the Corinthians bring Thessalus to him in chains.<sup>[37][42][43]</sup>

## King of Macedon

### Accession

In 336 BC, while at Aegae attending the wedding of his daughter Cleopatra to Olympias's brother, Alexander I of Epirus, Philip was assassinated by the captain of his bodyguards, Pausanias.<sup>vi[7]</sup> As Pausanias tried to escape, he tripped over a vine and was killed by his pursuers, including two of Alexander's companions, Perdikkas and Leonnatus. Alexander was proclaimed king by the nobles and army at the age of 20.<sup>[44][45][46]</sup>

### Consolidation of power

Alexander began his reign by eliminating potential rivals to the throne. He had his cousin, the former Amyntas IV, executed.<sup>[47]</sup> He also had two Macedonian princes from the region of Lyncestis killed, but spared a third, Alexander Lyncestes. Olympias had Cleopatra Eurydice and Europa, her daughter by Philip, burned alive. When Alexander learned about this, he was furious. Alexander also ordered the murder of Attalus,<sup>[47]</sup> who was in command of the advance guard of the army in Asia Minor and Cleopatra's uncle.<sup>[48]</sup>

Attalus was at that time corresponding with Demosthenes, regarding the possibility of defecting to Athens. Attalus also had severely insulted Alexander, and following Cleopatra's murder, Alexander may have considered him too dangerous to leave alive.<sup>[49]</sup> Alexander spared Arrhidaeus, who was by all accounts mentally disabled, possibly as a result of poisoning by Olympias.<sup>[44][50][51]</sup>

News of Philip's death roused many states into revolt, including Thebes, Athens, Thessaly, and the Thracian tribes north of Macedon. When news of the revolts reached Alexander, he responded quickly. Though advised to use diplomacy, Alexander mustered the Macedonian cavalry of 3,000 and rode south towards Thessaly. He found the Thessalian army occupying the pass between Mount Olympus and Mount Ossa, and ordered his men to ride over Mount Ossa. When the Thessalians awoke the next day, they found Alexander in their rear and promptly surrendered, adding their cavalry to Alexander's force. He then continued south towards the Peloponnese.<sup>[52][53][54][55]</sup>

Alexander stopped at Thermopylae, where he was recognized as the leader of the Amphictyonic League before heading south to Corinth. Athens sued for peace and Alexander pardoned the rebels. The famous encounter between Alexander and Diogenes the Cynic occurred during Alexander's stay in Corinth. When Alexander asked Diogenes what he could do for him, the philosopher disdainfully asked Alexander to stand a little to the side, as he was blocking the sunlight.<sup>[56]</sup> This reply apparently delighted Alexander, who is reported to have said "But verily, if I were not Alexander, I would like to be Diogenes."<sup>[57]</sup> At Corinth Alexander took the title of *Hegemon* ("leader"), and



The Kingdom of Macedon in 336 BC.



like Philip, was appointed commander for the coming war against Persia. He also received news of a Thracian uprising.<sup>[53][58]</sup>

## Balkan campaign

Before crossing to Asia, Alexander wanted to safeguard his northern borders. In the spring of 335 BC, he advanced to suppress several revolts. Starting from Amphipolis, he traveled east into the country of the "Independent Thracians"; and at Mount Haemus, the Macedonian army attacked and defeated the Thracian forces manning the heights.<sup>[59]</sup> The Macedonians marched into the country of the Triballi, and defeated their army near the Lyginus river<sup>[60]</sup> (a tributary of the Danube). Alexander then marched for three days to the Danube, encountering the Getae tribe on the opposite shore. Crossing the river at night, he surprised them and forced their army to retreat after the first cavalry skirmish.<sup>[61][62]</sup>

News then reached Alexander that Cleitus, King of Illyria, and King Glaukias of the Taulanti were in open revolt against his authority. Marching west into Illyria, Alexander defeated each in turn, forcing the two rulers to flee with their troops. With these victories, he secured his northern frontier.<sup>[63][64]</sup>

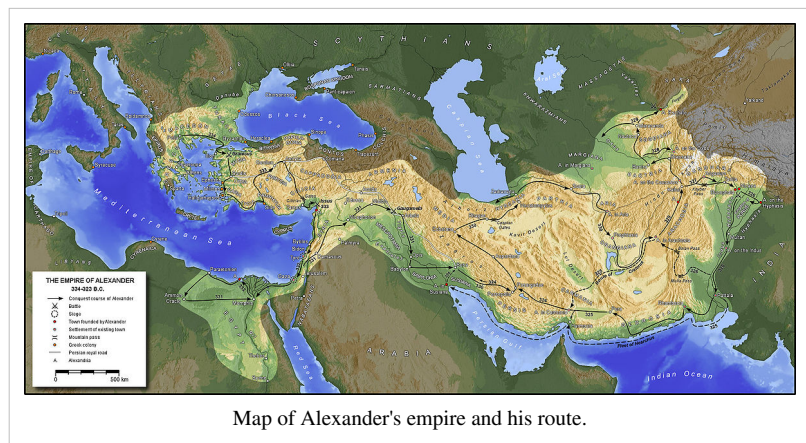
While Alexander campaigned north, the Thebans and Athenians rebelled once again. Alexander immediately headed south.<sup>[65]</sup> While the other cities again hesitated, Thebes decided to fight. The Theban resistance was ineffective, and Alexander razed the city and divided its territory between the other Boeotian cities. The end of Thebes cowed Athens, leaving all of Greece temporarily at peace.<sup>[65]</sup> Alexander then set out on his Asian campaign, leaving Antipater as regent.<sup>[66]</sup>

## Conquest of the Persian Empire

### Asia Minor

Further information: Battle of the Granicus, Siege of Halicarnassus, and Siege of Miletus

Alexander's army crossed the Hellespont in 334 BC with approximately 48,100 soldiers, 6,100 cavalry and a fleet of 120 ships with crews numbering 38,000,<sup>[65]</sup> drawn from Macedon and various Greek city-states, mercenaries, and feudally-raised soldiers from Thrace, Paionia, and Illyria.<sup>[67]</sup> He showed his intent to conquer the entirety of the Persian Empire by throwing a spear into Asian soil and saying he accepted Asia as a gift from the gods.<sup>[65]</sup> This also showed Alexander's eagerness to fight, in contrast to his father's preference for diplomacy.<sup>[65]</sup>



Map of Alexander's empire and his route.

After an initial victory against Persian forces at the Battle of the Granicus, Alexander accepted the surrender of the Persian provincial capital and treasury of Sardis and proceeded along the Ionian coast.<sup>[68]</sup> At Halicarnassus, in Caria, Alexander successfully waged the first of many sieges, eventually forcing his opponents, the mercenary captain Memnon of Rhodes and the Persian satrap of Caria, Orontobates, to withdraw by sea.<sup>[69]</sup> Alexander left the government of Caria to Ada, who adopted Alexander.<sup>[70]</sup>

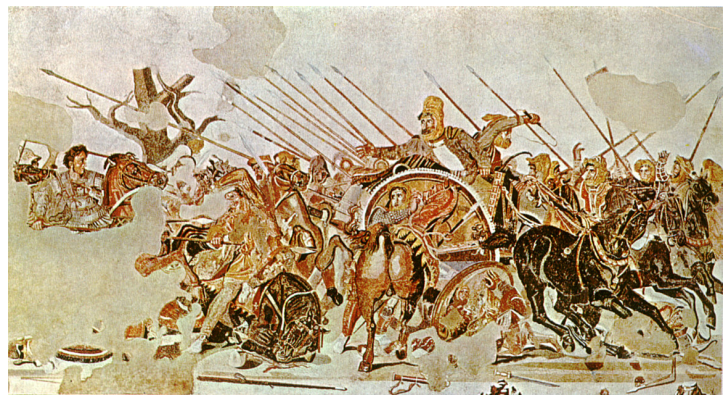
From Halicarnassus, Alexander proceeded into mountainous Lycia and the Pamphylian plain, asserting control over all coastal cities to deny the Persians naval bases. From Pamphylia onwards the coast held no major ports and

Alexander moved inland. At Termessos, Alexander humbled but did not storm the Pisidian city.<sup>[71]</sup> At the ancient Phrygian capital of Gordium, Alexander "undid" the hitherto unsolvable Gordian Knot, a feat said to await the future "king of Asia".<sup>[72]</sup> According to the story, Alexander proclaimed that it did not matter how the knot was undone and hacked it apart with his sword.<sup>[73]</sup>

## The Levant and Syria

Further information: Battle of Issus and Siege of Tyre

After spending the winter campaigning in Asia Minor, Alexander's army crossed the Cilician Gates in 333 BC, and defeated the main Persian army under the command of Darius III at the Battle of Issus in November.<sup>[74]</sup> Darius fled the battle, causing his army to collapse, and left behind his wife, his two daughters, his mother Sisygambis, and a fabulous treasure.<sup>[75]</sup> He offered a peace treaty that included the lands he had already lost, and a ransom of 10,000 talents for his family. Alexander replied that since he was now king of Asia, it was he alone who decided territorial divisions.<sup>[76]</sup>



Detail of Alexander Mosaic, showing Battle of Issus, from the House of the Faun, Pompeii.

Alexander proceeded to take possession of Syria, and most of the coast of the Levant.<sup>[70]</sup> In the following year, 332 BC, he was forced to attack Tyre, which he captured after a long and difficult siege.<sup>[77][78]</sup> Alexander massacred the men of military age and sold the women and children into slavery.<sup>[79]</sup>

## Egypt

Further information: Siege of Gaza

When Alexander destroyed Tyre, most of the towns on the route to Egypt quickly capitulated, with the exception of Gaza. The stronghold at Gaza was heavily fortified and built on a hill, requiring a siege.<sup>[80]</sup> After three unsuccessful assaults, the stronghold fell, but not before Alexander had received a serious shoulder wound. As in Tyre, men of military age were put to the sword and the women and children sold into slavery.<sup>[81]</sup>

Jerusalem instead opened its gates in surrender, and according to Josephus, Alexander was shown the book of Daniel's prophecy, presumably chapter 8, which described a mighty Greek king who would conquer the Persian Empire. He spared Jerusalem and pushed south into Egypt.<sup>[82]</sup>

Alexander advanced on Egypt in later 332 BC, where he was regarded as a liberator.<sup>[83]</sup> He was pronounced the new "master of the Universe" and son of the deity of Amun at the Oracle of Siwa Oasis in the Libyan desert.<sup>[84]</sup>

Henceforth, Alexander often referred to Zeus-Ammon as his true father, and subsequent currency depicted him adorned with rams horn as a symbol of his divinity.<sup>[85]</sup> During his stay in Egypt, he founded Alexandria-by-Egypt,



Name of Alexander the Great in Egyptian hieroglyphs (written from right to left), circa 330 BC, Egypt. Louvre Museum.



which would become the prosperous capital of the Ptolemaic Kingdom after his death.<sup>[86]</sup>

## Assyria and Babylon

Further information: Battle of Gaugamela

Leaving Egypt in 331 BC, Alexander marched eastward into Mesopotamia (now northern Iraq) and again defeated Darius, at the Battle of Gaugamela.<sup>[87]</sup> Darius once more fled the field, and Alexander chased him as far as Arbela. Gaugamela would be the final and decisive encounter between the two. Darius fled over the mountains to Ecbatana (modern Hamedan), while Alexander captured Babylon.<sup>[88]</sup>

## Persia

Further information: Battle of the Persian Gate

From Babylon, Alexander went to Susa, one of the Achaemenid capitals, and captured its legendary treasury.<sup>[88]</sup> He sent the bulk of his army to the Persian ceremonial capital of Persepolis via the Royal Road. Alexander himself took selected troops on the direct route to the city. He had to storm the pass of the Persian Gates (in the modern Zagros Mountains) which had been blocked by a Persian army under Ariobarzanes and then hurried to Persepolis before its garrison could loot the treasury.<sup>[89]</sup>

On entering Persepolis, Alexander allowed his troops to loot the city for several days.<sup>[90]</sup> Alexander stayed in Persepolis for five months.<sup>[91]</sup> During his stay a fire broke out in the eastern palace of Xerxes and spread to the rest of the city. Possible causes include a drunken accident or deliberate revenge for the burning of the Acropolis of Athens during the Second Persian War.<sup>[92]</sup>

## Fall of the Empire and the East

Alexander then chased Darius, first into Media, and then Parthia.<sup>[93]</sup> The Persian king no longer controlled his own destiny, and was taken prisoner by Bessus, his Bactrian satrap and kinsman.<sup>[94]</sup> As Alexander approached, Bessus had his men fatally stab the Great King and then declared himself Darius' successor as Artaxerxes V, before retreating into Central Asia to launch a guerrilla campaign against Alexander.<sup>[95]</sup> Alexander buried Darius' remains next to his Achaemenid predecessors in a regal funeral.<sup>[96]</sup> He claimed that, while dying, Darius had named him as his successor to the Achaemenid throne.<sup>[97]</sup> The Achaemenid Empire is normally considered to have fallen with Darius.<sup>[98]</sup>

Alexander viewed Bessus as a usurper and set out to defeat him. This campaign, initially against Bessus, turned into a grand tour of central Asia. Alexander founded a series of new cities, all called Alexandria, including modern Kandahar in Afghanistan, and Alexandria Eschate ("The Furthest") in modern Tajikistan. The campaign took Alexander through Media, Parthia, Aria (West Afghanistan), Drangiana, Arachosia (South and Central Afghanistan), Bactria (North and Central Afghanistan), and Scythia.<sup>[99]</sup>



Silver coin of Alexander wearing the lion scalp of Herakles, British Museum.

Spitamenes, who held an undefined position in the satrapy of Sogdiana, in 329 BC betrayed Bessus to Ptolemy, one of Alexander's trusted companions, and Bessus was executed.<sup>[100]</sup> However, when, at some point later, Alexander was on the Jaxartes dealing with an incursion by a horse nomad army, Spitamenes raised Sogdiana in revolt. Alexander personally defeated the Scythians at the Battle of Jaxartes and immediately launched a campaign against Spitamenes, defeating him in the Battle of Gabai. After the defeat, Spitamenes was killed by his own men, who then sued for peace.<sup>[101]</sup>

## Problems and plots

During this time, Alexander took the Persian title "King of Kings" (*Shahanshah*) and adopted some elements of Persian dress and customs at his court, notably the custom of *proskynesis*, either a symbolic kissing of the hand, or prostration on the ground, that Persians showed to their social superiors.<sup>[102]</sup> The Greeks regarded the gesture as the province of deities and believed that Alexander meant to deify himself by requiring it. This cost him the sympathies of many of his countrymen, and he eventually abandoned it.<sup>[103]</sup>

A plot against his life was revealed, and one of his officers, Philotas, was executed for failing to alert Alexander. The death of the son necessitated the death of the father, and thus Parmenion, who had been charged with guarding the treasury at Ecbatana, was assassinated at Alexander's command, to prevent attempts at vengeance. Most infamously, Alexander personally killed the man who had saved his life at Granicus, Cleitus the Black, during a drunken argument at Maracanda.<sup>[104]</sup>

Later, in the Central Asian campaign, a second plot against his life was revealed, this one instigated by his own royal pages. His official historian, Callisthenes of Olynthus, was implicated in the plot; however, historians have yet to reach consensus regarding this involvement. Callisthenes had fallen out of favor by leading the opposition to the attempt to introduce *proskynesis*.<sup>[105]</sup>

## Macedon in Alexander's absence

When Alexander set out for Asia, he left his general Antipater, an experienced military and political leader and part of Philip II's "Old Guard", in charge of Macedon.<sup>[66]</sup> Alexander's sacking of Thebes ensured that Greece remained quiet during his absence.<sup>[66]</sup> The one exception was a call to arms by Spartan king Agis III in 331 BC, whom Antipater defeated and killed in battle at Megalopolis the following year.<sup>[66]</sup> Antipater referred the Spartans' punishment to Alexander, who chose to pardon them.<sup>[106]</sup> There was also considerable friction between Antipater and Olympias, and each complained to Alexander about the other.<sup>[107]</sup>

In general, Greece enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity during Alexander's campaign in Asia.<sup>[108]</sup> Alexander sent back vast sums from his conquest, which stimulated the economy and increased trade across his empire.<sup>[109]</sup> However, Alexander's constant demands for troops and the migration of Macedonians throughout his empire depleted Macedon's manpower, greatly weakening it in the years after Alexander, and ultimately led to its subjugation by Rome.<sup>[13]</sup>

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## Indian campaign

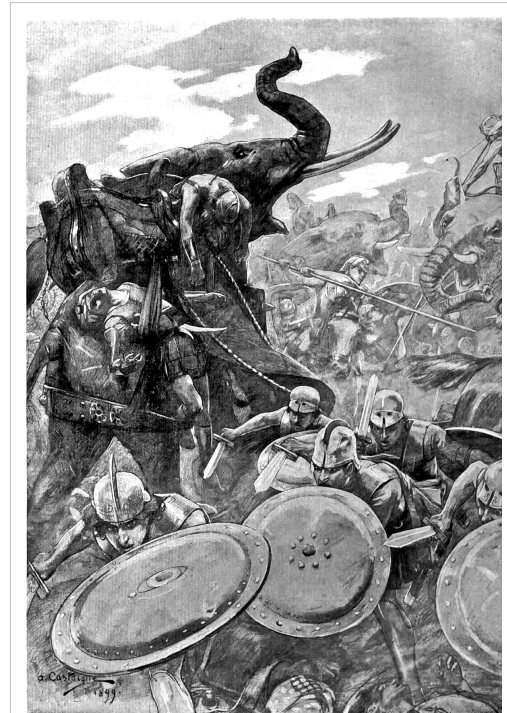
### Invasion of the Indian subcontinent

After the death of Spitamenes and his marriage to Roxana (Roshanak in Bactrian) to cement relations with his new satrapies, Alexander turned to the Indian subcontinent. He invited the chieftains of the former satrapy of Gandhara, in the north of what is now Pakistan, to come to him and submit to his authority. Omphis, ruler of Taxila, whose kingdom extended from the Indus to the Hydaspes, complied, but the chieftains of some hill clans, including the Aspasioi and Assakenoi sections of the Kambojas (known in Indian texts also as Ashvayanas and Ashvakayanas), refused to submit.<sup>[110]</sup>

In the winter of 327/326 BC, Alexander personally led a campaign against these clans; the Aspasioi of Kunar valleys, the Guraeans of the Guraeus valley, and the Assakenoi of the Swat and Buner valleys.<sup>[111]</sup> A fierce contest ensued with the Aspasioi in which Alexander was wounded in the shoulder by a dart, but eventually the Aspasioi lost. Alexander then faced the Assakenoi, who fought in the strongholds of Massaga, Ora and Aornos.<sup>[110]</sup>

The fort of Massaga was reduced only after days of bloody fighting, in which Alexander was wounded seriously in the ankle. According to Curtius, "Not only did Alexander slaughter the entire population of Massaga, but also did he reduce its buildings to rubble".<sup>[112]</sup> A similar slaughter followed at Ora. In the aftermath of Massaga and Ora, numerous Assakenians fled to the fortress of Aornos. Alexander followed close behind and captured the strategic hill-fort after four bloody days.<sup>[110]</sup>

After Aornos, Alexander crossed the Indus and fought and won an epic battle against King Porus, who ruled a region in the Punjab, in the Battle of the Hydaspes in 326 BC.<sup>[113]</sup> Alexander was impressed by Porus's bravery, and made him an ally. He appointed Porus as satrap, and added to Porus' territory land that he did not previously own. Choosing a local helped him control these lands so distant from Greece.<sup>[114]</sup> Alexander founded two cities on opposite sides of the Hydaspes river, naming one Bucephala, in honor of his horse, who died around this time.<sup>[115]</sup> The other was Nicaea (Victory) located at the site of modern day Mong, Punjab.<sup>[116]</sup>



The phalanx attacking the centre in the battle of the Hydaspes by Andre Castaigne (1898–1899)

## Revolt of the army

East of Porus' kingdom, near the Ganges River, were the Nanda Empire of Magadha and further east the Gangaridai Empire of Bengal. Fearing the prospect of facing other large armies and exhausted by years of campaigning, Alexander's army mutinied at the Hyphasis River, refusing to march further east. This river thus marks the easternmost extent of Alexander's conquests.<sup>[117]</sup>

As for the Macedonians, however, their struggle with Porus blunted their courage and stayed their further advance into India. For having had all they could do to repulse an enemy who mustered only twenty thousand infantry and two thousand horse, they violently opposed Alexander when he insisted on crossing the river Ganges also, the width of which, as they learned, was thirty-two furlongs, its depth a hundred fathoms, while its banks on the further side were covered with multitudes of men-at-arms and horsemen and elephants. For they were

told that the kings of the Ganderites and Praesii were awaiting them with eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand war elephants.<sup>[118]</sup>

Alexander tried to persuade his soldiers to march further but his general Coenus pleaded with him to change his opinion and return; the men, he said, "longed to again see their parents, their wives and children, their homeland". Alexander eventually agreed and turned south, marching along the Indus. Along the way his army conquered the Malli clans (in modern day Multan), and other Indian tribes.<sup>[119]</sup>

Alexander sent much of his army to Carmania (modern southern Iran) with general Craterus, and commissioned a fleet to explore the Persian Gulf shore under his admiral Nearchus, while he led the rest back to Persia through the more difficult southern route along the Gedrosian Desert and Makran (now part of southern Iran and Pakistan).<sup>[120]</sup> Alexander reached Susa in 324 BC, but not before losing many men to the harsh desert.<sup>[121]</sup>



Alexander's invasion of the Indian subcontinent.



## Last years in Persia

Discovering that many of his satraps and military governors had misbehaved in his absence, Alexander executed several of them as examples on his way to Susa.<sup>[122][123]</sup> As a gesture of thanks, he paid off the debts of his soldiers, and announced that he would send over-aged and disabled veterans back to Macedon, led by Craterus. His troops misunderstood his intention and mutinied at the town of Opis. They refused to be sent away and criticized his adoption of Persian customs and dress and the introduction of Persian officers and soldiers into Macedonian units.<sup>[124]</sup>



Alexander, left, and Hephaestion, right

After three days, unable to persuade his men to back down, Alexander gave Persians command posts in the army and conferred Macedonian military titles upon Persian units. The Macedonians quickly begged forgiveness, which Alexander accepted, and held a great banquet for several thousand of his men at which he and they ate together.<sup>[125]</sup> In an attempt to craft a lasting harmony between his Macedonian and Persian subjects, Alexander held a mass marriage of his senior officers to Persian and other noblewomen at Susa, but few of those marriages seem to have lasted much beyond a year.<sup>[123]</sup> Meanwhile, upon his return, Alexander learned that guards of the tomb of Cyrus the Great had desecrated it, and swiftly executed them.<sup>[126]</sup>

After Alexander traveled to Ecbatana to retrieve the bulk of the Persian treasure, his closest friend and possible lover, Hephaestion, died of illness or poisoning.<sup>[127][128]</sup> Hephaestion's death devastated Alexander, and he ordered the preparation of an expensive funeral pyre in Babylon, as well as a decree for public mourning.<sup>[127]</sup> Back in Babylon, Alexander planned a series of new campaigns, beginning with an invasion of Arabia, but he would not have a chance to realize them, as he died shortly thereafter.<sup>[129]</sup>

## Death and succession

On either 10 or 11 June 323 BC, Alexander died in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II, in Babylon, at age 32.<sup>[130]</sup> Details of the death differ slightly – Plutarch's account is that roughly 14 days before his death, Alexander entertained admiral Nearchus, and spent the night and next day drinking with Medius of Larissa.<sup>[40]</sup>

He developed a fever, which worsened until he was unable to speak. The common soldiers, anxious about his health, were granted the right to file past him as he silently waved at them.<sup>[131]</sup> Diodorus recounts that Alexander was struck with pain after downing a large bowl of unmixed wine in honour of Hercules, and died after some agony.<sup>[132]</sup> Arrian also mentioned this as an alternative, but Plutarch specifically denied this claim.<sup>[40]</sup>

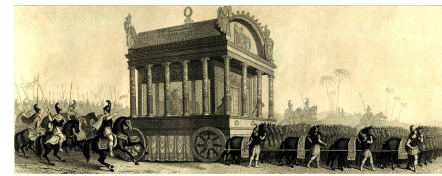


A Babylonian astronomical diary (c. 323–322 BC) recording the death of Alexander (British Museum, London)

Given the propensity of the Macedonian aristocracy to assassination,<sup>[133]</sup> foul play featured in multiple accounts of his death. Diodorus, Plutarch, Arrian and Justin all mentioned the theory that Alexander was poisoned. Plutarch dismissed it as a fabrication,<sup>[134]</sup> while both Diodorus and Arrian noted that they mentioned it only for the sake of completeness.<sup>[132][135]</sup>



The accounts were nevertheless fairly consistent in designating Antipater, recently removed as Macedonian viceroy, and at odds with Olympias, as the head of the alleged plot. Perhaps taking his summons to Babylon as a death sentence,<sup>[136]</sup> and having seen the fate of Parmenion and Philotas,<sup>[137]</sup> Antipater purportedly arranged for Alexander to be poisoned by his son Iollas, who was Alexander's wine-pourer.<sup>[135][137]</sup> There was even a suggestion that Aristotle may have participated.<sup>[135]</sup>



Nineteenth century depiction of Alexander's funeral procession based on the description of Diodorus

The strongest argument against the poison theory is the fact that twelve days passed between the start of his illness and his death; such long-acting poisons were probably not available.<sup>[138]</sup> In 2010, however, a new theory proposed that the circumstances of his death were compatible with poisoning by water of the river Styx (Mavroneri) that contained calicheamicin, a dangerous compound produced by bacteria.<sup>[139]</sup>

Several natural causes (diseases) have been suggested, including malaria and typhoid fever. A 1998 article in the *New England Journal of Medicine* attributed his death to typhoid fever complicated by bowel perforation and ascending paralysis.<sup>[140]</sup> Another recent analysis suggested pyrogenic spondylitis or meningitis.<sup>[141]</sup> Other illnesses fit the symptoms, including acute pancreatitis and West Nile virus.<sup>[142][143]</sup>

Natural-cause theories also tend to emphasise that Alexander's health may have been in general decline after years of heavy drinking and severe wounds. The anguish that Alexander felt after Hephaestion's death may also have contributed to his declining health.<sup>[140]</sup> The most likely possible cause is an overdose of medication containing hellebore, which is deadly in large doses.<sup>[144][145]</sup>

## After death

Alexander's body was laid in a gold anthropoid sarcophagus, which was in turn placed in a gold casket.<sup>[146]</sup> According to Aelian, a seer called Aristander foretold that the land where Alexander was laid to rest "would be happy and unvanquishable forever".<sup>[147]</sup> Perhaps more likely, the successors may have seen possession of the body as a symbol of legitimacy, since burying the prior king was a royal prerogative.<sup>[148]</sup>

While Alexander's funeral cortege was on its way to Macedon, Ptolemy stole it and took it to Memphis.<sup>[146][147]</sup> His successor, Ptolemy II

Philadelphus, transferred the sarcophagus to Alexandria, where it remained until at least late Antiquity. Ptolemy IX Lathyros, one of Ptolemy's final successors, replaced Alexander's sarcophagus with a glass one so he could convert the original to coinage.<sup>[149]</sup>

Pompey, Julius Caesar and Augustus all visited the tomb in Alexandria. The latter allegedly accidentally knocked the nose off the body. Caligula was said to have taken Alexander's breastplate from the tomb for his own use. In c. AD 200, Emperor Septimius Severus closed Alexander's tomb to the public. His son and successor, Caracalla, a great admirer, visited the tomb during his own reign. After this, details on the fate of the tomb are hazy.<sup>[149]</sup>

The so-called "Alexander Sarcophagus", discovered near Sidon and now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, is so named not because it was thought to have contained Alexander's remains, but because its bas-reliefs depict Alexander and his companions fighting the Persians and hunting. It was originally thought to have been the



Detail of Alexander on the Alexander Sarcophagus.

sarcophagus of Abdalonymus (died 311 BC), the king of Sidon appointed by Alexander immediately following the battle of Issus in 331.<sup>[150][151]</sup> However, more recently, it has been suggested that it may date from earlier than Abdalonymus' death.

## Division of the empire

Further information: Diadochi

Alexander's death was so sudden that when reports of his death reached Greece, they were not immediately believed.<sup>[66]</sup> Alexander had no obvious or legitimate heir, his son Alexander IV by Roxane being born after Alexander's death.<sup>[152]</sup> According to Diodorus, Alexander's companions asked him on his deathbed to whom he bequeathed his kingdom; his laconic reply was "τῶι κρατίστῳ"—"to the strongest".<sup>[132]</sup>



Arrian and Plutarch claimed that Alexander was speechless by this point, implying that this was an apocryphal story.<sup>[153]</sup> Diodorus, Curtius and Justin offered the more plausible story that Alexander passed his signet ring to Perdiccas, a bodyguard and leader of the companion cavalry, in front of witnesses, thereby nominating him.<sup>[132][152]</sup>

Perdiccas initially did not claim power, instead suggesting that Roxane's baby would be king, if male; with himself, Craterus, Leonnatus, and Antipater as guardians. However, the infantry, under the command of Meleager, rejected this arrangement since they had been excluded from the discussion. Instead, they supported Alexander's half-brother Philip Arrhidaeus. Eventually, the two sides reconciled, and after the birth of Alexander IV, he and Philip III were appointed joint kings, albeit in name only.<sup>[154]</sup>

Dissension and rivalry soon afflicted the Macedonians, however. The satrapies handed out by Perdiccas at the Partition of Babylon became power bases each general used to bid for power. After the assassination of Perdiccas in 321 BC, Macedonian unity collapsed, and 40 years of war between "The Successors" (*Diadochi*) ensued before the Hellenistic world settled into four stable power blocks: the Ptolemaic Kingdom of Egypt, the Seleucid Empire in the east, the Kingdom of Pergamon in Asia Minor, and Macedon. In the process, both Alexander IV and Philip III were murdered.<sup>[155]</sup>

## Testament

Diodorus stated that Alexander had given detailed written instructions to Craterus some time before his death.<sup>[156]</sup> Craterus started to carry out Alexander's commands, but the successors chose not to further implement them, on the grounds they were impractical and extravagant.<sup>[156]</sup> Nevertheless, Perdiccas read Alexander's will to his troops.<sup>[66]</sup>

The testament called for military expansion into the southern and western Mediterranean, monumental constructions, and the intermixing of Eastern and Western populations. It included:

- Construction of a monumental tomb for his father Philip, "to match the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt"<sup>[66]</sup>
- Erection of great temples in Delos, Delphi, Dodona, Dium, Amphipolis, and a monumental temple to Athena at Troy<sup>[66]</sup>
- Conquest of Arabia and the entire Mediterranean Basin<sup>[66]</sup>
- Circumnavigation of Africa<sup>[66]</sup>

- Development of cities and the "transplant of populations from Asia to Europe and in the opposite direction from Europe to Asia, in order to bring the largest continent to common unity and to friendship by means of intermarriage and family ties."<sup>[157]</sup>

## Character

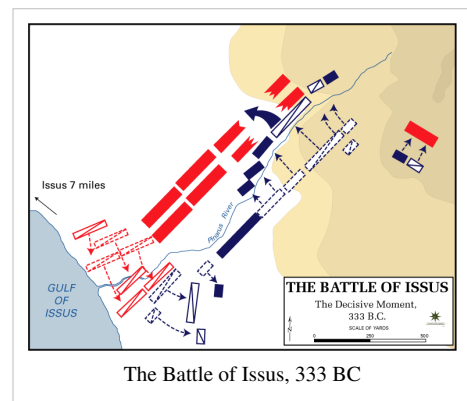
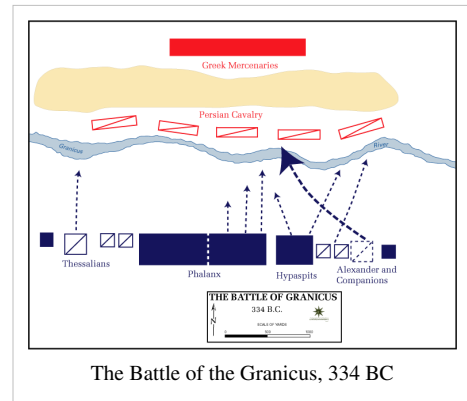
### Generalship

Alexander earned the epithet "the Great" due to his unparalleled success as a military commander.<sup>[65]</sup> He never lost a battle, despite typically being outnumbered.<sup>[65]</sup> This was due to use of terrain, phalanx and cavalry tactics, bold strategy, and the fierce loyalty of his troops.<sup>[158][159]</sup> The Macedonian phalanx, armed with the sarissa, a spear 6 metres (**unknown operator: u'strong'** ft) long, had been developed and perfected by Philip II through rigorous training,<sup>[159]</sup> and Alexander used its speed and maneuverability to great effect against larger but more disparate Persian forces.<sup>[159]</sup> Alexander also recognized the potential for disunity among his diverse army, which employed various languages and weapons. He overcame this by being personally involved in battle,<sup>[91]</sup> in the manner of a Macedonian king.<sup>[158][159]</sup>

In his first battle in Asia, at Granicus, Alexander used only a small part of his forces, perhaps 13,000 infantry with 5,000 cavalry, against a much larger Persian force of 40,000. Alexander placed the phalanx at the center and cavalry and archers on the wings, so that his line matched the length of the Persian cavalry line, about 3 km (**unknown operator: u'strong'** mi). By contrast, the Persian infantry was stationed behind its cavalry. This ensured that Alexander would not be outflanked, while his phalanx, armed with long pikes, had a considerable advantage over the Persian's scimitars and javelins. Macedonian losses were negligible compared to those of the Persians.<sup>[160]</sup>

At Issus in 333 BC, his first confrontation with Darius, he used the same deployment, and again the central phalanx pushed through.<sup>[160]</sup> Alexander personally led the charge in the center, routing the opposing army.<sup>[158]</sup> At the decisive encounter with Darius at Gaugamela, Darius equipped his chariots with scythes on the wheels to break up the phalanx and equipped his cavalry with pikes. Alexander arranged a double phalanx, with the center advancing at an angle, parting when the chariots bore down and then reforming. The advance was successful and broke Darius' center, causing the latter to flee once again.<sup>[160]</sup>

When faced with opponents who used unfamiliar fighting techniques, such as in Central Asia and India, Alexander adapted his forces to his opponents' style. Thus, in Bactria and Sogdiana, Alexander successfully used his javelin throwers and archers to prevent outflanking movements, while massing his cavalry at the center.<sup>[158]</sup> In India, confronted by Porus' elephant corps, the Macedonians opened their ranks to envelop the elephants and used their sarissas to strike upwards and dislodge the elephants' handlers.<sup>[125]</sup>



## Physical appearance

Greek biographer Plutarch (ca. 45–120 AD) describes Alexander's appearance as:

<sup>1</sup> The outward appearance of Alexander is best represented by the statues of him which Lysippos made, and it was by this artist alone that Alexander himself thought it fit that he should be modelled. <sup>2</sup> For those peculiarities which many of his successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of the neck, which was bent slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, this artist has accurately observed. <sup>3</sup> Apelles, however, in painting him as wielder of the thunder-bolt, did not reproduce his complexion, but made it too dark and swarthy. Whereas he was of a fair colour, as they say, and his fairness passed into ruddiness on his breast particularly, and in his face. <sup>4</sup> Moreover, that a very pleasant odour exhaled from his skin and that there was a fragrance about his mouth and all his flesh, so that his garments were filled with it, this we have read in the *Memoirs of Aristoxenus*.<sup>[161]</sup>



Roman copy of a statue by Lysippos, Louvre Museum. Plutarch felt sculptures by Lysippos were the most faithful.

Greek historian Arrian (Lucius Flavius Arrianus 'Xenophon' ca. 86 – 160) described Alexander as:

[T]he strong, handsome commander with one eye dark as the night and one blue as the sky.<sup>[162][163]</sup>

The semi-legendary *Alexander Romance* suggests that Alexander suffered from heterochromia iridum: that one was dark and the other light.<sup>[164]</sup>

British historian Peter Green provided a description of Alexander's appearance, based on his review of statues and some ancient documents:

Physically, Alexander was not prepossessing. Even by Macedonian standards he was very short, though stocky and tough. His beard was scanty, and he stood out against his hirsute Macedonian barons by going clean-shaven. His neck was in some way twisted, so that he appeared to be gazing upward at an angle. His eyes (one blue, one brown) revealed a dewy, feminine quality. He had a high complexion and a harsh voice.<sup>[165]</sup>

Ancient authors recorded that Alexander was so pleased with portraits of himself created by Lysippos that he forbade other sculptors from crafting his image.<sup>[166]</sup> Lysippos had often used the Contrapposto sculptural scheme to portray Alexander and other characters such as Apoxyomenos, Hermes and Eros.<sup>[167]</sup> Lysippos' sculpture, famous for its naturalism, as opposed to a stiffer, more static pose, is thought to be the most faithful depiction.<sup>[168]</sup>

## Personality



Alexander (left) fighting an Asiatic lion with his friend Craterus (detail). 3rd century BC mosaic, Pella Museum.

Some of Alexander's strongest personality traits formed in response to his parents.<sup>[165]</sup> His mother had huge ambitions, and encouraged him to believe it was his destiny to conquer the Persian Empire.<sup>[165]</sup> Olympias' influence instilled a sense of destiny in him,<sup>[169]</sup> and Plutarch tells us that his ambition "kept his spirit serious and lofty in advance of his years".<sup>[170]</sup> However, his father Philip was Alexander's most immediate and influential role model, as the young Alexander watched him campaign practically every year, winning victory after victory while ignoring severe wounds.<sup>[47]</sup> Alexander's relationship with

his father forged the competitive side of his personality; he had a need to out-do his father, illustrated by his reckless behavior in battle.<sup>[165]</sup> While Alexander worried that his father would leave him "no great or brilliant achievement to be displayed to the world",<sup>[171]</sup> he also downplayed his father's achievements to his companions.<sup>[165]</sup>

According to Plutarch, among Alexander's traits were a violent temper and rash, impulsive nature,<sup>[172]</sup> which undoubtedly contributed to some of his decisions.<sup>[165]</sup> Although Alexander was stubborn and did not respond well to orders from his father, he was open to reasoned debate.<sup>[173]</sup> He had a calmer side—perceptive, logical, and calculating. He had a great desire for knowledge, a love for philosophy, and was an avid reader.<sup>[174]</sup> This was no doubt in part due to Aristotle's tutelage; Alexander was intelligent and quick to learn.<sup>[165]</sup> His intelligent and rational side was amply demonstrated by his ability and success as a general.<sup>[172]</sup> He had great self-restraint in "pleasures of the body", in contrast with his lack of self control with alcohol.<sup>[175]</sup>

Alexander was erudite and patronized both arts and sciences.<sup>[174][170]</sup> However, he had little interest in sports or the Olympic games (unlike his father), seeking only the Homeric ideals of honor (*timê*) and glory (*kudos*).<sup>[47][169]</sup> He had great charisma and force of personality, characteristics which made him a great leader.<sup>[152][172]</sup> His unique abilities were further demonstrated by the inability of any of his generals to unite Macedonia and retain the Empire after his death – only Alexander had the ability to do so.<sup>[152]</sup>

During his final years, and especially after the death of Hephaestion, Alexander began to exhibit signs of megalomania and paranoia.<sup>[136]</sup> His extraordinary achievements, coupled with his own ineffable sense of destiny and the flattery of his companions, may have combined to produce this effect.<sup>[176]</sup> His delusions of grandeur are readily visible in his testament and in his desire to conquer the world.<sup>[136]</sup>

He appears to have believed himself a deity, or at least sought to deify himself.<sup>[136]</sup> Olympias always insisted to him that he was the son of Zeus,<sup>[177]</sup> a theory apparently confirmed to him by the oracle of Amun at Siwa.<sup>[178]</sup> He began to identify himself as the son of Zeus-Ammon.<sup>[178]</sup> Alexander adopted elements of Persian dress and customs at court, notably *proskynesis*, a practice that Macedonians disapproved, and were loath to perform.<sup>[102]</sup> This behavior cost him the sympathies of many of his countrymen.<sup>[179]</sup> However, Alexander also was a pragmatic ruler who understood the difficulties of ruling culturally disparate peoples, many of whom lived in kingdoms where the king was divine.<sup>[103][180]</sup> Thus, rather than megalomania, his behavior may simply have been a practical attempt at strengthening his rule and keeping his empire together.<sup>[91][180]</sup>



## Personal relationships

The central personal relationship of Alexander's life was with his friend, general, and bodyguard Hephaestion, the son of a Macedonian noble.<sup>[127][165][181]</sup> Hephaestion's death devastated Alexander.<sup>[127][182]</sup> This event may have contributed to Alexander's failing health and detached mental state during his final months.<sup>[136][140]</sup>

Alexander married twice: Roxana, daughter of the Bactrian nobleman Oxyartes, out of love;<sup>[183]</sup> and Stateira II, a Persian princess and daughter of Darius III of Persia, for political reasons.<sup>[184]</sup> He apparently had two sons, Alexander IV of Macedon of Roxana and, possibly, Heracles of Macedon from his mistress Barsine. He lost another child when Roxana miscarried at Babylon.<sup>[185][186]</sup>

Alexander's sexuality has been the subject of speculation and controversy.<sup>[187]</sup> No ancient sources stated that Alexander had homosexual relationships, or that Alexander's relationship with Hephaestion was sexual. Aelian, however, writes of Alexander's visit to Troy where "Alexander garlanded the tomb of Achilles and Hephaestion that of Patroclus, the latter riddling that he was a beloved of Alexander, in just the same way as Patroclus was of Achilles".<sup>[188]</sup>

Noting that the word *eromenos* (ancient Greek for beloved) does not necessarily bear sexual meaning, Alexander may have been bisexual, which in his time was not controversial.<sup>[189]</sup>

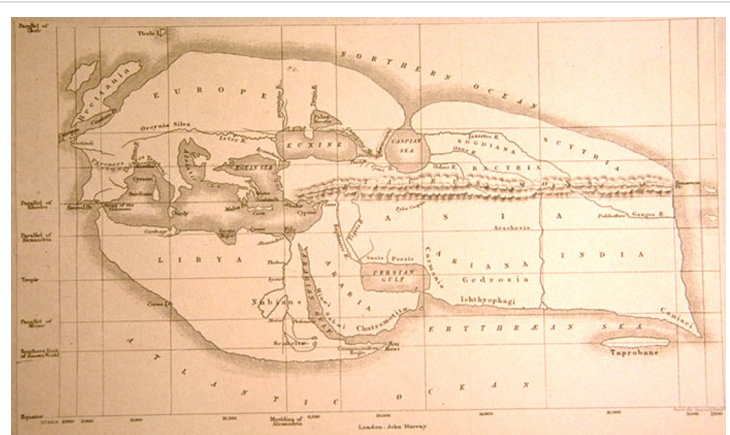
Green argues that there is little evidence in ancient sources that Alexander had much interest in women; he did not produce an heir until the very end of his life.<sup>[165]</sup> However, he was relatively young when he died, and Ogden suggests that Alexander's matrimonial record is more impressive than his father's at the same age.<sup>[190]</sup> Apart from wives, Alexander had many more female companions. Alexander accumulated a harem in the style of Persian kings, but he used it rather sparingly,<sup>[191]</sup> showing great self-control in "pleasures of the body".<sup>[175]</sup> Nevertheless, Plutarch described how Alexander was infatuated by Roxana while complimenting him on not forcing himself on her.<sup>[192]</sup> Green suggested that, in the context of the period, Alexander formed quite strong friendships with women, including Ada of Caria, who adopted him, and even Darius's mother Sisygambis, who supposedly died from grief upon hearing of Alexander's death.<sup>[165]</sup>



A mural in Pompeii, depicting the marriage of Alexander to Barsine (Stateira) in 324 BC. The couple are apparently dressed as Ares and Aphrodite.

## Legacy

Alexander's legacy extended beyond his military conquests. His campaigns greatly increased contacts and trade between East and West, and vast areas to the east were significantly exposed to Greek civilization and influence.<sup>[13]</sup> Some of the cities he founded became major cultural centers, many surviving into the twenty-first century. His chroniclers recorded valuable information about the areas through which he marched, while the Greeks themselves got a sense of belonging to a world beyond the Mediterranean.<sup>[13]</sup>



The Hellenistic world view after Alexander: ancient world map of Eratosthenes (276–194 BC), incorporating information from the campaigns of Alexander and his successors.<sup>[193]</sup>

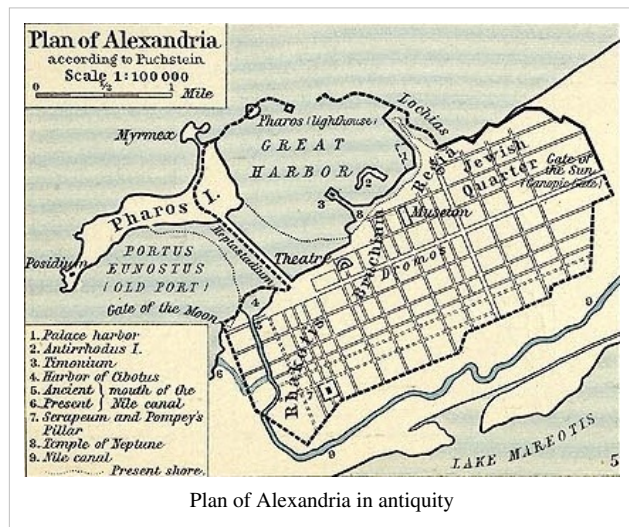
## Hellenistic kingdoms

Alexander's most immediate legacy was the introduction of Macedonian rule to huge new swathes of Asia. At the time of his death, Alexander's empire covered some 5200000 km<sup>2</sup> (**unknown operator: u'strong' sq mi**),<sup>[194]</sup> and was the largest state of its time. Many of these areas remained in Macedonian hands or under Greek influence for the next 200–300 years. The successor states that emerged were, at least initially, dominant forces, and these 300 years are often referred to as the Hellenistic period.<sup>[195]</sup>

The eastern borders of Alexander's empire began to collapse even during his lifetime.<sup>[152]</sup> However, the power vacuum he left in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent directly gave rise to one of the most powerful Indian dynasties in history. Taking advantage of this, Chandragupta Maurya (referred to in Greek sources as "Sandrokottos"), of relatively humble origin, took control of the Punjab, and with that power base proceeded to conquer the Nanda Empire.<sup>[196]</sup>

## Founding of cities

Over the course of his conquests, Alexander founded some twenty cities that bore his name, most of them east of the Tigris.<sup>[103][197]</sup> The first, and greatest, was Alexandria in Egypt, which would become one of the leading Mediterranean cities.<sup>[103]</sup> The cities locations' reflected trade routes as well as defensive positions. At first the cities must have been inhospitable, little more than defensive garrisons.<sup>[103]</sup> Following Alexander's death, many Greeks who had settled there tried to return to Greece.<sup>[103][197]</sup> However, a century or so after Alexander's death, many of the Alexandrias were thriving, with elaborate public buildings and substantial populations that included both Greek and local peoples.<sup>[103]</sup>



Plan of Alexandria in antiquity

## Hellenization

*Hellenization* was coined by the German historian Johann Gustav Droysen to denote the spread of Greek language, culture, and population into the former Persian empire after Alexander's conquest.<sup>[195]</sup> That this export took place is undoubted, and can be seen in the great Hellenistic cities of, for instance, Alexandria, Antioch<sup>[198]</sup> and Seleucia (south of modern Baghdad).<sup>[199]</sup> Alexander sought to insert Greek elements into Persian culture and attempted to hybridize Greek and Persian culture. This culminated in his aspiration to homogenize the populations of Asia and Europe. However, his successors explicitly rejected such policies. Nevertheless, Hellenization occurred throughout the region, accompanied by a distinct and opposite 'Orientalization' of the Successor states.<sup>[198][200]</sup>



Alexander's empire was the largest state of its time, covering approximately 5.2 million square km.

The core of Hellenistic culture was essentially Athenian.<sup>[198][201]</sup> The close association of men from across Greece in Alexander's army directly led to the emergence of the largely Attic-based "koine", or "common" Greek dialect.<sup>[202]</sup> Koine spread throughout the Hellenistic world, becoming the lingua franca of Hellenistic lands and eventually the ancestor of modern Greek.<sup>[202]</sup> Furthermore, town planning, education, local government, and art current in the Hellenistic period were all based on Classical Greek ideals, evolving into distinct new forms commonly grouped as Hellenistic.<sup>[198]</sup> Aspects of Hellenistic culture were still evident in the traditions of the Byzantine Empire in the mid-15th century.<sup>[203][204]</sup>



Some of the most unusual effects of Hellenization can be seen in India, in the region of the relatively late-arising Indo-Greek kingdoms.<sup>[205]</sup> There, isolated from Europe, Greek culture apparently hybridized with Indian, and especially Buddhist, influences. The first realistic portrayals of the Buddha appeared at this time; they were modeled on Greek statues of Apollo.<sup>[205]</sup> Several Buddhist traditions may have been influenced by the ancient Greek religion: the concept of Bodhisattvas is reminiscent of Greek divine heroes,<sup>[206]</sup> and some Mahayana ceremonial practices (burning incense, gifts of flowers, and food placed on altars) are similar to those practiced by the ancient Greeks. Zen Buddhism draws in part on the ideas of Greek stoics, such as Zeno.<sup>[207]</sup> One Greek king, Menander I, probably became Buddhist, and was immortalized in Buddhist literature as 'Milinda'.<sup>[205]</sup> The process of Hellenization extended to the sciences, where ideas from Greek astronomy filtered eastward and had profoundly influenced Indian astronomy by the early centuries AD.<sup>[208]</sup> For example, Greek astronomical instruments dating to the 3rd century BC were found in the Greco-Bactrian city of Ai Khanoum in modern-day Afghanistan,<sup>[209]</sup> while the Greek concept of a spherical earth surrounded by the spheres of planets was adopted in India and eventually supplanted the long-standing Indian cosmological belief into a flat and circular earth.<sup>[208][210]</sup>



The Buddha, in Greco-Buddhist style, 1st–2nd century AD, Gandhara (Modern Pakistan). Tokyo National Museum.

## Influence on Rome

Alexander and his exploits were admired by many Romans, especially generals, who wanted to associate themselves with his achievements.<sup>[211]</sup> Polybius began his *Histories* by reminding Romans of Alexander's achievements, and thereafter Roman leaders saw him as a role model. Pompey the Great adopted the epithet "Magnus" and even Alexander's anatole-type haircut, and searched the conquered lands of the east for Alexander's 260-year-old cloak, which he then wore as a sign of greatness.<sup>[211]</sup> Julius Caesar dedicated an Lysippean equestrian bronze statue but replaced Alexander's head with his own, while Octavian visited Alexander's tomb in Alexandria and temporarily changed his seal from a sphinx to Alexander's profile.<sup>[211]</sup> The emperor Trajan also admired Alexander, as did Nero and Caracalla.<sup>[211]</sup> The Macriani, a Roman family that in the person of Macrinus briefly ascended to the imperial throne, kept images of Alexander on their persons, either on jewelry, or embroidered into their clothes.<sup>[212]</sup>



The Greco-Bactrian king Demetrius (reigned c. 200–180 BC), wearing an elephant scalp, took over Alexander's legacy in the east by again invading India, and establishing the Indo-Greek kingdom (180 BC–10 AD).

On the other hand, some Roman writers, particularly Republican figures, used Alexander as a cautionary tale of how autocratic tendencies can be kept in check by republican values.<sup>[213]</sup> Alexander was used by these writers as an example of ruler values such as *amicitia* (friendship) and *clementia* (clemency), but also *iracundia* (anger) and *cupiditas gloriae* (over-desire for glory).<sup>[213]</sup>

### Legend

Legendary accounts surround the life of Alexander the Great, many deriving from his own lifetime, probably encouraged by Alexander himself.<sup>[214]</sup> His court historian Callisthenes portrayed the sea in Cilicia as drawing back from him in proskynesis. Writing shortly after Alexander's death, another participant, Onesicritus, invented a tryst between Alexander and Thalestris, queen of the mythical Amazons. When Onesicritus read this passage to his patron, Alexander's general and later King Lysimachus reportedly quipped, "I wonder where I was

at the time."<sup>[215]</sup>

In the first centuries after Alexander's death, probably in Alexandria, a quantity of the legendary material coalesced into a text known as the *Alexander Romance*, later falsely ascribed to Callisthenes and therefore known as *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. This text underwent numerous expansions and revisions throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages,<sup>[216]</sup> containing many dubious stories,<sup>[214]</sup> and was translated into numerous languages.<sup>[217]</sup>

### In ancient and modern culture

Alexander the Great's accomplishments and legacy have been depicted in many cultures. Alexander has figured in both high and popular culture beginning in his own era to the present day. The *Alexander Romance*, in particular, has had a significant impact on portrayals of Alexander in later cultures, from Persian to medieval European to modern Greek.<sup>[217]</sup>

Alexander features prominently in modern Greek folklore, more so than any other ancient figure.<sup>[218]</sup> The colloquial form of his name in modern Greek ("O Megalexandros") is a household name, and he is the only ancient hero to appear in the Karagiozis shadow play.<sup>[218]</sup> One well-known fable among Greek seamen involves a solitary mermaid who would grasp a ship's prow during a storm and ask the captain "Is King Alexander alive?". The correct answer is "He is alive and well and rules the world!", causing the mermaid to vanish and the sea to calm. Any other answer would cause the mermaid to turn into a raging Gorgon who would drag the ship to the bottom of the sea, all hands aboard.<sup>[218]</sup>

In pre-Islamic Persian (Zoroastrian) literature, Alexander is referred to by the epithet "gojastak", meaning "accursed", and is accused of destroying temples and burning the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism.<sup>[219]</sup>



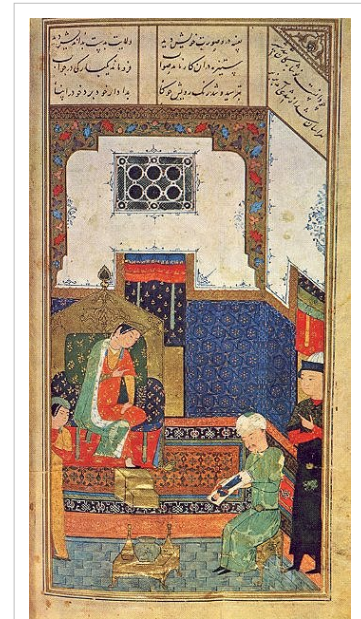
Alexander the Great depicted in a 14th century Byzantine manuscript



In Islamic Iran, under the influence of the Alexander Romance, a more positive portrayal of Alexander emerges.<sup>[220]</sup> Firdausi's *Shahnameh* ("The Book of Kings") includes Alexander in a line of legitimate Iranian shahs, a mythical figure who explored the far reaches of the world in search of the fountain of youth.<sup>[221]</sup> Later Persian writers associate him with philosophy, portraying him at a symposium with figures such as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, in search of immortality.<sup>[220]</sup>

The Syriac version of the *Alexander Romance* portrays him as an ideal Christian world conqueror who prayed to "the one true God".<sup>[220]</sup> In Egypt, Alexander was portrayed as the son of Nectanebo II, the last pharaoh before the Persian conquest.<sup>[222]</sup> His defeat of Darius was depicted as Egypt's salvation, "proving" Egypt was still ruled by an Egyptian.<sup>[222]</sup>

The figure of Dhul-Qarnayn (literally "the Two-Horned One") mentioned in the Quran is believed by some scholars to represent Alexander, due to parallels with the Alexander Romance.<sup>[220]</sup> In this tradition, he was a heroic figure who built a wall to defend against the nations of Gog and Magog.<sup>[222]</sup> He then traveled the known world in search for the Water of Life and Immortality, eventually becoming a prophet.<sup>[222]</sup>



15th century Persian miniature painting from Herat depicting Alexander the Great

In India and Pakistan, more specifically the Punjab, the name "Sikandar", derived from Persian, denotes a rising young talent.<sup>[223]</sup> In the medieval Europe he was created a member of the Nine Worthies, a group of heroes who encapsulated all the ideal qualities of chivalry.

## Historiography

Apart from a few inscriptions and fragments, texts written by people who actually knew Alexander or who gathered information from men who served with Alexander were all lost.<sup>[13]</sup> Contemporaries who wrote accounts of his life included Alexander's campaign historian Callisthenes; Alexander's generals Ptolemy and Nearchus; Aristobulus, a junior officer on the campaigns; and Onesicritus, Alexander's chief helmsman. Their works are lost, but later works based on these original sources have survived. The earliest of these is Diodorus Siculus (1st century BC), followed by Quintus Curtius Rufus (mid to late 1st century AD), Arrian (1st to 2nd century AD), the biographer Plutarch (1st to 2nd century AD), and finally Justin, whose work dated as late as the 4th century AD.<sup>[13]</sup> Of these, Arrian is generally considered the most reliable, given that he used Ptolemy and Aristobulus as his sources, closely followed by Diodorus.<sup>[13]</sup>

## Notes

^ **i:** By the time of his death, he had conquered the entire Achaemenid Persian Empire, adding it to Macedon's European territories; according to some modern writers, this was most of the world then known to the ancient Greeks (the 'Ecumene').<sup>[224][225]</sup> An approximate view of the world known to Alexander can be seen in Hecataeus of Miletus's map; see Hecataeus world map.

^ **ii:** For instance, Hannibal supposedly ranked Alexander as the greatest general;<sup>[226]</sup> Julius Caesar wept on seeing a statue of Alexander, since he had achieved so little by the same age;<sup>[227]</sup> Pompey consciously posed as the 'new Alexander';<sup>[228]</sup> the young Napoleon Bonaparte also encouraged comparisons with Alexander.<sup>[229]</sup>

^ **iii:** The name *Ἀλέξανδρος* derives from the Greek verb "ἀλέξω" (alexō), "to ward off, to avert, to defend"<sup>[230]</sup> and the noun "ἄνδρός" (andros), genitive of "ἄνθρωπος" (anēr), "man"<sup>[231]</sup> and means "protector of men."<sup>[232]</sup>

^ **iv:** "In the early 5th century the royal house of Macedon, the Temenidae, was recognised as Greek by the

Presidents of the Olympic Games. Their verdict was and is decisive. It is certain that the Kings considered themselves to be of Greek descent from Heracles son of Zeus."<sup>[233]</sup>

^ **v:** "AEACIDS Descendants of Aeacus, son of Zeus and the nymph Aegina, eponymous (see the term) to the island of that name. His son was Peleus, father of Achilles, whose descendants (real or supposed) called themselves Aeacids: thus Pyrrhus and Alexander the Great."<sup>[234]</sup>

^ **vi:** There have been, since the time, many suspicions that Pausanias was actually hired to murder Philip. Suspicion has fallen upon Alexander, Olympias and even the newly crowned Persian Emperor, Darius III. All three of these people had motive to have Philip murdered.<sup>[235]</sup>

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- Alexander the Great: An annotated list of primary sources ([http://www.livius.org/aj-al/alexander/alexander\\_z1b.html](http://www.livius.org/aj-al/alexander/alexander_z1b.html)) from Livius.org
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- Two Great Historians On Alexander the Great (conversations between historians James Romm and Paul Cartledge), on Forbes: Part 1 (<http://blogs.forbes.com/booked/2010/12/12/two-great-historians-on-alexander-the-great-part-one/>), Part 2 (<http://blogs.forbes.com/booked/2010/12/17/two-great-historians-on-alexander-the-great-part-two/>), Part 3 (<http://blogs.forbes.com/booked/2010/12/20/two-historians-talk-alexander-the-great-part-3/>), Part 4 (<http://blogs.forbes.com/booked/2011/01/03/two-great-historians-talk-alexander-the-great-part-4/>), Part 5 (<http://blogs.forbes.com/booked/2011/01/10/how-great-a-general-was-alexander/?boxes=financechannelforbes>), Part 6 (<http://blogs.forbes.com/booked/2011/01/28/two-great-historians-talk-alexander-the-great-part-6/>)



# Alexander I of Georgia

Alexander I ალექსანდრე I	
King of Kings of Georgia	
	
A fresco of the royal person from the Nabakhtevi monastery in Georgia. An inscription in the Georgian asomtavruli script identifies him as "Alexander, King of Kings".	
King of Georgia	
Reign	1412-1442
Predecessor	Constantine I
Successor	Vakhtang IV
Spouse	Dulandukht Orbelian Tamar of Imereti
Issue	
Vakhtang IV Demetre III of Imereti George VIII Patriarch David Zaal Bagrationi, Empress of Trebizond	
Full name	
Alexander I the Great Aleksandre I Didi Athanasius (monastery name)	
Dynasty	Bagrationi
Father	Constantine I of Georgia
Mother	Natia Amirejibi
Born	1386
Died	between August 26, 1445 and March 7, 1446
Burial	Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, Mtskheta
Religion	Georgian Orthodox Church

**Alexander I**, “the Great” (Georgian: ალექსანდრე I დიდი, *Alexandre I Didi*) (1386 – between August 26, 1445 and March 7, 1446), of the Bagrationi house, was king of Georgia from 1412 to 1442. Despite his efforts to restore the country from the ruins left by the Turco-Mongol warlord Timur Leng’s invasions, Georgia never recovered and faced

the inevitable fragmentation that was followed by a long period of stagnation. In 1442, he abdicated the throne and retired to a monastery.

## Life

Alexander was the eldest son of Constantine I of Georgia and his wife Natia, daughter of the Georgian diplomat prince Kutsna Amirejibi. He was brought up by his grandmother (Natia's mother) Rusa (died 1413), an educated and religious noblewoman, who greatly influenced the future king's preoccupations and his enthusiasm for religious building.

With his ascension to the throne (1412), Alexander moved to western Georgia and mediated a peace between his vassals, the rival princes of Mingrelia and Abkhazia. Then he, in 1414, met the rebellious prince Atabeg Ivane Jakeli of Samtskhe on battlefield and forced him into submission. Having dealt with these powerful feudal lords, he, aided by Catholicos Patriarch Shio II, began a program the restoration of major Georgian fortresses and churches. He imposed a temporary building tax on his subjects from 1425 to 1440, but despite the king's efforts many towns and villages, once flourished, were left in ruin and overgrown by forest.

In 1431, he re-conquered Lorri, a Georgian marchland occupied by the Kara Koyunlu Turkoman tribesmen of Persia who had frequently raided the southern Georgian marches from there and had even sacked Akhaltsikhe in 1416.<sup>[1]</sup> Around 1434/5, Alexander encouraged the Armenian prince Beshken II Orbelian to attack the Kara Koyunlu clansmen in Syunik (Siunia) and, for his victory, granted him Lorri under terms of vassalage. In 1440, Alexander refused to pay tribute to Jahan Shah of the Kara Kouynlu. In March, Jahan Shah surged into Georgia with 20,000 troops, destroyed the city of Samshvilde and sacked the capital city Tbilisi. He massacred thousands of Christians, put heavy indemnity on Georgia, and returned to Tabriz.

In order to reduce the power of frequently rebellious aristocracy, he opposed them by appointing his sons – Vakhtang, Demetre, and George – as his co-rulers in Kakheti, Imereti and Kartli, respectively. This, however, proved to be even dangerous to the kingdom's integrity and the fragile unity kept by Alexander would soon disappear under his sons. For this reason, Alexander the Great is frequently claimed to have disintegrated Georgia and said not to deserve his epithet "the Great" his people bestowed on him.<sup>[2]</sup> This appellation dates almost from his own day, however, and as the modern Georgian historian Ivane Javakhishvili presumes, might have been related to the large-scale restoration projects launched by the king and his initial success in the struggle with the Turkmen nomads.<sup>[3]</sup>

As worldly problems overwhelmed his kingdom, Alexander abdicated the throne in 1442 and retired to a monastery under the name of Athanasius.

## Marriages and children

He married c. 1411 Dulandukht, daughter of Beshken II Orbelian, by whom he had two sons:

- Vakhtang IV, King of Georgia
- Demetre (1413–1452), co-ruler in Imereti; father of Constantine II

Alexander's second marriage with Tamar (died 1455), daughter of prince Alexander I of Imereti, took place around 1414. Their children were:

- George VIII, the last king of a united Georgia and the first king of independent Kakheti
  - David (1417–1471), Catholicos Patriarch of Georgia
  - Zaal (1425 – c. 1442)
  - Bagrationi (1415 – c. 1438) who married, 1425, the emperor John IV of Trebizond
-

## Notes

- [1] According to the 15th-century Armenian historian Thomas of Metsoph (*T'ovma Metsobets'i*), the Kara Kouynlu leader Kara Yusuf invaded Samtskhe and pillaged its capital Akhaltsikhe in 1416 in response to the profanation inflicted by the local Christian Georgians and Armenians on a mosque.
- [2] Suny (1994), page 45
- [3] Ivane Javakhishvili (1982), page 243

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4. Kings of Georgia at the *Royal Ark* website (<http://www.royalark.net/Georgia/georgia.htm>)

# Alfonso III of León

**Alfonso III** (c. 848 – December 910), called **the Great**, was the king of León, Galicia and Asturias from 866 until his death. He was the son and successor of Ordoño I. In later sources he is the earliest to be called "Emperor of Spain". He was also titled "Prince of all Galicia" (*Princeps totius Galletiae*<sup>[1]</sup>).

Little is known about Alfonso except the bare facts of his reign and of his comparative success in consolidating the kingdom during the weakness of the Umayyad princes of Córdoba. He fought against and gained numerous victories over the Muslims of al-Andalus, nonetheless his kingdom was always inferior to that of the Cordobans, and he was thus forced to pay them tribute.

He defeated a Basque rebellion in 867 and, much later, a Galician one as well. He conquered Oporto and Coimbra in 868 and 878 respectively. In about 869, he formed an alliance with the Kingdom of Pamplona, and solidified this link by marrying Jimena, who is thought to have been daughter of king García Íñiguez, or less likely, a member of the Jiménez dynasty, and also married his sister Leodegundia to a prince of Pamplona.

He ordered the creation of three chronicles which presented the theory that the kingdom of Asturias was the rightful successor of the old Visigothic kingdom. He was also a patron of the arts, like his grandfather before him. He built the church of Santo Adriano de Tuñón. According to a letter of disputed authenticity dated to 906, the *Epistola Adefonsi Hispaniae regis*, Alfonso arranged to purchase an "imperial crown" from the cathedral of Tours.<sup>[2]</sup>

A year before his death, three of Alfonso's sons rose in rebellion and forced him to abdicate, partitioning the kingdom among them. The eldest son, García, became king of León. The second son, Ordoño, reigned in Galicia, while the third, Fruela, received Asturias with Oviedo as his capital. Alfonso died in Zamora, probably in 910. His



Miniature from the archives of Oviedo Cathedral showing Alfonso III flanked by his queen, Jimena Garcés (left), and his bishop, Gomelo II (right).

former realm would be reunited when first García died childless and León passed to Ordoño. He in turn died when his children were too young to ascend, Fruela became king of a reunited crown. His death the next year initiated a series of internecine struggles that led to unstable succession for over a century.

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- This article incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain: Chisholm, Hugh, ed. (1911). *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.). Cambridge University Press.

# Alfred the Great

Alfred	
Statue of Alfred the Great by Hamo Thornycroft in Winchester, unveiled during the millenary celebrations of Alfred's death.	
Statue of Alfred the Great by Hamo Thornycroft in Winchester, unveiled during the millenary celebrations of Alfred's death.	
King of Wessex	
Reign	23 April 871 – 26 October 899
Predecessor	Æthelred
Successor	Edward
Spouse	Ealhswith
Issue	
Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians Edward, King of Wessex Æthelgifu of Wessex Æthelweard of Wessex Ælfthryth, Countess of Flanders	
Full name	
Ælfred of Wessex	
House	House of Wessex
Father	Æthelwulf, King of Wessex
Mother	Osburh
Born	849 The Royal Palace, Wantage, Oxfordshire
Died	26 October 899 (around 50) Winchester
Burial	ca. 1100 Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Hampshire, now lost

**Alfred the Great** (Old English: *Ælfrēd*, *Ælfræd*, "elf counsel"; 849 – 26 October 899) was King of Wessex from 871 to 899.

Alfred successfully defended his kingdom against the Viking attempt at conquest, and by his death had become the dominant ruler in England.<sup>[1]</sup> He is the only English monarch to be accorded the epithet "the Great".<sup>[2]</sup> Alfred was the first King of the West Saxons to style himself "King of the Anglo-Saxons". Details of his life are described in a work by the 10th century Welsh scholar and bishop Asser. Alfred was a learned and merciful man who encouraged education and improved his kingdom's legal system and military structure.



## Childhood

Further information: House of Wessex family tree



Prince Alfred on his first boar-hunt



Queen Osburga reads for her son Alfred, who would become Alfred the Great.

Alfred was born in the village of Wanating, now Wantage, Oxfordshire. He was the youngest son of King Æthelwulf of Wessex, by his first wife, Osburh.<sup>[3]</sup>

In 853, at the age of four, Alfred is said to have been sent to Rome where, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,<sup>[4]</sup> he was confirmed by Pope Leo IV who "anointed him as king". Victorian writers interpreted this as an anticipatory coronation in preparation for his ultimate succession to the throne of Wessex. However, his succession could not have been foreseen at the time, as Alfred had three living elder brothers. A letter of Leo IV shows that Alfred was made a "consul"; a misinterpretation of this investiture, deliberate or accidental, could explain later confusion.<sup>[5]</sup> It may also be based on Alfred's later having accompanied his father on a pilgrimage to Rome where he spent some time at the court of Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, around 854–855.

On their return from Rome in 856, Æthelwulf was deposed by his son Æthelbald. With civil war looming, the magnates of the realm met in council to hammer out a compromise. Æthelbald would retain the western shires (i.e., traditional Wessex), and Æthelwulf would rule in the east.

When King Æthelwulf died in 858, Wessex was ruled by three of Alfred's brothers in succession, Æthelbald, Æthelbert and Æthelred.<sup>[6]</sup>

Bishop Asser tells the story of how as a child Alfred won a prize of a volume of poetry in English, offered by his mother to the first of her children able to memorise it. Legend also has it that the young Alfred spent time in Ireland seeking healing. Alfred was troubled by health problems throughout his life. It is thought that he may have suffered from Crohn's disease. Statues of Alfred in Winchester and Wantage portray him as a great warrior. Evidence suggests he was not physically strong, and though not lacking in courage, he was more noted for his intellect than a warlike character.<sup>[7]</sup>

## Under Æthelred

During the short reigns of the older two of his three elder brothers, Æthelbald of Wessex and Æthelberht of Wessex, Alfred is not mentioned. However, his public

life began with the accession of his third brother, Æthelred of Wessex, in 866. It is during this period that Bishop Asser applied to him the unique title of "secundarius", which may indicate a position akin to that of the Celtic *tanist*, a recognised successor closely associated with the reigning monarch. It is possible that this arrangement was sanctioned by Alfred's father, or by the Witan, to guard against the danger of a disputed succession should Æthelred fall in battle. The arrangement of crowning a successor as royal prince and military commander is well known among other Germanic tribes, such as the Swedes and Franks, to whom the Anglo-Saxons were closely related.

In 868, Alfred is recorded as fighting beside Æthelred in an unsuccessful attempt to keep the invading Danes led by Ivar the Boneless out of the adjoining Kingdom of Mercia.<sup>[4]</sup> However, at the end of 870, the Danes arrived in his homeland. The year which followed has been called "Alfred's year of battles". Nine engagements were fought with varying outcomes, though the place and date of two of these battles have not been recorded.

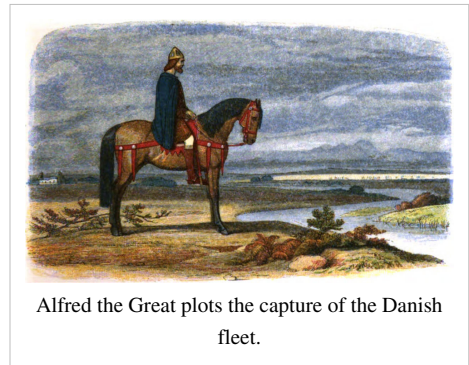
In Berkshire, a successful skirmish at the Battle of Englefield on 31 December 870 was followed by a severe defeat at the siege and Battle of Reading by Ivar's brother Halfdan Ragnarsson on 5 January 871; then, four days later,

Alfred won a brilliant victory at the Battle of Ashdown on the Berkshire Downs, possibly near Compton or Aldworth. Alfred is particularly credited with the success of this latter battle. However, later that month, on 22 January, the English were defeated at the Battle of Basing and, on the 22 March at the Battle of Merton (perhaps Marden in Wiltshire or Martin in Dorset), in which Æthelred was killed. The two unidentified battles may have occurred in between.<sup>[8]</sup>

## King at war

### Early struggles, defeat and flight

In April 871, King Æthelred died, and Alfred succeeded to the throne of Wessex and the burden of its defence, despite the fact that Æthelred left two under-age sons, Æthelhelm and Æthelwold. This was in accordance with the agreement that Æthelred and Alfred had made earlier that year in an assembly at *Swinbeorg*. The brothers had agreed that whichever of them outlived the other would inherit the personal property that King Æthelwulf had left jointly to his sons in his will. The deceased's sons would receive only whatever property and riches their father had settled upon them and whatever additional lands their uncle had acquired. The unstated premise was that the surviving brother would be king. Given the ongoing Danish invasion and the youth of his nephews, Alfred's succession probably went uncontested. Tensions between Alfred and his nephews, however, would arise later in his reign.



Alfred the Great plots the capture of the Danish fleet.



Coin of Alfred, king of Wessex, London, 880 (based upon a Roman model).

**Obv:** King with royal band in profile, with legend: ÆLFRED REX "King Ælfred".

While he was busy with the burial ceremonies for his brother, the Danes defeated the English in his absence at an unnamed spot, and then again in his presence at Wilton in May.<sup>[8]</sup> The defeat at Wilton smashed any remaining hope that Alfred could drive the invaders from his kingdom. He was forced, instead, to 'make peace' with them. The sources do not tell what the terms of the peace were. Bishop Asser claimed that the 'pagans' agreed to vacate the realm and made good their promise; and, indeed, the Viking army did withdraw from Reading in the autumn of 871 to take up winter quarters in Mercian London. Although not mentioned by Asser or by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Alfred probably also paid the Vikings cash to leave, much as the Mercians were to do in the following year.<sup>[9]</sup> Hoards dating to the Viking occupation of London in 871/2 have been excavated at Croydon, Gravesend, and Waterloo Bridge; these finds hint at the cost involved in making peace with the Vikings. For the next five years, the Danes occupied other parts of England.<sup>[10]</sup>

In 876 under their new leader, Guthrum, the Danes slipped past the English army and attacked and occupied Wareham in Dorset. Alfred blockaded them but was unable to take Wareham by assault.<sup>[8]</sup> Accordingly, he negotiated a peace which involved an exchange of hostages and oaths, which the Danes swore on a "holy ring" associated with the worship of Thor.<sup>[4]</sup> The Danes, however, broke their word and, after killing all the hostages, slipped away under cover of night to Exeter in Devon. There, Alfred blockaded them, and with a relief fleet having been scattered by a storm, the Danes were forced to submit. They withdrew to Mercia, but, in January 878, made a sudden attack on Chippenham, a royal stronghold in which Alfred had been staying over Christmas, "and most of the

people they killed, except the King Alfred, and he with a little band made his way by wood and swamp, and after Easter he made a fort at Athelney in the marshes of Somerset, and from that fort kept fighting against the foe".<sup>[4]</sup> From his fort at Athelney, an island in the marshes near North Petherton, Alfred was able to mount an effective resistance movement, rallying the local militias from Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire.<sup>[8]</sup>

A popular legend, originating from 12th century chronicles,<sup>[11]</sup> tells how when he first fled to the Somerset Levels, Alfred was given shelter by a peasant woman who, unaware of his identity, left him to watch some cakes she had left cooking on the fire. Preoccupied with the problems of his kingdom, Alfred accidentally let the cakes burn.

870 was the low-water mark in the history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. With all the other kingdoms having fallen to the Vikings, Wessex alone was still resisting.<sup>[12]</sup>



Alfred the Great is scolded by his subject, a neatherd's wife, for not turning the breads but readily eating them when they are baked in her cottage.

## Counterattack and victory



King Alfred's Tower (1772) on the supposed site of *Egbert's Stone*, the mustering place before the Battle of Ethandun.<sup>[13]</sup>

In the seventh week after Easter [4–10 May 878], around Whitsuntide, Alfred rode to 'Egbert's Stone' east of Selwood, where he was met by "all the people of Somerset and of Wiltshire and of that part of Hampshire which is on this side of the sea [that is, west of Southampton Water], and they rejoiced to see him".<sup>[4]</sup> Alfred's emergence from his marshland stronghold was part of a carefully planned offensive that entailed raising the fyrd of three shires. This meant not only that the king had retained the loyalty of ealdormen, royal reeves and king's thegns (who were charged with levying and leading these forces), but that they had maintained their positions of authority in these localities well enough to answer his summons to war. Alfred's actions also suggest a finely honed system of scouts and messengers.

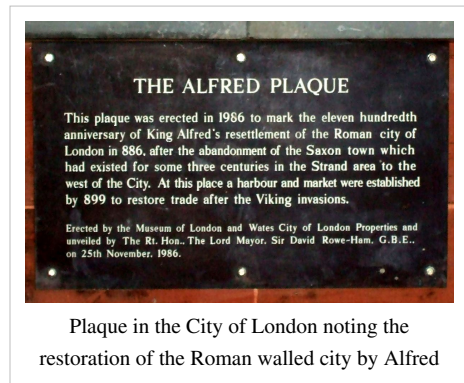
Alfred won a decisive victory in the ensuing Battle of Ethandun, which may have been fought near Westbury, Wiltshire.<sup>[8]</sup> He then pursued the Danes to their stronghold at Chippenham and starved them into submission. One of the terms of the surrender was that Guthrum convert to Christianity; and three weeks later the Danish king and 29 of his chief men were baptised at Alfred's court at Aller, near Athelney, with Alfred receiving Guthrum as his spiritual son.<sup>[8]</sup> The "unbinding of the chrism" took place with great ceremony eight days later at the royal estate at Wedmore in Somerset, after which Guthrum fulfilled his promise to leave Wessex. There is no contemporary evidence that Alfred and Guthrum agreed upon a formal treaty at this time; the so-called Treaty of Wedmore is an invention of modern historians. The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum, preserved in Old English in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Manuscript 383), and in a Latin compilation known as *Quadripartitus*, was negotiated later, perhaps in 879 or 880, when King Ceolwulf II of Mercia was deposed.<sup>[14]</sup> That treaty divided up the kingdom of Mercia. By its terms the boundary between Alfred's and Guthrum's kingdoms was to run up the River



Thames, to the River Lea; follow the Lea to its source (near Luton); from there extend in a straight line to Bedford; and from Bedford follow the River Ouse to Watling Street. In other words, Alfred succeeded to Ceolwulf's kingdom, consisting of western Mercia; and Guthrum incorporated the eastern part of Mercia into an enlarged kingdom of East Anglia (henceforward known as the Danelaw). By terms of the treaty, moreover, Alfred was to have control over the Mercian city of London and its mints — at least for the time being.<sup>[15]</sup> The disposition of Essex, held by West Saxon kings since the days of Egbert, is unclear from the treaty, though, given Alfred's political and military superiority, it would have been surprising if he had conceded any disputed territory to his new godson.

### The quiet years; Restoration of London

With the signing of the Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum, an event most commonly held to have taken place around 880 when Guthrum's people began settling East Anglia, Guthrum was neutralised as a threat.<sup>[16]</sup> In conjunction with this agreement an army of Danish left the island and sailed to Ghent. Alfred however was still forced to contend with a number of Danish threats. A year later in 881 Alfred fought a small sea battle against four Danish ships "On the high seas".<sup>[17]</sup> Two of the ships were destroyed and the others surrendered to Alfred's forces.<sup>[18]</sup> Similar small skirmishes with independent Viking raiders would have occurred for much of the period as they had for decades.



In the year 883, though there is some debate over the year, King Alfred, because of his support and his donation of alms to Rome, received a number of gifts from the Pope Marinus.<sup>[19]</sup> Among these gifts was reputed to be a piece of the true cross, a true treasure for the devout Saxon king. According to Asser, because of Pope Marinus' friendship with King Alfred, the pope granted an exemption to any Anglo-Saxons residing within Rome from tax or tribute.<sup>[20]</sup>

After the signing of the treaty with Guthrum, Alfred was spared any large-scale conflicts for some time. Despite this relative peace, the king was still forced to deal with a number of Danish raids and incursions. Among these was a raid taking place in Kent, an allied country in Southeast England, during the year 885, which was quite possibly the largest raid since the battles with Guthrum. Asser's account of the raid places the Danish raiders at the Saxon city of Rochester,<sup>[17]</sup> where they built a temporary fortress in order to besiege the city. In response to this incursion, Alfred led an Anglo-Saxon force against the Danes who, instead of engaging the army of Wessex, fled to their beached ships and sailed to another part of Britain. The retreating Danish force supposedly left Britain the following summer.<sup>[21]</sup>

Not long after the failed Danish raid in Kent, Alfred dispatched his fleet to East Anglia. The purpose of this expedition is debated, though Asser claims that it was for the sake of plunder.<sup>[21]</sup> After traveling up the River Stour, the fleet was met by Danish vessels that numbered 13 or 16 (sources vary on the number) and a battle ensued.<sup>[21]</sup> The Anglo-Saxon Fleet emerged victorious and as Huntingdon accounts, "laden with spoils."<sup>[22]</sup> The victorious fleet was then caught unaware when attempting to leave the River Stour and was attacked by a Danish force at the mouth of the river. The Danish fleet was able to defeat Alfred's fleet which may have been weakened in the previous engagement.<sup>[23]</sup>

A year later, in 886, Alfred reoccupied the city of London and set out to make it habitable again.<sup>[24]</sup> Alfred entrusted the city to the care of his son-in law Æthelred, ealdorman of Mercia. The restoration of London progressed through the later half of the 880s and is believed to have revolved around a new street plan, added fortifications in addition to the existing Roman walls, and, some believe, the construction of matching fortifications on the South bank of the River Thames.<sup>[25]</sup> This is also the period in which almost all chroniclers agree that the Saxon people of pre-unification England submitted to Alfred.<sup>[26]</sup> This was not, however, the point in which Alfred came to be known as King of England; in fact he would never adopt the title for himself. In truth the power which Alfred wielded over

the English peoples at this time seemed to stem largely from the military might of the West Saxons, Alfred's political connections from having the ruler of Mercia as his son-in-law, and Alfred's keen administration talents.

Between the restoration of London and the resumption of large scale Danish attacks in the early 890s, Alfred's reign was rather uneventful. The relative peace of the late 880s was marred by the death of Alfred's sister, Æthelswith, who died en route to Rome in 888.<sup>[27]</sup> In the same year the Archbishop of Canterbury, Æthelred also passed away. One year later Guthrum, or Athelstan by his baptised name, Alfred's former enemy and king of East Anglia, died and was buried in Hadleigh, Suffolk.<sup>[28]</sup> Guthrum's passing marked a change in the political sphere Alfred dealt with. Guthrum's death created a power vacuum which would stir up other power-hungry warlords eager to take his place in the following years. The quiet years of Alfred's life were coming to a close, and war was on the horizon.

### **Further Viking attacks repelled**

After another lull, in the autumn of 892 or 893, the Danes attacked again. Finding their position in mainland Europe precarious, they crossed to England in 330 ships in two divisions. They entrenched themselves, the larger body at Appledore, Kent, and the lesser, under Hastein, at Milton, also in Kent. The invaders brought their wives and children with them, indicating a meaningful attempt at conquest and colonisation. Alfred, in 893 or 894, took up a position from which he could observe both forces. While he was in talks with Hastein, the Danes at Appledore broke out and struck northwestwards. They were overtaken by Alfred's oldest son, Edward, and were defeated in a general engagement at Farnham in Surrey. They took refuge on an island in the Hertfordshire Colne, where they were blockaded and were ultimately forced to submit. The force fell back on Essex and, after suffering another defeat at Benfleet, coalesced with Hastein's force at Shoebury.<sup>[8]</sup>

Alfred had been on his way to relieve his son at Thorney when he heard that the Northumbrian and East Anglian Danes were besieging Exeter and an unnamed stronghold on the North Devon shore. Alfred at once hurried westward and raised the Siege of Exeter. The fate of the other place is not recorded. Meanwhile, the force under Hastein set out to march up the Thames Valley, possibly with the idea of assisting their friends in the west. But they were met by a large force under the three great ealdormen of Mercia, Wiltshire and Somerset, and forced to head off to the northwest, being finally overtaken and blockaded at Buttington. Some identify this with Buttington Tump at the mouth of the River Wye, others with Buttington near Welshpool. An attempt to break through the English lines was defeated. Those who escaped retreated to Shoebury. Then, after collecting reinforcements, they made a sudden dash across England and occupied the ruined Roman walls of Chester. The English did not attempt a winter blockade, but contented themselves with destroying all the supplies in the neighbourhood. Early in 894 (or 895), want of food obliged the Danes to retire once more to Essex. At the end of this year and early in 895 (or 896), the Danes drew their ships up the River Thames and River Lea and fortified themselves twenty miles (32 km) north of London. A direct attack on the Danish lines failed but, later in the year, Alfred saw a means of obstructing the river so as to prevent the egress of the Danish ships. The Danes realised that they were outmanoeuvred. They struck off north-westwards and wintered at Cwatbridge near Bridgnorth. The next year, 896 (or 897), they gave up the struggle. Some retired to Northumbria, some to East Anglia. Those who had no connections in England withdrew back to the continent.<sup>[8]</sup>

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## Military reorganisation

Wessex's history of failures preceding his success in 878 emphasised to Alfred that the traditional system of battle he had inherited played to the Danes' advantage. While both the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes attacked settlements to seize wealth and other resources, they employed very different strategies. In their raids, the Anglo-Saxons traditionally preferred to attack head-on by assembling their forces in a shield wall, advancing against their target and overcoming the oncoming wall marshaled against them in defence. In contrast, the Danes preferred to choose easy targets, mapping cautious forays designed to avoid risking all their accumulated plunder with high-stake attacks for more. Alfred determined their strategy was to launch smaller scaled attacks from a secure and reinforced defensible base which they could retreat to should their raiders meet strong resistance. These bases were prepared in advance, often by capturing an estate and augmenting its defences with surrounding ditches, ramparts and palisades. Once inside the fortification, Alfred realised, the Danes enjoyed the advantage, better situated to outlast their opponents or crush them with a counter attack as the provisions and stamina of the besieging forces waned.<sup>[29]</sup>



Alfred the Great silver offering penny, 871–899.

Legend: AELFRED REX SAXONUM "Ælfred  
King of the Saxons".

The means by which they marshaled the forces to defend against marauders also left the Anglo-Saxons vulnerable to the Vikings. It was only after the raids were underway that a call went out to landowners to gather men for battle, and large regions could be devastated before the newly assembled army arrived. And although the landowners were obliged to the king to supply these men when called, during the attacks in 878, many of them opportunistically abandoned their king and collaborated with Guthrum.<sup>[30]</sup>

With these lessons in mind, Alfred capitalised on the relatively peaceful years immediately following his victory at Ethandrun by focusing on an ambitious restructuring of his kingdom's military defences. When the Viking raids resumed in 892, Alfred was better prepared to confront them with a standing, mobile field army, a network of garrisons, and a small fleet of ships navigating the rivers and estuaries.<sup>[31]</sup>

## Burghal system



A rare High Medieval image of Alfred, 13th century

At the centre of Alfred's reformed military defence system was a network of fortresses, or burhs, distributed at strategic points throughout the kingdom.<sup>[32]</sup> There were thirty-three total spaced approximately 30 kilometres (20 mi) distant, enabling the military to confront attacks anywhere in the kingdom within a single day.<sup>[33][34]</sup> Alfred's burhs, (later termed boroughs), consisted mainly of massive earthen walls surrounded by wide ditches, probably reinforced with wooden revetments and palisades.<sup>[35]</sup> The size of the burhs ranged from tiny outposts such as Pilton to large fortifications in established towns, the largest at Winchester.<sup>[36]</sup> Many of the burhs were twin towns that straddled a river and connected by a fortified bridge, like those built by Charles the Bald a generation before. The double-burh blocked passage on the river, forcing Viking ships to navigate under a garrisoned bridge lined with men armed with stones, spears, or arrows. Other burhs were sited near fortified royal villas allowing the king better control over his strongholds.<sup>[37]</sup>

This network of well-garrisoned burhs posed significant obstacles to Viking invaders, especially those laden with booty. The system threatened Viking routes and communications making it far more dangerous for the Viking raiders. However the Vikings lacked both the equipment necessary to undertake a siege against the burh and a

developed doctrine of siegecraft, having tailored their methods of fighting to rapid strikes and unimpeded retreats to well defended fortifications. The only means left to them was to starve the burh into submission, but this allowed the king time to send assistance with his mobile field army or garrisons from neighbouring burhs. In such cases, the Vikings were extremely vulnerable to pursuit by the king's joint military forces.<sup>[38]</sup> Alfred's burh system posed such a formidable challenge against Viking attack that when the Vikings returned in 892 and successfully stormed a half-made, poorly garrisoned fortress up the Lympe estuary in Kent, the Anglo-Saxons were able to limit their penetration to the outer frontiers of Wessex and Mercia.<sup>[39]</sup>

Alfred's burghal system was revolutionary in its strategic conception and potentially expensive in its execution. His contemporary biographer Asser wrote that many nobles balked at the new demands placed upon them even though they were for "the common needs of the kingdom".<sup>[40][41]</sup> The cost of building the burhs was great in itself, but this paled before the cost of upkeep for these fortresses and the maintenance of their standing garrisons. A remarkable early tenth-century document, known as the Burghal Hidage, provides a formula for determining how many men were needed to garrison a borough, based on one man for every 5.5 yards (5 meters) of wall. This calculates to a total of 27,071 soldiers needed system wide, or approximately one in four of all the free men in Wessex.<sup>[42]</sup>

## Reconstituted fyrd

Over the last two decades of his reign, Alfred undertook a radical reorganisation of the military institutions of his kingdom, strengthened the West Saxon economy through a policy of monetary reform and urban planning and strove to win divine favour by resurrecting the literary glories of earlier generations of Anglo-Saxons. Alfred pursued these ambitious programmes to fulfill, as he saw it, his responsibility as king. This justified the heavy demands he made upon his subjects' labour and finances. It even excused the expropriation of strategically located Church lands. Recreating the fyrd into a standing army, ringing Wessex with some thirty garrisoned fortified towns, and constructing new and larger ships for the royal fleet were costly endeavours that provoked resistance from noble and

peasant alike. But they paid off. When the Vikings returned in force in 892 they found a kingdom defended by a standing, mobile field army and a network of garrisoned fortresses that commanded its navigable rivers and Roman roads.<sup>[8][43]</sup>

Alfred analysed the defects of the military system that he had inherited and implemented changes to remedy them. Alfred's military reorganisation of Wessex consisted of three elements: the building of thirty fortified and garrisoned towns (burhs) along the rivers and Roman roads of Wessex; the creation of a mobile (horsed) field force, consisting of his nobles and their warrior retainers, which was divided into two contingents, one of which was always in the field; and the enhancement of Wessex's seapower through the addition of larger ships to the existing royal fleet.<sup>[8]</sup> Each element of the system was meant to remedy defects in the West Saxon military establishment exposed by the Viking invasions. If under the existing system he could not assemble forces quickly enough to intercept mobile Viking raiders, the obvious answer was to have a standing field force. If this entailed transforming the West Saxon fyrd from a sporadic levy of king's men and their retainers into a mounted standing army, so be it. If his kingdom lacked strongpoints to impede the progress of an enemy army, he would build them. If the enemy struck from the sea, he would counter them with his own naval power. Characteristically, all of Alfred's innovations were firmly rooted in traditional West Saxon practice, drawing as they did upon the three so-called 'common burdens' of bridge work, fortress repair and service on the king's campaigns that all holders of bookland and royal loanland owed the Crown. Where Alfred revealed his genius was in designing the field force and burhs to be parts of a coherent military system. Neither Alfred's reformed fyrd nor his burhs alone would have afforded a sufficient defence against the Vikings; together, however, they robbed the Vikings of their major strategic advantages: surprise and mobility.

### **Administration and taxation**

To obtain the needed garrison troops and workers to build and maintain the burhs' defences, Alfred regularised and vastly expanded the existing (and, one might add, quite recent) obligation of landowners to provide 'fortress work' on the basis of the hidage assessed upon their lands.<sup>[44]</sup> The allotments of the Burghal Hidage represent the creation of administrative districts for the support of the burhs. The landowners attached to Wallingford, for example, were responsible for producing and feeding 2,400 men, the number sufficient for maintaining 9,900 feet (3 km) of wall. Each of the larger burhs became the centre of a territorial district of considerable size, carved out of the neighbouring countryside in order to support the town. In one sense, Alfred conceived nothing truly new here. The shires of Wessex went back at least to the reign of King Ine, who probably also imposed a hidage assessment upon each for food rents and other services owed the Crown.

## English navy

Alfred also tried his hand at naval design. In 896,<sup>[45]</sup> he ordered the construction of a small fleet, perhaps a dozen or so longships, that, at 60 oars, were twice the size of Viking warships. This was not, as the Victorians asserted, the birth of the English Navy. Wessex possessed a royal fleet before this. King Athelstan of Kent and Ealdorman Ealhhere had defeated a Viking fleet in 851, capturing nine ships,<sup>[46]</sup> and Alfred himself had conducted naval actions in 882.<sup>[47]</sup> But, clearly, the author of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and probably Alfred himself regarded 897 as marking an important development in the naval power of Wessex. The chronicler flattered his royal patron by boasting that Alfred's ships were not only larger, but swifter, steadier and rode higher in the water than either Danish or Frisian ships. (It is probable that, under the classical tutelage of Asser, Alfred utilised the design of Greek and Roman warships, with high sides, designed for fighting rather than for navigation.) Alfred had seapower in mind: if he could intercept raiding fleets

before they landed, he could spare his kingdom from ravaging. Alfred's ships may have been superior in conception. However, in practice they proved to be too large to manoeuvre well in the close waters of estuaries and rivers, the only places in which a 'naval' battle could occur.<sup>[48]</sup> (The warships of the time were not designed to be ship killers but troop carriers. A naval battle entailed a ship's coming alongside an enemy vessel, at which point the crew would lash the two ships together and board the enemy. The result was effectively a land battle involving hand-to-hand fighting on board the two lashed vessels.)

In the one recorded naval engagement in the year 896,<sup>[4][45]</sup> Alfred's new fleet of nine ships intercepted six Viking ships in the mouth of an unidentified river along the south of England. The Danes had beached half their ships, and gone inland,<sup>[45]</sup> either to rest their rowers or to forage for food. Alfred's ships immediately moved to block their escape to the sea. The three Viking ships afloat attempted to break through the English lines.<sup>[45]</sup> Only one made it, Alfred's ships intercepted the other two.<sup>[45]</sup> Lashing the Viking boats to their own, the English crew boarded the enemy's vessels and proceeded to kill everyone on board. The one ship that escaped managed to do so only because all of Alfred's heavy ships became mired when the tide went out. What ensued was a land battle between the crews of the grounded ships. The Danes, heavily outnumbered, would have been wiped out if the tide had not risen. When that occurred, the Danes rushed back to their boats, which being lighter, with shallower drafts, were freed before Alfred's ships. Helplessly, the English watched as the Vikings rowed past them. But the pirates had suffered so many casualties (120 Danes dead against 62 Frisians and English<sup>[45]</sup>), that they had difficulties putting out to sea.<sup>[45]</sup> All were too damaged to row around Sussex and two were driven against the Sussex coast.<sup>[45]</sup> The shipwrecked sailors were brought before Alfred at Winchester and were hanged.<sup>[45]</sup>



The Alfred Jewel, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, commissioned by Alfred.



## Legal reform



Silver coin of Alfred

In the late 880s or early 890s, Alfred issued a long *domboc* or law code, consisting of his "own" laws followed by a code issued by his late seventh-century predecessor King Ine of Wessex. Together these laws are arranged into 120 chapters. In his introduction, Alfred explains that he gathered together the laws he found in many 'synod-books' and "ordered to be written many of the ones that our forefathers observed—those that pleased me; and many of the ones that did not please me, I rejected with the advice of my councillors, and commanded them to be observed in a different way."<sup>[49]</sup> Alfred singled out in particular the laws that he "found in the days of Ine, my kinsman, or Offa, king of the Mercians, or King Æthelbert of Kent, who first among the English people received baptism." It is difficult to know exactly what Alfred meant by this. He appended rather than

integrated the laws of Ine into his code, and although he included, as had Æthelbert, a scale of payments in compensation for injuries to various body parts, the two injury tariffs are not aligned. And, Offa is not known to have issued a law code, leading historian Patrick Wormald to speculate that Alfred had in mind the legatine capitulary of 786 that was presented to Offa by two papal legates.<sup>[50]</sup>

About a fifth of the law code is taken up by Alfred's introduction, which includes translations into English of the Decalogue, a few chapters from the Book of Exodus, and the 'Apostolic Letter' from Acts of the Apostles (15:23–29). The Introduction may best be understood as Alfred's meditation upon the meaning of Christian law.<sup>[51]</sup> It traces the continuity between God's gift of Law to Moses to Alfred's own issuance of law to the West Saxon people. By doing so, it links the holy past to the historical present and represents Alfred's law-giving as a type of divine legislation.<sup>[52]</sup> This is the reason that Alfred divided his code into precisely 120 chapters: 120 was the age at which Moses died and, in the number-symbolism of early medieval biblical exegetes, 120 stood for law.<sup>[53]</sup> The link between the Mosaic Law and Alfred's code is the 'Apostolic Letter,' which explained that Christ "had come not to shatter or annul the commandments but to fulfill them; and he taught mercy and meekness" (Intro, 49.1). The mercy that Christ infused into Mosaic Law underlies the injury tariffs that figure so prominently in barbarian law codes, since Christian synods "established, through that mercy which Christ taught, that for almost every misdeed at the first offence secular lords might with their permission receive without sin the monetary compensation, which they then fixed."<sup>[54]</sup> The only crime that could not be compensated with a payment of money is treachery to a lord, "since Almighty God adjudged none for those who despised Him, nor did Christ, the Son of God, adjudge any for the one who betrayed Him to death; and He commanded everyone to love his lord as Himself."<sup>[54]</sup> Alfred's transformation of Christ's commandment from "Love your neighbour as yourself" (Matt. 22:39–40) to love your secular lord as you would love the Lord Christ himself underscores the importance that Alfred placed upon lordship, which he understood as a sacred bond instituted by God for the governance of man.<sup>[55]</sup>

When one turns from the *domboc*'s introduction to the laws themselves, it is difficult to uncover any logical arrangement. The impression one receives is of a hodgepodge of miscellaneous laws. The law code, as it has been preserved, is singularly unsuitable for use in lawsuits. In fact, several of Alfred's laws contradict the laws of Ine that form an integral part of the code. Patrick Wormald's explanation is that Alfred's law code should be understood not as a legal manual, but as an ideological manifesto of kingship, "designed more for symbolic impact than for practical direction."<sup>[56]</sup> In practical terms, the most important law in the code may well be the very first: "We enjoin, what is most necessary, that each man keep carefully his oath and his pledge," which expresses a fundamental tenet of Anglo-Saxon law.<sup>[57]</sup>

Alfred devoted considerable attention and thought to judicial matters. Asser underscores his concern for judicial fairness. Alfred, according to Asser, insisted upon reviewing contested judgments made by his ealdormen and



reeves, and "would carefully look into nearly all the judgements which were passed [issued] in his absence anywhere in the realm, to see whether they were just or unjust."<sup>[58]</sup> A charter from the reign of his son Edward the Elder depicts Alfred as hearing one such appeal in his chamber, while washing his hands.<sup>[59]</sup> Asser represents Alfred as a Solomonic judge, painstaking in his own judicial investigations and critical of royal officials who rendered unjust or unwise judgments. Although Asser never mentions Alfred's law code, he does say that Alfred insisted that his judges be literate, so that they could apply themselves "to the pursuit of wisdom." The failure to comply with this royal order was to be punished by loss of office.<sup>[60]</sup> It is uncertain how seriously this should be taken; Asser was more concerned to represent Alfred as a wise ruler than to report actual royal policy.

## Foreign relations

Asser speaks grandiosely of Alfred's relations with foreign powers, but little definite information is available.<sup>[8]</sup> His interest in foreign countries is shown by the insertions which he made in his translation of Orosius. He certainly corresponded with Elias III, the Patriarch of Jerusalem,<sup>[8]</sup> and possibly sent a mission to India in honour of Saint Thomas the Apostle, whose tomb was believed to lie in that country.<sup>[61]</sup> Contact was also made with the Caliph in Baghdad.<sup>[62]</sup> Embassies to Rome conveying the English alms to the Pope were fairly frequent. Keynes & Lapidge 1983, p. 14 Around 890, Wulfstan of Hedeby undertook a journey from Hedeby on Jutland along the Baltic Sea to the Prussian trading town of Truso. Alfred personally collected details of this trip.<sup>[63]</sup>

Alfred's relations with the Celtic princes in the western half of Britain are clearer. Comparatively early in his reign, according to Asser, the southern Welsh princes, owing to the pressure on them from North Wales and Mercia, commended themselves to Alfred. Later in the reign the North Welsh followed their example, and the latter cooperated with the English in the campaign of 893 (or 894). That Alfred sent alms to Irish and Continental monasteries may be taken on Asser's authority. The visit of the three pilgrim "Scots" (i.e. Irish) to Alfred in 891 is undoubtedly authentic. The story that he himself in his childhood was sent to Ireland to be healed by Saint Modwenna, though mythical, may show Alfred's interest in that island.<sup>[8]</sup>

## Religion and culture



Historical mixed media figure of Alfred the Great produced by artist/historian George S. Stuart and photographed by Peter d'Aprix. This image, from the George S. Stuart Gallery of Historical Figures

In the 880s, at the same time that he was "cajoling and threatening" his nobles to build and man the burhs, Alfred, perhaps inspired by the example of Charlemagne almost a century before, undertook an equally ambitious effort to revive learning.<sup>[8]</sup> It entailed the recruitment of clerical scholars from Mercia, Wales and abroad to enhance the tenor of the court and of the episcopacy; the establishment of a court school to educate his own children, the sons of his nobles, and intellectually promising boys of lesser birth; an attempt to require literacy in those who held offices of authority; a series of translations into the vernacular of Latin works the king deemed "most necessary for all men to know"; the compilation of a chronicle detailing the rise of Alfred's kingdom and house; and the issuance of a law code that presented the West Saxons as a new people of Israel and their king as a just and divinely inspired law-giver.

Very little is known of the church under Alfred. The Danish attacks had been particularly damaging to the monasteries, and though Alfred founded monasteries at Athelney and Shaftesbury, the first new monastic houses in Wessex since the beginning of the eighth century,<sup>[64]</sup> and enticed foreign monks to England, monasticism did not revive significantly during his reign. Alfred undertook no systematic reform of ecclesiastical institutions or religious practices in

Wessex. For him the key to the kingdom's spiritual revival was to appoint pious, learned, and trustworthy bishops and abbots. As king he saw himself as responsible for both the temporal and spiritual welfare of his subjects. Secular and spiritual authority were not distinct categories for Alfred. He was equally comfortable distributing his translation of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care* to his bishops so that they might better train and supervise priests, and using those same bishops as royal officials and judges. Nor did his piety prevent him from expropriating strategically sited church lands, especially estates along the border with the Danelaw, and transferring them to royal thegns and officials who could better defend them against Viking attacks.<sup>[65]</sup>

The Danish raids had also a devastating impact on learning in England. Alfred lamented in the preface to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* that "learning had declined so thoroughly in England that there were very few men on this side of the Humber who could understand their divine services in English, or even translate a single letter from Latin into English: and I suppose that there were not many beyond the Humber either".<sup>[66]</sup> Alfred undoubtedly exaggerated for dramatic effect the abysmal state of learning in England during his youth. That Latin learning had not been obliterated is evidenced by the presence in his court of learned Mercian and West Saxon clerics such as Plegmund, Wæferth, and Wulfsgie, but Alfred's account should not be entirely discounted. Manuscript production in England dropped off precipitously around the 860s when the Viking invasions began in earnest, not to be revived until the end of the century.<sup>[67]</sup> Numerous Anglo-Saxon manuscripts burnt up along with the churches that housed them. And a solemn diploma from Christ Church, Canterbury dated 873 is so poorly constructed and written that historian Nicholas Brooks posited a scribe who was either so blind he could not read what he wrote or who knew little or no Latin. "It is clear," Brooks concludes, "that the metropolitan church [of Canterbury] must have been quite unable to provide any effective training in the scriptures or in Christian worship."<sup>[68]</sup>

Following the example of Charlemagne, Alfred established a court school for the education of his own children, those of the nobility, and "a good many of lesser birth". There they studied books in both English and Latin and

"devoted themselves to writing, to such an extent .... they were seen to be devoted and intelligent students of the liberal arts."<sup>[69]</sup> He recruited scholars from the Continent and from Britain to aid in the revival of Christian learning in Wessex and to provide the king personal instruction. Grimbald and John the Saxon came from Francia; Plegmund (whom Alfred appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 890), Bishop Werferth of Worcester, Æthelstan, and the royal chaplains Werwulf, from Mercia; and Asser, from St. David's in south-western Wales.

Alfred's educational ambitions seem to have extended beyond the establishment of a court school. Believing that without Christian wisdom there can be neither prosperity nor success in war, Alfred aimed "to set to learning (as long as they are not useful for some other employment) all the free-born young men now in England who have the means to apply themselves to it."<sup>[70]</sup> Conscious of the decay of Latin literacy in his realm, Alfred proposed that primary education be taught in English, with those wishing to advance to holy orders to continue their studies in Latin. The problem, however, was that there were few "books of wisdom" written in English. Alfred sought to remedy this through an ambitious court-centred programme of translating into English the books he deemed "most necessary for all men to know."<sup>[70]</sup> It is unknown when Alfred launched this programme, but it may have been during the 880s when Wessex was enjoying a respite from Viking attacks.

Apart from the lost *Handboc* or *Encheiridion*, which seems to have been a commonplace book kept by the king, the earliest work to be translated was the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, a book greatly popular in the Middle Ages. The translation was undertaken at Alfred's command by Werferth, Bishop of Worcester, with the king merely furnishing a preface.<sup>[8]</sup> Remarkably, Alfred, undoubtedly with the advice and aid of his court scholars, translated four works himself: Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, St. Augustine's *Soliloquies*, and the first fifty psalms of the Psalter. One might add to this list Alfred's translation, in his law code, of excerpts from the Vulgate Book of Exodus. The Old English versions of Orosius's *Histories against the Pagans* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* are no longer accepted by scholars as Alfred's own translations because of lexical and stylistic differences.<sup>[71]</sup> Nonetheless, the consensus remains that they were part of the Alfredian programme of translation. Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge suggest this also for Bald's *Leechbook* and the anonymous *Old English Martyrology*.<sup>[72]</sup>

Alfred's first translation was of Pope Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, which he prefaced with an introduction explaining why he thought it necessary to translate works such as this one from Latin into English. Although he described his method as translating "sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense," Alfred's translation actually keeps very close to his original, although through his choice of language he blurred throughout the distinction between spiritual and secular authority. Alfred meant his translation to be used and circulated it to all his bishops.<sup>[8]</sup>

Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* was the most popular philosophical handbook of the Middle Ages. Unlike his translation of the *Pastoral Care*, Alfred here deals very freely with his original and though the late Dr. G. Schepss<sup>[73]</sup> showed that many of the additions to the text are to be traced not to Alfred himself, but to the glosses and commentaries which he used, still there is much in the work which is solely Alfred's and highly characteristic of his style. It is in the Boethius that the oft-quoted sentence occurs: "My will was to live worthily as long as I lived, and after my life to leave to them that should come after, my memory in good works." The book has come down to us in two manuscripts only. In one of these<sup>[74]</sup> the writing is prose, in the other<sup>[75]</sup> a combination of prose and alliterating verse. The latter manuscript was severely damaged in the 18th and 19th centuries,<sup>[76]</sup> and the authorship of the verse has been much disputed; but likely it also is by Alfred. In fact, he writes in the prelude that he first created a prose work and then used it as the basis for his poem *Metres of Boethius*, his crowning literary achievement. He spent a great deal of time working on these books, which he tells us he gradually wrote through the many stressful times of his reign to refresh his mind. Of the authenticity of the work as a whole there has never been any doubt.

The last of Alfred's works is one to which he gave the name *Blostman*, i.e., "Blooms" or Anthology. The first half is based mainly on the *Soliloquies* of St Augustine of Hippo, the remainder is drawn from various sources, and contains much that is Alfred's own and highly characteristic of him. The last words of it may be quoted; they form a fitting

epitaph for the noblest of English kings. "Therefore he seems to me a very foolish man, and truly wretched, who will not increase his understanding while he is in the world, and ever wish and long to reach that endless life where all shall be made clear."

Alfred appears as a character in the twelfth- or thirteenth-century poem *The Owl and the Nightingale*, where his wisdom and skill with proverbs is praised. *The Proverbs of Alfred*, a thirteenth-century work, contains sayings that are not likely to have originated with Alfred but attest to his posthumous medieval reputation for wisdom.



The Alfred jewel, discovered in Somerset in 1693, has long been associated with King Alfred because of its Old English inscription "AELFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN" (*Alfred ordered me to be made*). The jewel is about 2½ inches (6.1 cm) long, made of filigreed gold, enclosing a highly polished piece of quartz crystal beneath which is set a cloisonné enamel plaque, with an enamelled image of a man holding floriate sceptres, perhaps personifying Sight or the Wisdom of God.<sup>[77]</sup> It was at one time attached to a thin rod or stick based on the hollow socket at its base. The jewel certainly dates from Alfred's reign. Although its function is unknown, it has been often suggested that the jewel was one of the *æstels*—pointers for reading—that Alfred ordered sent to every bishopric accompanying a copy of his translation of the *Pastoral Care*. Each *æstel* was worth the princely sum of 50 mancuses, which fits in well with the quality workmanship and expensive materials of the Alfred jewel.

Historian Richard Abels sees Alfred's educational and military reforms as complementary. Restoring religion and learning in Wessex, Abels contends, was to Alfred's mind as essential to the defence of his realm as the building of the burhs.<sup>[78]</sup> As Alfred observed in the preface to his English translation of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, kings who fail to obey their divine duty to promote learning can expect earthly punishments to befall their people.<sup>[79]</sup> The pursuit of wisdom,

he assured his readers of the Boethius, was the surest path to power: "Study Wisdom, then, and, when you have learned it, condemn it not, for I tell you that by its means you may without fail attain to power, yea, even though not desiring it".<sup>[80]</sup> The portrayal of the West-Saxon resistance to the Vikings by Asser and the chronicler as a Christian holy war was more than mere rhetoric or 'propaganda'. It reflected Alfred's own belief in a doctrine of divine rewards and punishments rooted in a vision of a hierarchical Christian world order in which God is the Lord to whom kings owe obedience and through whom they derive their authority over their followers. The need to persuade his nobles to undertake work for the 'common good' led Alfred and his court scholars to strengthen and deepen the conception of Christian kingship that he had inherited by building upon the legacy of earlier kings such as Offa as well as clerical writers such as Bede, Alcuin and the other luminaries of the Carolingian renaissance. This was not a cynical use of religion to manipulate his subjects into obedience, but an intrinsic element in Alfred's worldview. He believed, as did other kings in ninth-century England and Francia, that God had entrusted him with the spiritual as well as physical welfare of his people. If the Christian faith fell into ruin in his kingdom, if the clergy were too ignorant to understand the Latin words they butchered in their offices and liturgies, if the ancient monasteries and collegiate churches lay deserted out of indifference, he was answerable before God, as Josiah had been. Alfred's ultimate responsibility was the pastoral care of his people.

Family

In 868, Alfred married Ealhswith, daughter of a Mercian nobleman, Æthelred Mucil, Ealdorman of the Gaini. The Gaini were probably one of the tribal groups of the Mercians. Ealhswith's mother, Eadburh, was a member of the Mercian royal family.<sup>[81]</sup>

They had five or six children together, including Edward the Elder, who succeeded his father as king, Æthelflæd, who would become Queen of Mercia in her own right, and Ælfthryth who married Baldwin II the Count of Flanders. His mother was Osburga daughter of Oslac of the Isle of Wight, Chief Butler of England. Asser, in his *Vita Ælfredi* asserts that this shows his lineage from the Jutes of the Isle of Wight. This is unlikely as Bede tells us that they were all slaughtered by the Saxons under Cædwalla. In 2008 the skeleton of Queen Eadgyth, granddaughter of Alfred the Great was found in Magdeburg Cathedral in Germany. It was confirmed in 2010 that these remains belong to her — one of the earliest members of the English royal family.<sup>[82]</sup>

Name	Birth	Death	Notes
Æthelflæd		918	Married 889, Æthelred, Ealdorman of Mercia d 910; had issue
Edward	870	17 July 924	Married (1) Ecgwynn, (2) Ælfflæd, (3) 919 Eadgifu
Æthelgifu			Abbess of Shaftesbury
Æthelweard		16 October 922(?)	Married and had issue
Ælfthryth		929	Married Baldwin II; had issue

Death, burial and legacy

Alfred died on 26 October 899. How he died is unknown, although he suffered throughout his life with a painful and unpleasant illness – possibly Crohn's disease,<sup>[83]</sup> which seems to have been inherited by his grandson King Edred. He was originally buried temporarily in the Old Minster in Winchester, then moved to the New Minster (perhaps built especially to receive his body). When the New Minster moved to Hyde, a little north of the city, in 1110, the monks transferred to Hyde Abbey along with Alfred's body and those of his wife and children. Soon after the dissolution of the abbey in 1539, during the reign of Henry VIII, the church was demolished, leaving the graves intact.<sup>[84]</sup> The royal graves and many others were probably rediscovered by chance in 1788 when a prison was being constructed by convicts on the site. Coffins were stripped of lead, bones were scattered and lost, and no identifiable remains of Alfred have subsequently been found. Further excavations in 1866 and 1897 were inconclusive.<sup>[84][85]</sup>

He is regarded as a saint by some Catholics,<sup>[86]</sup> but an attempt by king Henry VI in 1441 to get him canonized was unsuccessful.<sup>[87][88]</sup> The Anglican Communion venerates him as a Christian hero, with a feast day of 26 October,<sup>[89]</sup> and he may often be found depicted in stained glass in Church of England parish churches.

A number of educational establishments are named in Alfred's honour. These include:

- The University of Winchester was named 'King Alfred's College, Winchester' between 1928 and 2004, whereupon it was renamed "University College Winchester".
- Alfred University and Alfred State College located in Alfred, NY, are both named after the king.
- In honour of Alfred, the University of Liverpool created a King Alfred Chair of English Literature.
- King Alfred's Community and Sports College, a secondary school in Wantage, Oxfordshire, the birthplace of Alfred.
- King's Lodge School, in Chippenham, Wiltshire is so named because King Alfred's hunting lodge is reputed to have stood on or near the site of the school.
- The King Alfred School & Specialist Sports Academy, Burnham Road, Highbridge is so named due to its rough proximity to Brent Knoll (a Beacon site) and Athelney.
- The King Alfred School in Barnet, North London, UK.



- King Alfred's Middle School, Shaftesbury, Dorset [Now defunct after reorganisation]
- King's College, Taunton, Somerset. (The king in question is King Alfred).
- Saxonwold Primary School in Gauteng, South Africa names one of its houses after King Alfred. The others being Bede, Caedmon, and Dunston.

The Royal Navy has named one ship and two shore establishments HMS King Alfred.

## Wantage statue



Statue of Alfred the Great at Wantage

A statue of Alfred the Great, situated in the Wantage market place, was sculpted by Count Gleichen, a relative of Queen Victoria's, and unveiled on 14 July 1877 by the Prince and Princess of Wales.<sup>[90]</sup>

The statue was vandalised on New Year's Eve 2007, losing part of its right arm and axe. After the arm and axe were replaced the statue was again vandalised on Christmas Eve 2008, once more losing its axe.<sup>[90]</sup>

## Notes

This article incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain from the entry "Ælfred" in: Cousin, John William (1910). *A Short Biographical Dictionary of English Literature*. London, J. M. Dent & Sons; New York, E. P. Dutton.

- [1] Yorke, Alfred
- [2] Cnut the Great, who ruled England from 1016 to 1035, was Danish.
- [3] Alfred was the youngest of either four (Weir, Alison, *Britain's Royal Families: The Complete Genealogy* (1989), p.5) or five brothers, (<http://www.royal.gov.uk/HistoryoftheMonarchy/KingsandQueensofEngland/TheAnglo-Saxonkings/AlfredtheGreat.aspx>) the primary record conflicting regarding whether Æthelstan of Wessex was a brother or uncle.
- [4] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/657/657.txt>) Freely licensed version at Gutenberg Project. Note: This electronic edition is a collation of material from nine diverse extant versions of the Chronicle. It contains primarily the translation of Rev. James Ingram, as published in the Everyman edition.
- [5] Wormald 2004
- [6] Crofton, Ian (2006). *The Kings & Queens of England*. Quercus Publishing. p. 8. ISBN 13:978 1 84724 628 8.
- [7] Cornwell, Bernard (2009), "Historical Note" (p. 385 and following), in "The Burning Land" (Harper)
- [8] Plummer 1911
- [9] Abels 1998, pp. 140–141
- [10] Brooks, N.P. and J.A. Graham-Campbell, "Reflections on the Viking-age silver hoard from Croydon, Surrey", in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley* (1986), pp. 91–110.
- [11] "History of the Monarchy – The Anglo-Saxon kings – Alfred 'The Great'" (<http://www.royal.gov.uk/HistoryoftheMonarchy/KingsandQueensofEngland/TheAnglo-Saxonkings/AlfredtheGreat.aspx>). Royal.gov.uk. 2011-11-11. . Retrieved 2012-02-04.
- [12] Savage 1988 p. 101.
- [13] Horspool. Why Alfred Burnt the Cakes. p.173. The inscription reads *ALFRED THE GREAT* AD 879 on this Summit Erected his Standard Against Danish Invaders To him We owe The Origin of Juries The Establishment of a Militia The Creation of a Naval Force ALFRED The Light of a Benighted Age Was a Philosopher and a Christian The Father of his People The Founder of the English MONARCHY and LIBERTY
- [14] Abels 1998, p. 163
- [15] Blackburn, M.A.S. Blackburn, "The London mint in the reign of Alfred", in *Kings, currency, and alliances : history and coinage of southern England in the ninth century*, ed. M.A.S. Blackburn and D.N. Dumville (1998), pp. 105–24.
- [16] Pratt 2007 p. 94.
- [17] Asser 1983 p. 86.
- [18] Alfred 1969 p. 76.
- [19] Asser 1969 p. 78.
- [20] Asser 1983 p. 88.
- [21] Asser 1983 p. 87.
- [22] Huntingdon 1969 p. 81.

- [23] Woodruff 1993 p. 86.
- [24] Keynes 1998 p. 24.
- [25] Keynes 1998 p. 23.
- [26] Pratt 2007 p. 106.
- [27] Asser 1969 p. 114.
- [28] Woodruff 1993 p. 89.
- [29] Abels 1998
- [30] Abels 1998
- [31] Abels 1998
- [32] Pratt 2007
- [33] Hull 2006
- [34] Abels 1998
- [35] Abels 1998
- [36] Bradshaw 1999, which is referenced in Hull 2006
- [37] Abels 1998
- [38] Abels 1988
- [39] Abel 1998
- [40] Asser, translated by Keynes & Lapidge 1983
- [41] Abels 1998
- [42] Abels 1998
- [43] Many of Alfred's civil and military endeavors are documented in Charles Plummer's *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, especially in Lecture IV.
- [44] Abels 1998, pp. 199–207
- [45] Savage 1988 p. 111.
- [46] Savage 1988 pp. 86–88.
- [47] Savage 1988 p. 97.
- [48] Abels 1998, pp. 305–307 Cf. the much more positive view of the capabilities of these ships in Gifford & Gifford 2003 pp. 281–89
- [49] *Alfred*, Int. 49.9, trans. Keynes & Lapidge 1983 p. 164.
- [50] Wormald 2001, pp. 280–1
- [51] Pratt 2007 p. 215.
- [52] Abels 1998, p. 248
- [53] Wormald 2001, p. 417
- [54] *Alfred*, Intro, 49.7, trans. Keynes & Lapidge 1983 pp. 164–5
- [55] Abels 1998, p. 250 cites *Alfred's Pastoral Care*, ch. 28
- [56] Wormald 2001, p. 427
- [57] *Alfred*, 2, in Keynes & Lapidge 1983 p. 164.
- [58] Asser, chap. 106, in Keynes & Lapidge 1983 p. 109
- [59] The charter is Sawyer 1445, and is printed in *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (1979), pp. 544–6.
- [60] Asser, chap. 106, in Keynes & Lapidge 1983 pp. 109–10.
- [61] Medlycott 1905, p. 80
- [62] Reinhold 1857, p. 146
- [63] *A literal translation of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of the ... - Paulus Orosius*, Robert Thomas Hampson (<http://books.google.com/books?id=GhNAAAAAYAAJ&dq=alfred+orosius&pg=PA16#v=onepage&q=wulfstan&f=false>). Books.google.com. . Retrieved 2012-02-04.
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## Further reading

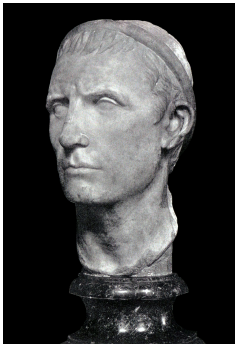
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- *The whole works of King Alfred the Great, with preliminary essays, illustrative of the history, arts, and manners, of the ninth century*, 1969, OCLC 28387

## External links

- Alfred the Great at royal.gov.uk (<http://www.royal.gov.uk/HistoryoftheMonarchy/KingsandQueensofEngland/TheAnglo-Saxonkings/AlfredtheGreat.aspx>)
  - Lays of Boethius
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# Antiochus III the Great

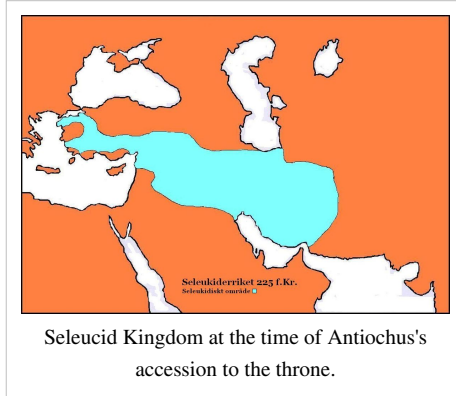
Antiochus III <i>the Great</i>	
	
Bust of Antiochus III <i>the Great</i> from the Louvre	
Megas Basileus of the Seleucid Empire	
Reign	223 BC – 187 BC (36 years)
Predecessor	Seleucus III Ceraunus
Successor	Seleucus IV Philopator
Spouse	Princess Laodice of Pontus Euboea of Chalcis
Issue	
Antiochus Seleucus IV Philopator Ardys unnamed daughter Laodice IV, Queen of the Seleucid Empire Cleopatra I Syra, Queen of Egypt Antiochis, Queen of Cappadocia Antiochus IV Epiphanes	
Full name	
Antiochos Mégas Ἀντίοχος Μέγας ("Antiochus <i>the Great</i> ")	
Father	Seleucus II Callinicus
Mother	Laodice II
Born	241 BC Babylon, Mesopotamia
Died	187 BC (aged 54) Susa, Elymais

**Antiochus III the Great** (Greek: Ἀντίοχος Μέγας}}; c. 241 – 187 BC, ruled 222 – 187 BC) was the sixth ruler of the Seleucid Empire,<sup>[1][2][3]</sup> ruling over Greater Syria and western Asia towards the end of the 3rd century BC. Rising to the throne at the age of eighteen in 223 BC, his early campaigns against the Ptolemaic Kingdom were unsuccessful, but in the following years Antiochus gained several military victories. His traditional designation, *the Great*, reflects an epithet he briefly assumed. He also assumed the title "*Basileus Megas*" (which is Greek for "Great

King"), the traditional title of the Persian kings.

Declaring himself the "champion of Greek freedom against Roman domination", Antiochus III waged a war against the Roman Republic in mainland Greece in autumn of 192 BC<sup>[4][5]</sup> only to be defeated.

## Background and early career



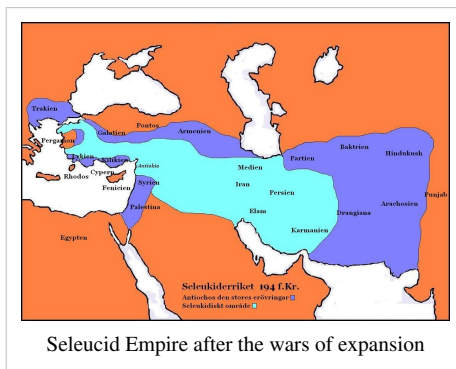
Antiochus III was a member of the Greek-Macedonian Seleucid dynasty.<sup>[6][7][8][9]</sup> He was the son of king Seleucus II and Laodice II and was born in 242 BC near Susa in Iran.<sup>[10]</sup> Antiochus succeeded his brother Seleucus III as the king of the Seleucid Empire.

Antiochus III inherited a disorganized state. Not only had Asia Minor become detached, but the easternmost provinces had broken away, Bactria under the Greek Diodotus of Bactria, and Parthia under the nomad chieftain Arsaces. Soon after Antiochus's accession, Media and Persis revolted under their governors, the brothers Molon and Alexander.

The young king, under the baneful influence of the minister Hermeias, authorised an attack on Ptolemaic Syria instead of going in person to face the rebels. The attack against Egypt of the Ptolemies proved a fiasco, and the generals sent against Molon and Alexander met with disaster. Only in Asia Minor, where the king's cousin, the able Achaeus, represented the Seleucid cause, did its prestige recover, driving the Pergamene power back to its earlier limits.

In 221 BC Antiochus at last went east, and the rebellion of Molon and Alexander collapsed which Polybios attributes in part to his following the advice of Zeuxis rather than Hermeias.<sup>[11]</sup> The submission of Lesser Media, which had asserted its independence under Artabazanes, followed. Antiochus rid himself of Hermeias by assassination and returned to Syria (220 BC). Meanwhile Achaeus himself had revolted and assumed the title of king in Asia Minor. Since, however, his power was not well enough grounded to allow an attack on Syria, Antiochus considered that he might leave Achaeus for the present and renew his attempt on Ptolemaic Syria.

## Early wars against other Hellenistic rulers



The campaigns of 219 BC and 218 BC carried the Seleucid armies almost to the confines of Ptolemaic Kingdom, but in 217 BC Ptolemy IV defeated Antiochus at the Battle of Raphia. This defeat nullified all Antiochus's successes and compelled him to withdraw north of the Lebanon.

In 216 BC Antiochus' army marched into western Anatolia to suppress the local rebellion led by Antiochus' own cousin Achaeus, and had by 214 BC driven him from the field into Sardis. Capturing Achaeus, Antiochus had him executed. The citadel managed to hold out until 213 BC under Achaeus' widow Laodice who surrendered later.

Having thus recovered the central part of Asia Minor (for the Seleucid government had perforce to tolerate the dynasties in Pergamon, Bithynia and Cappadocia) Antiochus turned to recovering the outlying provinces of the north and east. He obliged Xerxes of Armenia to acknowledge his supremacy in 212 BC. In 209 BC Antiochus invaded Parthia, occupied the capital Hecatompylus and pushed forward into Hyrcania. The Parthian king Arsaces II apparently successfully sued for peace.

## Bactrian campaign and Indian expedition

Year 209 BC saw Antiochus in Bactria, where the Greco-Bactrian king Euthydemus I had supplanted the original rebel. Antiochus again met with success.<sup>[12]</sup> He was defeated by Antiochus at the Battle of the Arius but after sustaining a famous siege in his capital Bactra (*Balkh*), Euthydemus obtained an honourable peace by which Antiochus promised Euthydemus' son Demetrius the hand of one of his daughters.<sup>[13]</sup>

Antiochus next, following in the steps of Alexander, crossed into the Kabul valley, reaching the realm of Indian king Sophagasenus and returned west by way of Seistan and Kerman (206/5). According to Polybius:

"He crossed the Caucasus (Hindu Kush) and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus (Subhashsena in Prakrit) the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had a hundred and fifty altogether; and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army: leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."<sup>[13]</sup>



Coin of Antiochos III.

## Persia and Coele Syria campaigns

From Seleucia on the Tigris he led a short expedition down the Persian Gulf against the Gerrhaeans of the Arabian coast (205 BC/204 BC). Antiochus seemed to have restored the Seleucid empire in the east, which earned him the title of "the Great" (Antiochos Megas). In 205/204 BC the infant Ptolemy V Epiphanes succeeded to the Egyptian throne, and Antiochus is said (notably by Polybios) to have concluded a secret pact with Philip V of Macedon for the partition of the Ptolemaic possessions. Under the terms of this pact, Macedon were to receive Egypt's possessions around the Aegean Sea and Cyrene, while Antiochus would annex Cyprus and Egypt.

Once more Antiochus attacked the Ptolemaic province of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, and by 199 BC he seems to have had possession of it before the Aetolian, Scopas, recovered it for Ptolemy. But that recovery proved brief, for in 198 BC Antiochus defeated Scopas at the Battle of Panium, near the sources of the Jordan, a battle which marks the end of Ptolemaic rule in Judea.

## War against Rome and death

Antiochus then moved to Asia Minor, by land and by sea, to secure the coast towns which belonged to the remnants of Ptolemaic overseas dominions and the independent Greek cities. This enterprise earned him the antagonism of the Roman Republic, since Smyrna and Lampsacus appealed to the republic of the west, and the tension grew after Antiochus had in 196 BC established a footing in Thrace. The evacuation of Greece by the Romans gave Antiochus his opportunity, and he now had the fugitive Hannibal at his court to urge him on.

In 192 BC Antiochus invaded Greece with a 10,000 man army, and was elected the commander in chief of the Aetolian League.<sup>[14]</sup> In 191 BC, however, the Romans under Manius Acilius Glabrio routed him at Thermopylae, forcing him to withdraw to Asia Minor. The Romans followed up their success by invading Anatolia, and the decisive victory of Scipio Asiaticus at Magnesia ad Sipylum (190 BC), following the defeat of Hannibal at sea off Side, delivered Asia Minor into their hands.

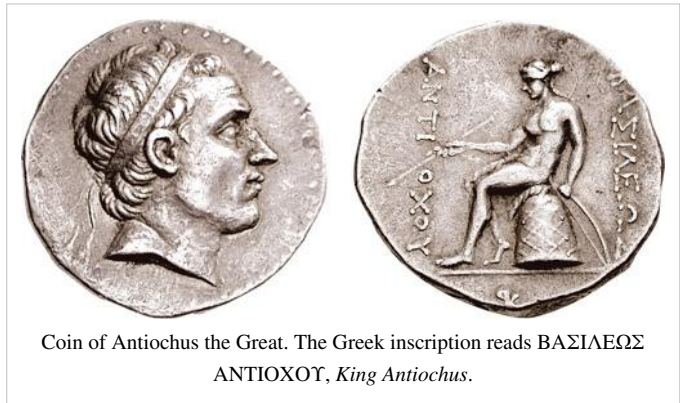
By the Treaty of Apamea (188 BC) the Seleucid king abandoned all the country north of the Taurus, which the Roman Republic distributed amongst its local allies. As a consequence of this blow to the Seleucid power, the outlying provinces of the empire, recovered by Antiochus, reasserted their independence. Antiochus mounted a fresh eastern expedition in Luristan, where he died while pillaging a temple of Bel at Elymaïs, Persia, in 187 BC.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Family

In 222 BC, Antiochus III married Princess Laodice of Pontus, a daughter of King Mithridates II of Pontus and Princess Laodice of the Seleucid Empire. The couple were first cousins through their mutual grandfather, Antiochus II Theos. Antiochus and Laodice had eight children (three sons and five daughters):

- Antiochus (221 - 193 BC), Antiochus III's first heir apparent and joint-king with his father from 210 - 193 BC
- Seleucus IV Philopator (c. 220 - 175 BC), Antiochus III's successor
- Ardys
- unnamed daughter, betrothed in about 206 BC to Demetrius I of Bactria
- Laodice IV, married all three of her brothers in succession and became Queen of the Seleucid Empire through her second and third marriages
- Cleopatra I Syra (c. 204 - 176 BC), married in 193 BC Ptolemy V Epiphanes of Egypt
- Antiochis, married in 194 BC King Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia
- Mithridates (215 - 164 BC), succeeded his brother Seleucus IV Philopator in 175 BC under the regnal name Antiochus IV Epiphanes

Laodice III died in about 191 BC. Later that year, Antiochus III remarried to Euboea of Chalcis. They had no children.<sup>[15]</sup>



## Antiochus and the Jews

Antiochus III resettled 2000 Jewish families from Babylonia into the Hellenistic Anatolian regions of Lydia and Phrygia.<sup>[16]</sup> He is not the king who oppressed Judea and was resisted by the Maccabees in the Jewish story of Hanukkah; rather, that was his son, Antiochus IV. On the contrary, Josephus portrays him as friendly towards the Jews and cognizant of their loyalty to him (see *Antiquities*, chapter 3, sections 3-4), in stark contrast to the attitude of his son. In fact, Antiochus III lowered taxes and let the Jews live, as Josephus puts it, "according to the law of their forefathers."

## Cultural portrayals

The caroline era play *Believe as You List* is centered around Antiochus resistance to the Romans after the Battle of Thermopylae. The play was originally about Sebastian of Portugal surviving the Battle of Alcazar and returning, trying to gather support to return to the throne. This first version was censored for being considered "subversive" because it portrayed Sebastian being deposed, its comments in favor of an Anglo-Spanish alliance and possible pro-Catholicism, which led to the final version changing to the story of Antiochus (which led to historical inaccuracy in exaggerating his defeat at that phase in history to fit the earlier text), turning Spaniards into Romans and the Catholic eremite into a stoic philosopher.

## Notes

- [1] Davies, Philip R. (2002). *Second Temple studies III: studies in politics, class, and material culture*. Continuum International Publishing Group. p. 95. ISBN 9780826460301. "The difference is that from the perspective of Antiochus III, the Greek king of a Greek empire, or from the later point of view of a head of state communicating with a Greek city-state"
- [2] Garg, Gaṅgā Rām (1992). *Encyclopaedia of the Hindu world, Volume 2*. Concept Publishing Company. p. 510. ISBN 9788170223757. "Antiochus III the Great. Greek king who ruled over Syria and western Asia towards the end of the 3rd century BC. It was during his time that Bactria became independent under Euthydemus. Shortly afterwards Antiochus III crossed the Hindu Kush and attacked an Indian prince named Subhagasena (Sophagasena of the classical writers) who ruled over the Kabul valley. Antiochus III defeated Subhagasena, extorted from him a large cash indemnity and many elephants before he went back to his country. This invasion produced no permanent effect."
- [3] Jones, Peter V.; Sidwell, Keith C. (1997). *The World of Rome: An Introduction to Roman Culture*. Cambridge University Press. p. 20. ISBN 9780521386005. "Antiochus III, the Greek king of Syria (the dynasty there was called 'Seleucid'), was busily expanding in Asia Minor and in 196 BC even crossed into Europe to annex part of Thrace."
- [4] Whitehorne, John Edwin George (1994). *Cleopatra*. Routledge. p. 84. ISBN 9780415058063. "...in the autumn of 192 BC they heard that Antiochus III had crossed over to Greece with his army and declared himself the champion of Greek freedom against Roman domination."
- [5] Wilson, Nigel Guy (2006). *Encyclopedia of ancient Greece*. Routledge. p. 58. ISBN 9780415973342. "ANTIOCHUS III THE GREAT c242-187 BC Seleucid king Antiochus III the Great was the sixth king (223-187 BC) ... Antiochus landed on the mainland of Greece posing as a champion of Greek freedom against the Romans (192 BC)."
- [6] Bertman, Stephen (2003). *Handbook to life in ancient Mesopotamia*. Infobase Publishing. p. 76. ISBN 0816043469, 9780816043460. "Antiochus III (222–187 BCE) A member of the Hellenistic Seleucid dynasty"
- [7] Zion, Noam ; Spectre, Barbara (2000). *A Different Light: The Big Book of Hanukkah*. Devora Publishing. p. 57. ISBN 1930143370, 9781930143371. "Antiochus III, the Greek Seleucid Dynasty of Greater Syria captures Judea. 172 or 171-163"
- [8] Baskin, Judith R. ; Seeskin, Kenneth (2010). *The Cambridge Guide to Jewish History, Religion, and Culture*. Cambridge University Press. p. 37. ISBN 0521689740, 9780521689748. "The wars between the two most prominent Greek dynasties, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria, unalterably change the history of the land of Israel...As a result the land of Israel became part of the empire of the Syrian Greek Seleucids."
- [9] Glubb, Sir John Bagot (1967). *Syria, Lebanon, Jordan*. Thames & Hudson. p. 34. OCLC 585939. "Although the Ptolemies and the Seleucids were perpetual rivals, both dynasties were Greek and ruled by means of Greek officials and Greek soldiers. Both governments made great efforts to attract immigrants from Greece, thereby adding yet another racial element to the population."
- [10] Jonsson, David J. (2005). *The Clash of Ideologies*. Xulon Press. p. 566. ISBN 1597810398, 9781597810395. "Antiochus III was born in 242 BC, the son of Seleucus II, near Susa, Iran."
- [11] [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Polybius/5\\*.html#51](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Polybius/5*.html#51) Polybius Hist 5.51
- [12] Polybius 10.49, Antiochus Engages the Bactrians (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0234:book=10:chapter=49>)
- [13] Polybius 11.34, Antiochus Moves from Bactria Through Interior Asia (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Plb.+11.34>)
- [14] Bringmann, Klaus (2007). *A history of the Roman republic*. Polity. p. 91. ISBN 0745633714, 9780745633718. "The Aetolians called on Antiochus the 'liberate' Greece and to act as arbitrator between them and the Romans. Thereupon the king landed in Demetrias in the late autumn of 192 with a small army, and the Aetolian assembly elected him supreme strategos. His attempt to gather together all those who were dissatisfied with the peace agreement of 196 under the banner of Greek freedom had some success but proved a failure overall."
- [15] [http://www.livius.org/am-ao/antiochus/antiochus\\_iii.html](http://www.livius.org/am-ao/antiochus/antiochus_iii.html)
- [16] *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*. Amsterdam University Press. 2000. p. 61. ISBN 9053565035, 9789053565032. "Jewish settlements in the interior of Asia Minor were known as early as the 3rd century BCE when Antiochus III resettled 2000 Jewish families from Babylonia into Lydia and Phrygia"

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## External links

- Antiochus III "the Great" ([http://virtualreligion.net/iho/antiochus\\_3.html](http://virtualreligion.net/iho/antiochus_3.html)) entry in historical sourcebook by Mahlon H. Smith

# Ashoka

Ashoka	
Maurya Samrat	
<div></div> <p>A "Chakravartin" ruler, first century BC/CE. Andhra Pradesh, Amaravati. Preserved at Musee Guimet</p>	
Reign	274–232 BC
Coronation	270 BC
Titles	Samraat Chakravartin; other titles include <i>Devanampriya</i> and <i>Priyadarsin</i>
Born	304 BC
Birthplace	Pataliputra, Patna
Died	232 BC (aged 72)
Place of death	Pataliputra, Patna
Buried	Ashes immersed in the Ganges River, possibly at Varanasi, Cremated 232 BC, less than 24 hours after death
Predecessor	Bindusara
Successor	Dasaratha Maurya
Consort	Maharani Devi
Wives	Rani Tishyaraksha Rani Padmavati Rani Kaurwaki
Offspring	Mahendra, Sanghamitra, Teevala, Kunala
Royal House	Mauryan dynasty
Father	Bindusara
Mother	Rani Dharma or Shubhadrangī
Religious beliefs	Buddhism

**Ashoka** (Devanāgarī: अशोक, IAST: *Aśoka*, IPA: [aˈʂoːkə], ca. 304–232 BC), also known as **Ashoka the Great**, was an Indian emperor of the Maurya Dynasty who ruled almost all of the Indian subcontinent from ca. 269 BC to 232 BC.<sup>[1]</sup> One of India's greatest emperors, Ashoka reigned over most of present-day India after a number of military conquests. His empire stretched from present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan in the west, to the present-day

Bangladesh and the Indian state of Assam in the east, and as far south as northern Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. He conquered the kingdom named Kalinga, which none of his ancestors had conquered starting from Chandragupta Maurya. His reign was headquartered in Magadha (present-day Bihar). He embraced Buddhism after witnessing the mass deaths of the Kalinga War, which he himself had waged out of a desire for conquest. He was later dedicated to the propagation of Buddhism across Asia and established monuments marking several significant sites in the life of Gautama Buddha. Ashoka was a devotee of ahimsa (nonviolence), love, truth, tolerance and vegetarianism. Ashoka is remembered in history as a philanthropic administrator. In the history of India, Ashoka is referred to as *Samraat Chakravartin Ashoka* – the "Emperor of Emperors Ashoka".

His name "aśoka" means "painless, without sorrow" in Sanskrit (the *a* privativum and *śoka* "pain, distress"). In his edicts, he is referred to as *Devānāmpriya* (Pali *Devānāmpiya* or "The Beloved Of The Gods"), and *Priyadarśin* (Pali *Piyadasī* or "He who regards everyone with affection").

Along with the Edicts of Ashoka, his legend is related in the later 2nd-century *Aśokāvadāna* ("Narrative of Asoka") and *Divyāvadāna* ("Divine narrative"), and in the Sri Lankan text *Mahāvamsa* ("Great Chronicle").

Ashoka played a critical role in helping make Buddhism a world religion.<sup>[2]</sup> As the peace-loving ruler of one of the world's largest, richest and most powerful multi-ethnic states, he is considered an exemplary ruler, who tried to put into practice a secular state ethic of non-violence. The emblem of the modern Republic of India is an adaptation of the Lion Capital of Ashoka.

## Biography

### Early life

Ashoka was born to the Mauryan emperor Bindusara and his queen, Dharmā [or Dhammā]. He was the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya, founder of Mauryan dynasty. *Ashokāvadāna* states that his mother was a queen named Subhadrangī, the daughter of Champa of Telangana. Queen Subhadrangī was a Brahmin of the Ajivika sect. Sage Pilindavatsa (aias Janasana) was a kalupaga Brahmin<sup>[3]</sup> of the Ajivika sect had found Subhadrangī as a suitable match for Emperor Bindusara. A palace intrigue kept her away from the king. This eventually ended, and she bore a son. It is from her exclamation "I am now without sorrow", that Ashoka got his name. The *Divyāvadāna* tells a similar story, but gives the name of the queen as Janapadakalyānī.<sup>[4][5]</sup>

Ashoka had several elder siblings, all of whom were his half-brothers from other wives of Bindusāra.

He had been given the royal military training knowledge. He was a fearsome hunter, and according to a legend, killed a lion with just a wooden rod. He was very adventurous and a trained fighter, who was known for his skills with the sword. Because of his reputation as a frightening warrior and a heartless general, he was sent to curb the riots in the Avanti province of the Mauryan empire.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Rise to power

The Divyavandana talks of Ashoka putting down a revolt due to activities of wicked ministers. This may have been an incident in Bindusara's times. Taranatha's account states that Chanakya, one of Bindusara's great lords, destroyed the nobles and kings of 16 towns and made himself the master of all territory between the eastern and the western seas. Some historians consider this as an indication of Bindusara's conquest of the Deccan while others consider it as suppression of a revolt. Following this, Ashoka was stationed at Ujjayini as governor.<sup>[5]</sup>

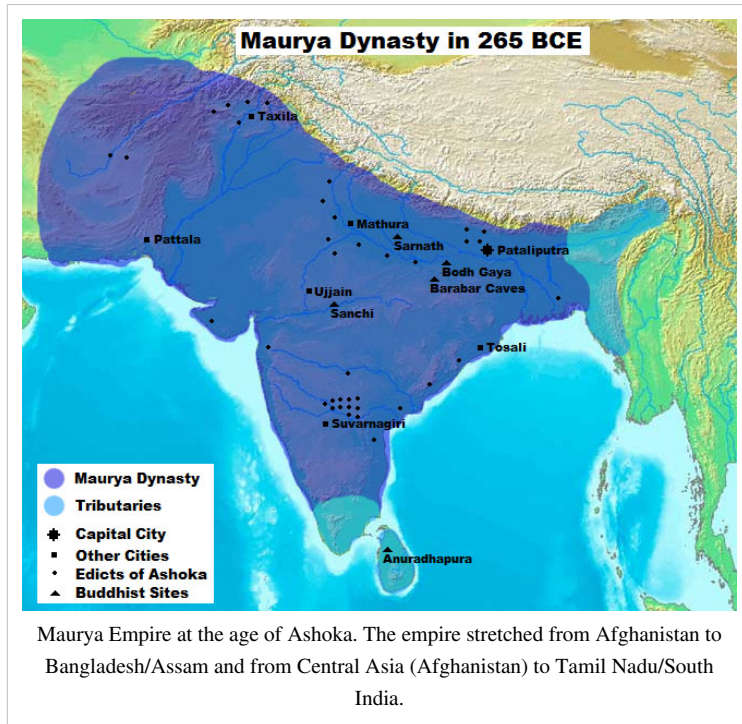
Bindusara's death in 273 BC led to a war over succession. According to Divyavandana, Bindusara wanted his son Sushim to succeed him but Ashoka was supported by his father's ministers. A

minister named Radhagupta seems to have played an important role. Ashoka managed to become the king by getting rid of the legitimate heir to the throne, by tricking him into entering a pit filled with live coals. The Dipavansa and Mahavansa refer to Ashoka killing 99 of his brothers, sparing only one, named Tissa,<sup>[5]</sup> although there is no clear proof about this incident. The coronation happened in 269 BC, four years after his succession to the throne.

## Early life as Emperor

Ashoka is said to have been of a wicked nature and bad temper. He submitted his ministers to a test of loyalty and had 500 of them killed. He also kept a harem of around 500 women. When a few of these women insulted him, he had the whole lot of them burnt to death. He also built hell on earth, an elaborate and horrific torture chamber. This torture chamber earned him the name of Chand Ashoka (Sanskrit), meaning Ashoka the Fierce.<sup>[5]</sup>

Ascending the throne, Ashoka expanded his empire over the next eight years, from the present-day boundaries and regions of Burma–Bangladesh and the state of Assam in India in the east to the territory of present-day Iran / Persia and Afghanistan in the west; from the Pamir Knots in the north almost to the peninsular of southern India (i.e. Tamil Nadu / Andhra Pradesh).<sup>[5]</sup>



Asoka's Queen

## Conquest of Kalinga

While the early part of Ashoka's reign was apparently quite bloodthirsty, he became a follower of the Buddha's teaching after his conquest of Kalinga on the east coast of India in the present-day states of Orissa and North Coastal Andhra Pradesh. Kalinga was a state that prided itself on its sovereignty and democracy. With its monarchical parliamentary democracy it was quite an exception in ancient Bharata where there existed the concept of Rajdharma. Rajdharma means the duty of the rulers, which was intrinsically entwined with the concept of bravery and Kshatriya dharma. The Kalinga War happened eight years after his coronation. From his 13th inscription, we come to know that the battle was a massive one and caused the deaths of more than 100,000 soldiers and many civilians who rose up in defense; over 150,000 were deported.<sup>[7]</sup> When he was walking through the grounds of Kalinga after his conquest, rejoicing in his victory, he was moved by the number of bodies strewn there and the wails of the kith and kin of the dead.

## Buddhist conversion



A similar four "Indian lion" Lion Capital of Ashoka atop an intact Ashoka Pillar at Wat U Mong near Chiang Mai, Thailand showing another larger Dharma Chakra / Ashoka Chakra atop the four lions thought to be missing in the Lion Capital of Ashoka at Sarnath Museum which has been adopted as the National Emblem of India.

As the legend goes, one day after the war was over, Ashoka ventured out to roam the city and all he could see were burnt houses and scattered corpses. This sight made him sick and he cried the famous monologue:

*What have I done? If this is a victory, what's a defeat then? Is this a victory or a defeat? Is this justice or injustice? Is it gallantry or a rout? Is it valor to kill innocent children and women? Do I do it to widen the empire and for prosperity or to destroy the other's kingdom and splendor? One has lost her husband, someone else a father, someone a child, someone an unborn infant.... What's this debris of the corpses? Are these marks of victory or defeat? Are these vultures, crows, eagles the messengers of death or evil?*

The brutality of the conquest led him to adopt Buddhism, and he used his position to propagate the relatively new religion to new heights, as far as ancient Rome and Egypt. He made Buddhism his state religion around 260 BC, and propagated it and preached it within his domain and worldwide from about 250 BC. Emperor Ashoka undoubtedly has to be credited with the first serious attempt to develop a Buddhist policy.



Prominent in this cause were his son Venerable Mahindra and daughter Sanghamitra (whose name means "friend of the Sangha"), who established Buddhism in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). He built thousands of Stupas and Viharas for Buddhist followers. The Stupas of Sanchi are world famous and the stupa named Sanchi Stupa was built by Emperor Ashoka. During the remaining portion of Ashoka's reign, he pursued an official policy of nonviolence (ahimsa). Even the unnecessary slaughter or mutilation of animals was immediately abolished. Everyone became protected by the king's law against sport hunting and branding. Limited hunting was permitted for consumption reasons but Ashoka also promoted the concept of vegetarianism. Ashoka also showed mercy to those imprisoned, allowing them leave for the outside a day of the year. He attempted to raise the professional ambition of the common man by building universities for study, and water transit and irrigation systems for trade and agriculture. He treated his subjects as equals regardless of their religion, politics and caste. The kingdoms surrounding his, so easily overthrown, were instead made to be well-respected allies.



Ashokan Pillar at Vaishali

He is acclaimed for constructing hospitals for animals and renovating major roads throughout India. After this transformation, Ashoka came to be known as Dhammashoka (Sanskrit), meaning Ashoka, the follower of Dharma. Ashoka defined the main principles of dharma (dhamma) as nonviolence, tolerance of all sects and opinions, obedience to parents, respect for the Brahmins and other religious teachers and priests, liberality towards friends, humane treatment of servants, and generosity towards all. These principles suggest a general ethic of behaviour to which no religious or social group could object.

Some critics say that Ashoka was afraid of more wars, but among his neighbors, including the Seleucid Empire and the Greco-Bactrian kingdom established by Diodotus I, none could match his strength. He was a contemporary of both Antiochus I Soter and his successor Antiochus II Theos of the Seleucid dynasty as well as Diodotus I and his son Diodotus II of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. If his inscriptions and edicts are well studied one finds that he was familiar with the Hellenic world but never in awe of it. His edicts, which talk of friendly relations, give the names of both Antiochus of the Seleucid empire and Ptolemy III of Egypt. The fame of the Mauryan empire was widespread from the time that Ashoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya defeated Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the Seleucid Dynasty.



Stupa of Sanchi.

The source of much of our knowledge of Ashoka is the many inscriptions he had carved on pillars and rocks throughout the empire. All his inscriptions have the imperial touch and show compassionate loving. He addressed his people as his "children". These inscriptions promoted Buddhist morality and encouraged nonviolence and adherence to Dharma (duty or proper behavior), and they talk of his fame and conquered lands as well as the neighboring kingdoms holding up his might. One also gets some primary information about the Kalinga War and Ashoka's allies

plus some useful knowledge on the civil administration. The Ashoka Pillar at Sarnath is the most popular of the relics left by Ashoka. Made of sandstone, this pillar records the visit of the emperor to Sarnath, in the 3rd century BC. It has a four-lion capital (four lions standing back to back) which was adopted as the emblem of the modern Indian republic. The lion symbolizes both Ashoka's imperial rule and the kingship of the Buddha. In translating these monuments, historians learn the bulk of what is assumed to have been true fact of the Mauryan Empire. It is difficult to determine whether or not some actual events ever happened, but the stone etchings clearly depict how Ashoka wanted to be thought of and remembered.

Ashoka's own words as known from his Edicts are: "All men are my children. I am like a father to them. As every father desires the good and the happiness of his children, I wish that all men should be happy always." Edward D'Cruz interprets the Ashokan dharma as a "religion to be used as a symbol of a new imperial unity and a cementing force to weld the diverse and heterogeneous elements of the empire".

Also, in the Edicts, Ashoka mentions that some of the people living in Hellenic countries as converts to Buddhism, although no Hellenic historical record of this event remain:

Now it is conquest by Dhamma [(which conquest means peaceful conversion, not military conquest)] that Beloved-of-the-Gods considers to be the best conquest. And it (conquest by Dhamma) has been won here, on the borders, even six hundred yojanas away, where the Greek king Antiochos rules, beyond there where the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander rule, likewise in the south among the Cholas, the Pandyas, and as far as Tamraparni. Here in the king's domain among the Greeks, the Kambojas, the Nabhakas, the Nabhapamkits, the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Andhras and the Palidas, everywhere people are following Beloved-of-the-Gods' instructions in Dhamma. Even where Beloved-of-the-Gods' envoys have not been, these people too, having heard of the practice of Dhamma and the ordinances and instructions in Dhamma given by Beloved-of-the-Gods, are following it and will continue to do so.

—Edicts of Ashoka, Rock Edict (S. Dhammika)<sup>[8]</sup>

Ashoka also claims that he encouraged the development of herbal medicine, for human and nonhuman animals, in their territories:

Everywhere within Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi's [Ashoka's] domain, and among the people beyond the borders, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Satiyaputras, the Keralaputras, as far as Tamraparni and where the Greek king Antiochos rules, and among the kings who are neighbours of Antiochos, everywhere has Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, made provision for two types of medical treatment: medical treatment for humans and medical treatment for animals. Wherever medical herbs suitable for humans or animals are not available, I have had them imported and grown. Wherever medical roots or fruits are not available I have had them imported and grown. Along roads I have had wells dug and trees planted for the benefit of humans and animals.

—Edicts of Ashoka, Rock Edict 2

The Greeks in India even seem to have played an active role in the propagation of Buddhism, as some of the emissaries of Ashoka, such as Dharmaraksita, are described in Pali sources as leading Greek (Yona) Buddhist monks, active in spreading Buddhism (the Mahavamsa, XII<sup>[9]</sup>).

## Death and legacy

Ashoka ruled for an estimated forty years. After his death, the Mauryan dynasty lasted just fifty more years. Ashoka had many wives and children, but many of their names are lost to time. Mahindra and Sanghamitra were twins born by his first wife, Devi, in the city of Ujjain. He had entrusted to them the job of making his state religion, Buddhism, more popular across the known and the unknown world. Mahindra and Sanghamitra went into Sri Lanka and converted the King, the Queen and their people to Buddhism. They were naturally not handling state affairs after him.

In his old age, he seems to have come under the spell of his youngest wife Tishyaraksha. It is said that she had got his son Kunala, the regent in Takshashila, blinded by a wily stratagem. The official executioners spared Kunala and he became a wandering singer accompanied by his favourite wife Kanchanmala. In Pataliputra, Ashoka hears Kunala's song, and realizes that Kunala's misfortune may have been a punishment for some past sin of the emperor himself and condemns Tishyaraksha to death, restoring Kunala to the court. Kunala was succeeded by his son, Samprati, but his rule did not last long after Ashoka's death.

The reign of Ashoka Maurya could easily have disappeared into history as the ages passed by, and would have had he not left behind a record of his trials. The testimony of this wise king was discovered in the form of magnificently sculpted pillars and boulders with a variety of actions and teachings he wished to be published etched into the stone. What Ashoka left behind was the first written language in India since the ancient city of Harappa. The language used for inscription was the then current spoken form called Prakrit.

In the year 185 BC, about fifty years after Ashoka's death, the last Maurya ruler, Brhadrata, was assassinated by the commander-in-chief of the Mauryan armed forces, Pusyamitra Sunga, while he was taking the Guard of Honor of his forces. Pusyamitra Sunga founded the Sunga dynasty (185 BC-78 BC) and ruled just a fragmented part of the Mauryan Empire. Many of the northwestern territories of the Mauryan Empire (modern-day Afghanistan and Northern Pakistan) became the Indo-Greek Kingdom.

In 1992, Ashoka was ranked #53 on Michael H. Hart's list of the most influential figures in history. In 2001, a semi-fictionalized portrayal of Ashoka's life was produced as a motion picture under the title *Asoka*. King Ashoka, the third monarch of the Indian Mauryan dynasty, has come to be regarded as one of the most exemplary rulers in world history. The British historian H.G. Wells has written: "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines, almost alone, a star."

## Buddhist Kingship

Further information: Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Buddhism in Burma

One of the more enduring legacies of Ashoka Maurya was the model that he provided for the relationship between Buddhism and the state. Throughout Theravada Southeastern Asia, the model of rulership embodied by Ashoka replaced the notion of divine kingship that had previously dominated (in the Angkor kingdom, for instance). Under this model of 'Buddhist kingship', the king sought to legitimize his rule not through descent from a divine source, but by supporting and earning the approval of the Buddhist *sangha*. Following Ashoka's example, kings established monasteries, funded the construction of stupas, and supported the ordination of monks in their kingdom. Many rulers also took an active role in resolving disputes over the status and regulation of the sangha, as Ashoka had in calling a conclave to settle a number of contentious issues during his reign. This development ultimately led to a close association in many Southeast Asian countries between the monarchy and the religious hierarchy, an association that



The Junagadh rock contains inscriptions by Ashoka (fourteen of the Edicts of Ashoka), Rudradaman I and Skandagupta.

can still be seen today in the state-supported Buddhism of Thailand and the traditional role of the Thai king as both a religious and secular leader. Ashoka also said that all his courtiers were true to their self and always governed the people in a moral manner.

## Historical sources

### Western sources

Ashoka was almost forgotten by the historians of the early British India, but James Prinsep contributed in the revelation of historical sources. Another important historian was British archaeologist John Hubert Marshall who was director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. His main interests were Sanchi and Sarnath besides Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Sir Alexander Cunningham, a British archaeologist and army engineer and often known as the father of the Archaeological Survey of India, unveiled heritage sites like the Bharhut Stupa, Sarnath, Sanchi, and the Mahabodhi Temple; thus, his contribution is recognizable in realms of historical sources. Mortimer Wheeler, a British archaeologist, also exposed Ashokan historical sources, especially the Taxila.

### Eastern sources

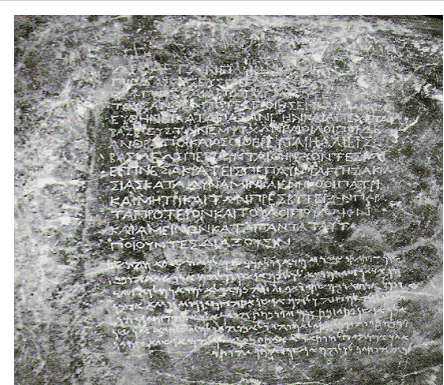
Information about the life and reign of Ashoka primarily comes from a relatively small number of Buddhist sources. In particular, the Sanskrit *Ashokavadana* ('Story of Ashoka'), written in the 2nd century, and the two Pāli chronicles of Sri Lanka (the *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa*) provide most of the currently known information about Ashoka. Additional information is contributed by the Edicts of Asoka, whose authorship was finally attributed to the Ashoka of Buddhist legend after the discovery of dynastic lists that gave the name used in the edicts (*Priyadarsi* – 'favored by the Gods') as a title or additional name of Ashoka Mauriya. Architectural remains of his period have been found at Kumhrar, Patna, which include an 80-pillar hypostyle hall.

**Edicts of Ashoka** -The Edicts of Ashoka are a collection of 33 inscriptions on the Pillars of Ashoka, as well as boulders and cave walls, made by the Emperor Ashoka of the Mauryan dynasty during his reign from 272 to 231 BC. These inscriptions are dispersed throughout the areas of modern-day Pakistan and India, and represent the first tangible evidence of Buddhism. The edicts describe in detail the first wide expansion of Buddhism through the sponsorship of one of the most powerful kings of Indian history. It gives more information about Ashoka's proselytism, Moral precepts, Religious precepts, Social and animal welfare .

**Ashokavadana** - The *Ashokavadana* is a 2nd century CE text related to the legend of the Maurya Emperor Ashoka. The legend was translated into Chinese by Fa Hien in 300 CE.

**Mahavamsa** -The *Mahavamsa* ("Great Chronicle") is a historical poem written in the Pali language, of the kings of Sri Lanka. It covers the period from the coming of King Vijaya of Kalinga (ancient Orissa) in 543 BC to the reign of King Mahasena (334–361). As it often refers to the royal dynasties of India, the *Mahavamsa* is also valuable for historians who wish to date and relate contemporary royal dynasties in the Indian subcontinent. It is very important in dating the consecration of the Maurya emperor Ashoka.

**Dipavamsa** -The *Dipavamsa*, or "*Deepavamsa*", (i.e., *Chronicle of the Island*, in Pali) is the oldest historical record of Sri Lanka. The chronicle is believed to be compiled from *Atthakatha* and other sources around the 3–4th century, King Dhatusena (4th century CE) had ordered that the *Dipavamsa* be recited at the Mahinda (son to Ashoka) festival held annually in Anuradhapura.



Bilingual inscription in (Greek and Aramaic) by king Ashoka, from Kandahar (Shar-i-kuna).  
Kabul Museum.

The use of Buddhist sources in reconstructing the life of Ashoka has had a strong influence on perceptions of Ashoka, as well as the interpretations of his edicts. Building on traditional accounts, early scholars regarded Ashoka as a primarily Buddhist monarch who underwent a conversion to Buddhism and was actively engaged in sponsoring and supporting the Buddhist monastic institution. Some scholars have tended to question this assessment. The only source of information not attributable to Buddhist sources are the Ashokan edicts, and these do not explicitly state that Ashoka was a Buddhist. In his edicts, Ashoka expresses support for all the major religions of his time: Buddhism, Brahmanism, Jainism, and Ajivikaism, and his edicts addressed to the population at large (there are some addressed specifically to Buddhists; this is not the case for the other religions) generally focus on moral themes members of all the religions would accept.

However, there is strong evidence in the edicts alone that he was a Buddhist. In one edict he belittles rituals, and he banned Vedic animal sacrifices; these strongly suggest that he at least did not look to the Vedic tradition for guidance. Furthermore, there are many edicts expressed to Buddhists alone; in one, Ashoka declares himself to be an "upasaka", and in another he demonstrates a close familiarity with Buddhist texts. He erected rock pillars at Buddhist holy sites, but did not do so for the sites of other religions. He also used the word "dhamma" to refer to qualities of the heart that underlie moral action; this was an exclusively Buddhist use of the word. Finally, the ideals he promotes correspond to the first three steps of the Buddha's graduated discourse.<sup>[10]</sup>

## Contributions

### Global spread of Buddhism

Ashoka, now a Buddhist emperor, believed that Buddhism is beneficial for all human beings as well as animals and plants, so he built 84,000 stupas, Sangharama, viharas, Chaitya, and residences for Buddhist monks all over South Asia and Central Asia. He gave donations to viharas and mathas. He sent his only daughter Sanghamitta and son Mahindra to spread Buddhism in Sri Lanka (ancient name Tamraparni). Ashoka also sent many prominent Buddhist monks (bhikshus) Sthaviras like Madhyamik Sthavira to modern Kashmir and Afghanistan; Maharaskshit Sthavira to Syria, Persia / Iran, Egypt, Greece, Italy and Turkey; Massim Sthavira to Nepal, Bhutan, China and Mongolia; Sohn Uttar Sthavira to modern Cambodia, Laos, Burma (old name Suvarnabhumi for Burma and Thailand), Thailand and Vietnam; Mahadhammarakkhita sthavira to Maharashtra (old name Maharatthha); Maharakhhit Sthavira and Yavandhammarakkhita Sthavira to South India. Ashoka also invited Buddhists and non-Buddhists for religious conferences. Ashoka inspired the Buddhist monks to compose the sacred religious texts, and also gave all types of help to that end. Ashoka also helped to develop viharas (intellectual hubs) such as Nalanda and Taxila. Ashoka helped to construct Sanchi and Mahabodhi Temple. Ashoka never tried to harm or to destroy non-Buddhist religions, and indeed gave donations to non-Buddhists. As his reign continued his even-handedness was replaced with special inclination towards Buddhism.<sup>[11]</sup> Ashoka helped and respected both Sramans (Buddhists monks) and Brahmins (Vedic monks). Ashoka also helped to organize the Third Buddhist council (c. 250 BC) at Pataliputra (today's Patna). It was conducted by the monk Moggaliputta-Tissa who was the spiritual teacher of the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka.



## As administrator



Mauryan ringstone, with standing goddess. Northwest Pakistan, third century BC. British Museum.

Ashoka's military power was so strong that he was able to crush those empires that went to war against him. Still, he was on friendly terms with kingdoms in the South like Cholas, Pandya, Keralputra, the post Alexandrian empire, Tamraparni, and Suvarnabhumi who were strong enough to remain outside his empire and continued to profess Hinduism. According to his edicts we know that he provided humanitarian help including doctors, hospitals, inns, wells, medical herbs and engineers to his neighboring countries. In neighboring countries, Ashoka helped humans as well as animals. Ashoka also planted trees in his empire and

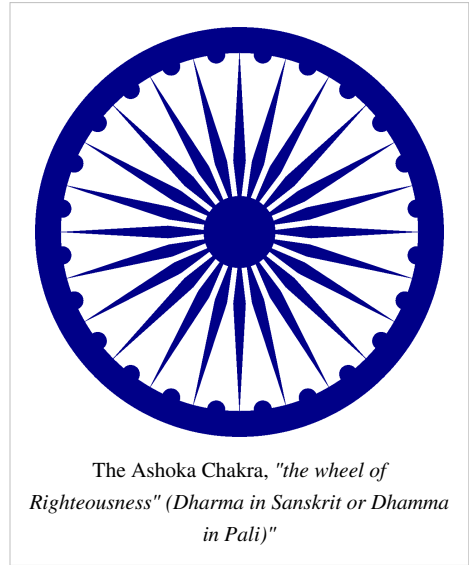
his neighboring countries. Ashoka was perhaps the first emperor in human history to ban slavery, hunting, fishing and deforestation. Ashoka also banned the death sentence and asked the same for the neighboring countries.<sup>[12]</sup> Ashoka commanded his people to serve the orders of their elders parents and religious monks (shramana and Brahmin). Ashoka also recommended his people study and respect all religions. According to Ashoka, to harm another's religion is a harm to one's own religion. Ashoka asserted his people to live with Dharmacharana. Ashoka asked people to live with harmony, peace, love and tolerance. Ashoka called his people as his children, and they could call him when they need him. He also asked people to save money and not to spend for immoral causes. Ashoka also believed in dharmacharana (dhammacharana) and dharmavijaya (dhammavijaya). According to many European and Asian historians the age of Ashoka was the age of light and delightment. He was the first emperor in human history who has taught the lesson of unity, peace, equality and love. Ashoka's aim was not to expand the territories but the welfare of all of his subjects (sarvajansukhay). In his vast empire there was no evidence of recognizable mutiny or civil war. Ashoka was the true devotee of nonviolence, peace and love. This made him different from other emperors. Ashoka also helped Buddhism as well as religions like Jainism, Hinduism, Hellenic polytheism and Ajivikas. Ashoka was against any discrimination among humans. He helped students, the poor, orphans and the elderly with social, political and economic help. According to Ashoka, hatred gives birth to hatred and a feeling of love gives birth to love and mercy. According to him the happiness of people is the happiness of the ruler. His opinion was that the sword is not as powerful as love. Ashoka was also kind to prisoners, and respected animal life and tree life. Ashoka allowed females to be educated. He also permitted females to enter religious institutions. He allowed female Buddhist monastics such as Bhikkhuni. He combined in himself the complexity of a king and a simplicity of a buddhist monk. Because of these reasons he is known as the emperor of all ages and thus became a milestone in the History of the world.

## Ashoka Chakra

The Ashoka Chakra (the wheel of Ashoka) is a depiction of the Dharmachakra or Dhammachakka in Pali, the Wheel of Dharma (Sanskrit: Chakra means wheel). The wheel has 24 spokes. The Ashoka Chakra has been widely inscribed on many relics of the Mauryan Emperor, most prominent among which is the Lion Capital of Sarnath and The Ashoka Pillar. The most visible use of the Ashoka Chakra today is at the centre of the National flag of the Republic of India (adopted on 22 July 1947), where it is rendered in a Navy-blue color on a White background, by replacing the symbol of Charkha (Spinning wheel) of the pre-independence versions of the flag. Ashoka Chakra can also be seen on the base of Lion Capital of Ashoka which has been adopted as the National Emblem of India.

The Ashoka chakra was built by Ashoka during his reign. Chakra is a Sanskrit word which also means cycle or self repeating process. The process it signifies is the cycle of time as how the world changes with time.

A few days before India became independent on August 1947, the specially constituted Constituent Assembly decided that the flag of India must be acceptable to all parties and communities.<sup>[13]</sup> A flag with three colours, Saffron, White and Green with the Ashoka Chakra was selected.



## Pillars of Ashoka (Ashokstambha)

The pillars of Ashoka are a series of columns dispersed throughout the northern Indian subcontinent, and erected by Ashoka during his reign in the 3rd century BC. Originally, there must have been many pillars of Ashoka although only ten with inscriptions still survive. Averaging between forty and fifty feet in height, and weighing up to fifty tons each, all the pillars were quarried at Chunar, just south of Varanasi and dragged, sometimes hundreds of miles, to where they were erected. The first Pillar of Ashoka was found in the 16th century by Thomas Coryat in the ruins of ancient Delhi. The wheel represents the sun time and Buddhist law, while the swastika stands for the cosmic dance around a fixed center and guards against evil. There is no evidence of a swastika, or manji, on the pillars.

## Lion Capital of Asoka (Ashokmudra)

The Lion capital of Ashoka is a sculpture of four "Indian lions" standing back to back. It was originally placed atop the Aśoka pillar at Sarnath, now in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India. The pillar, sometimes called the Aśoka Column is still in its original location, but the Lion Capital is now in the Sarnath Museum. This Lion Capital of Ashoka from Sarnath has been adopted as the National Emblem of India and the wheel "Ashoka Chakra" from its base was placed onto the center of the National Flag of India.

The capital contains four lions (Indian / Asiatic Lions), standing back to back, mounted on an abacus, with a frieze carrying sculptures in high relief of an elephant, a galloping horse, a bull, and a lion, separated by intervening spoked chariot-wheels over a bell-shaped lotus. Carved out of a single block of polished sandstone, the capital was believed to be crowned by a 'Wheel of Dharma' (Dharmachakra popularly known in India as the "Ashoka Chakra").

The Ashoka Lion capital or the Sarnath lion capital is also known as the national symbol of India. The Sarnath pillar bears one of the Edicts of Ashoka, an inscription against division within the Buddhist community, which reads, "No one shall cause division in the order of monks". The Sarnath pillar is a column surmounted by a capital, which consists of a canopy representing an inverted bell-shaped lotus flower, a short cylindrical abacus with four 24-spoked Dharma wheels with four animals (an elephant, a bull, a horse, a lion).

The four animals in the Sarnath capital are believed to symbolize different steps of Lord Buddha's life.

- The Elephant represents the Buddha's idea in reference to the dream of Queen Maya of a white elephant entering her womb.
- The Bull represents desire during the life of the Buddha as a prince.
- The Horse represents Buddha's departure from palatial life.
- The Lion represents the accomplishment of Buddha.

Besides the religious interpretations, there are some non-religious interpretations also about the symbolism of the Ashoka capital pillar at Sarnath. According to them, the four lions symbolize Ashoka's rule over the four directions, the wheels as symbols of his enlightened rule (Chakravartin) and the four animals as symbols of four adjoining territories of India.

## Constructions credited to Ashoka

- Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, India
- Dhamek Stupa, Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, India
- Mahabodhi Temple, Bihar, India
- Barabar Caves, Bihar, India
- Nalanda University (Vishwavidyalaya), (some portions like Sariputta Stupa), Bihar, India
- Taxila University (Vishwavidyalaya), (some portions like Dharmarajika Stupa and Kunala Stupa), Taxila, Pakistan
- Bhir Mound, (*reconstructed*), Taxila, Pakistan
- Bharhut stupa, Madhya Pradesh, India
- Deorkothar Stupa, Madhya Pradesh, India
- Butkara Stupa, Swat, Pakistan



The Asokan pillar at Lumbini, Nepal

## Ashoka today

### In art, film and literature

- One of the most famous figures in modern Hindi literature, Jaishankar Prasad, composed *Ashoka ki chinta* (in English: *Anxiety of Ashoka*), a famous Hindi verse. The poem portrays Ashoka's heart during the war of Kalinga.
- *Uttar-Priyadarshi* (The Final Beatitude) a verse-play written by poet Agyeya, depicting his redemption, was adapted to stage in 1996 by theatre director, Ratan Thiyam and has since been performed in many parts of the world.<sup>[14][15]</sup>
- In Piers Anthony's series of space opera novels, the main character mentions Asoka as a model for administrators to strive for.
- *Asoka* is a 2001 epic Bollywood historical drama. It is a largely fictional version of the life of the Indian emperor Ashoka. The film was directed by Santosh Sivan and stars Shahrukh Khan as Ashoka and Kareena Kapoor as Kaurwaki, a princess of Kalinga. The film ends with Asoka renouncing the sword and embracing Buddhism. The final narrative describes how Asoka not only built a large empire, but spread Buddhism and the winds of peace through it.
- *The Legend of Kunal* is an upcoming film based on the life of Kunal, the son of the Indian emperor Ashoka. The movie will be directed by Chandraprakash Dwivedi.

### Footnotes

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## External links

- Ashoka ([http://www.dmoz.org/Society/History/By\\_Region/Asia/South\\_Asia/Personalities/Ashoka/](http://www.dmoz.org/Society/History/By_Region/Asia/South_Asia/Personalities/Ashoka/)) at the Open Directory Project
  - International Vegetarian Union: King Asoka of India (<http://www.ivu.org/history/east/asoka.html>)
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# Ashot I of Iberia

Ashot I აშოტ I	
Prince of Iberia Kouropalatēs	
	
Ashot Kurapalates, first Bagrationi King of Georgia, 829 AD	
King of Georgia	
Reign	813–830
Predecessor	Stephen III
Successor	Bagrat I of Iberia Adarnase II of Tao-Klarjeti Guaram Mampali
Issue	
Bagrat I of Iberia Adarnase II of Tao-Klarjeti Guaram Mampali Bagrationi, Queen of Abasgia	
Dynasty	Bagrationi
Father	Adarnase I of Tao-Klarjeti
Died	c. 826/830 Nigali valley
Religion	Georgian Orthodox Church

**Ashot I the Great** (Georgian: აშოტ I დიდი) (died 826/830) was a presiding prince of Iberia (modern Georgia), first of the Bagratid family to have attained to this office c. 813. From his base in Tao-Klarjeti, he fought to enlarge the Bagratid territories and sought the Byzantine protectorate against the Arab encroachment until being murdered c. 830. Ashot is also known as **Ashot I Curopalates** for the Byzantine title he wore. A patron of Christian culture and a friend of the church, he has been canonized by the Georgian Orthodox Church.

## Biography

Ashot was the son of the Iberian nobleman Adarnase who had founded the Bagratid hereditary fiefdom in Tao-Klarjeti (now northeast Turkey) and bequeathed to his son extensive possessions acquired upon the extinction of his Guaramid and Chosroid cousins. Ashot initially failed to gain a foothold in central Iberia (Shida Kartli), his efforts being dashed by the Arab control of Tiflis. Ashot established himself in his patrimonial duchy of Klarjeti, where he restored the castle of Artanuji said to have been built by the Iberian king Vakhtang I Gorgasali in the 5th century, and received the Byzantine protection, being recognized as the presiding prince and curopalates of Iberia. To revive the country devastated by the Arabs and cholera epidemics, he patronized the local monastic communities established by Grigol Khandzteli, and encouraged the settlement of the Georgians in the region. As a result, the political and religious center of Iberia was effectively transferred from central Iberia to the south-west, in Tao-Klarjeti.<sup>[1][2]</sup>

From his base in Tao-Klarjeti, Ashot fought to recover more Georgian lands from the Arab hold and, though not always successful, succeeded in taking much of the adjoining lands from Tao in the southwest to Shida Kartli in the northeast, including Kola, Artani, Javakheti, Samtskhe, and Trialeti. Of the former Chosroid possessions, only Kakheti to the east eluded him. With local Arab emirs in the Caucasus growing ever more independent, the Caliph recognized Ashot as the prince of Iberia in order to counter the rebellious emir of Tiflis Isma'il ibn Shu'aib c. 818. The emir had enlisted support of Ashot's foe—the Kakhetian prince Grigol—and the Georgian highland tribes of Mtiulians and Tsanars. Ashot, joined by the Byzantine vassal king of Abasgia, Theodosius II, met the emir on the Ksani, winning a victory and pushing the Kakhetians from central Iberian lands.<sup>[2]</sup>

The Bagratids' fortunes reversed when Khalid b. Yazid, the Caliph's viceroy of Armīniya, moved in to reinforce the central Arab authority in the Caucasian polities in 827/8. Ashot I must have been still alive at that time, and the information provided by the 11th-century Georgian chronicler Sumbat, according to which Ashot was murdered in 826, is doubtful. It is more likely that the event took place four years later, on January 29, 830. Driven by the Arabs from central Iberia, Ashot fell back to the Nigali valley where he was assassinated by renegades at the altar of a local church.<sup>[3][4]</sup>

Upon Ashot's death, his holdings were allotted to his three sons: Bagrat, Adarnase, and Guaram.<sup>[2]</sup> His daughter was married to Theodosius II of Abasgia.

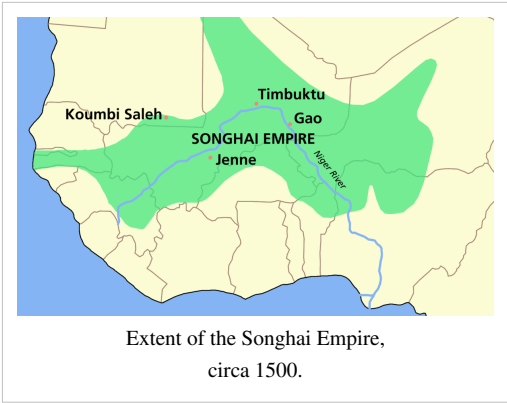
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# Askia Mohammad I

Askia Mohammed I	
Emperor of the Songhai Empire	
Reign	1493 — 1528 <sup>[1]</sup>
Full name	Muhammad Toure
Born	ca. 1443
Died	1538
Buried	Tomb of Askia, Gao, Mali
Predecessor	Sunni Baru (1492-1493)
Successor	<i>none</i>
Offspring	Ismail and Haibe
Dynasty	Askia Dynasty or Songhai Empire

**Askia the Great** (ca. 1443 – 1538, also **Muhammad Toure**, **Askia** (ass-key-a)) was an emperor of the Songhai Empire in the late 15th century, the successor of Sunni Ali Ber. Askia Muhammad strengthened his country and made it the largest country in West Africa's history. At its peak under Muhammad, the Songhai Empire encompassed the Hausa states as far as Kano (in present-day Nigeria) and much of the territory that had belonged to the Mali Empire in the west. His policies resulted in a rapid expansion of trade with Europe and Asia, the creation of many schools, and made Islam an integral part of the empire.



Due to his efforts, Mali experienced a cultural revival it had never witnessed before, and the whole land flourished as a center of all things valuable in learning and trade.<sup>[2]</sup>

## History

After Sunni Ali Ber died, Sunni Baru, his son and intended successor, refused to declare himself a Muslim. His refusal gave one of Sunni Ali Ber's generals, Muhammad Ture, a reason to challenge his succession.<sup>[1]</sup> General Ture defeated Sunni Baru and ascended to the throne in 1493.<sup>[1]</sup>

General Ture, later known as Askia Muhammad I or Askia the Great, subsequently orchestrated a program of expansion and consolidation which extended the empire from Taghaza in the North to the borders of Yatenga in the South; and from Air in the Northeast to Futa Tooro in Guinea. Instead of organizing the empire along Islamic lines, he tempered and improved on the traditional model by instituting a system of bureaucratic government unparalleled in Western Africa. In addition, Askia established standardized trade measures and regulations, and initiated the policing of trade routes. He also established an organized tax system.



The Timbuktu Manuscripts showing both mathematics and astronomy, many Malian rulers including Askia Mohammad I promoted the publications of such manuscripts.

Askia encouraged learning and literacy, ensuring that Mali's universities produced the most distinguished scholars, many of whom published significant books. To secure the legitimacy of his usurpation of the Sonni dynasty, Askia Muhammad allied himself with the scholars of Timbuktu, ushering in a golden age in the city for Muslim scholarship.<sup>[3]</sup> The eminent scholar Ahmed Baba, for example, produced books on Islamic law which are still in use today. Muhammad Kati published *Tarik al-Fattah* and Abdul-Rahman as-Sadi published *Tarik ul-Sudan* ("Chronicle of Africa"), two history books which are indispensable to present-day scholars reconstructing African history in the Middle Ages.



Tomb of Askia

Askia is buried in the Tomb of Askia in Gao, a World Heritage Site.



## External links


- *Kingdoms of the Medieval Sudan* - Xavier University <sup>[4]</sup>
- Ancient African Legends <sup>[5]</sup>

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# Bhumibol Adulyadej

Bhumibol Adulyadej	
	
King Bhumibol Adulyadej in 2010	
King of Thailand	
Reign	9 June 1946 – present 65 years, 327 days
Coronation	5 May 1950
Predecessor	Ananda Mahidol (Rama VIII)
Heir apparent	Maha Vajiralongkorn
Prime Ministers	
Consort	Sirikit Kitiyakara (Since 28 April 1950)
Issue	
Princess Ubolratana Rajakanya HRH The Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn HRH The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn HRH The Princess Chulabhorn Walailak	
House	House of Mahidol Chakri Dynasty
Father	Mahidol Adulyadej, Prince of Songkla
Mother	Srinagarindra
Born	5 December 1927 Cambridge, Massachusetts, US
Signature	
Religion	Theravada Buddhism

**Bhumibol Adulyadej** (RTGS: **Phumiphon Adunyadet**; Thai: ภูมิพลอดุลยเดช, pronounced [pʰū̯.mí.pʰōn ʔà.dūn.jā.dèːt] (  listen); see full title below; born 5 December 1927) is the current Monarch of Thailand. He is known as **Rama IX**. Having reigned since 9 June 1946, he is the world's longest-serving current head of state and the longest-reigning monarch in Thai history.<sup>[1]</sup>

Although Bhumibol is legally a constitutional monarch, he has made several decisive interventions in the Thai political sphere. He was credited with facilitating Thailand's transition to democracy in the 1990s, although he has supported numerous military regimes, including Sarit Dhanarajata's during the 1960s and the Council for National



Security in 2006–8. During his long reign, he has authorized over 15 coups, 16 constitutions, and 27 changes of prime ministers.<sup>[2]</sup> He has also used his influence to stop military coups, including attempts in 1981 and 1985. Bhumibol is advised by a hand-picked Privy Council.

Bhumibol is respected<sup>[3][4]</sup> and revered by many Thais.<sup>[5]</sup> He is, by law passed by the Thai parliament, considered "inviolable" and *lèse majesté*, i.e. offence against the dignity of the monarch, may be punished.<sup>[5]</sup> In 1957, the overthrow of the government was justified with allegations of *lese majeste*.<sup>[6][7]</sup> Bhumibol however invited public criticism in a 2005 speech.<sup>[8]</sup>

Bhumibol is credited with a social-economic theory of self-sufficiency. His personal wealth is tremendous: Forbes estimated Bhumibol's personal fortune, including property managed by the Crown Property Bureau which is considered national property,<sup>[9]</sup> to be US\$30 billion in 2010, and he has been consistently placed at number one of the magazine's list of "The World's Richest Royals".<sup>[10][11]</sup> The Crown Property Bureau spends money on public welfare such as youth development, however it does not pay taxes and its finances are reported only to Bhumibol.<sup>[12]</sup> Bhumibol himself has made donations to numerous development projects in Thailand, in areas including agriculture, environment, public health, occupational promotion, water resources, communications and public welfare.<sup>[13]</sup> Commemoration of Bhumibol's contributions to Thailand are ubiquitous in the Thai media.<sup>[14]</sup>

## Early life

He was born at the Mount Auburn Hospital in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the United States on 5 December 1927.<sup>[15]</sup> He was the younger son of HRH Prince Mahidol Adulyadej and Mom Sangwan (later HRH Princess Srinagarindra, the Princess Mother: Somdet Phra Si Nakharintra Boromaratchachonnani). His name, Bhumibol Adulyadej, means "Strength of the Land, Incomparable Power".<sup>[16]</sup> His father was enrolled in the Public Health program at Harvard University, hence his unusual place of birth for a monarch.


He came to Thailand in 1928, after Prince Mahidol obtained a certificate from Harvard. He briefly attended Mater Dei school in Bangkok but in 1933 his mother took the family to



Bhumibol (centre) with his mother and siblings Ananda Mahidol (left) and Galyani Vadhana (right).

Switzerland, where he continued his education at the *Ecole Nouvelle de la Suisse Romande* in Lausanne. He received the *baccalauréat des lettres* (high-school diploma with major in French literature, Latin, and Greek) from the *Gymnase Classique Cantonal* of Lausanne, and by 1945 had begun studying science at the University of Lausanne, when World War II ended and the family returned to Thailand.<sup>[17]</sup>

## Succession and marriage

Thai Royal Family	
	
<b>HM The King</b> <b>HM The Queen</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HRH The Crown Prince</li> <li>• HRH Princess Srirasmi</li> <li>• HRH Princess Bajrakitiyabha</li> <li>• HRH Princess Sirivannavari Nariratana</li> <li>• HRH Prince Dipangkorn Rasmijoti</li> <li>• HRH The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn</li> <li>• HRH The Princess Chulabhorn Walailak</li> <li>• HRH Princess Siribhachudhabhorn</li> <li>• HRH Princess Adityadhornkitikhun</li> <li>• Princess Ubolratana Rajakanya</li> <li>• Lady Ploypailin Jensen</li> <li>• Lady Sirikitiya Jensen</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HRH Princess Soamsawali</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lady Dasanavalaya Sorasongkram</li> </ul>	



Bhumibol and Sirikit after their wedding.

Bhumibol ascended the throne following the death by gunshot wound of his brother, King Ananda Mahidol, on 9 June 1946, in mysterious circumstances.<sup>[18]</sup> Bhumibol returned to Switzerland in order to complete his education, and his uncle, Rangsit, Prince of Chainat, was appointed Prince Regent. Bhumibol then switched over his field of study to law and political science.

While finishing his degree in Switzerland, Bhumibol visited Paris frequently. It was in Paris that he first met Mom Rajawongse Sirikit Kitiyakara, daughter of the Thai ambassador to France.<sup>[19]</sup>

On 4 October 1948, while Bhumibol was driving a Fiat Topolino on the Geneva-Lausanne road, he collided with

the rear of a braking truck 10 km outside of Lausanne. He hurt his back and incurred cuts on his face that cost him the sight of his right eye.<sup>[20][21]</sup> While he was hospitalised in Lausanne, Sirikit visited him frequently. She met his mother, who asked her to continue her studies nearby so that Bhumibol could get to know her better. Bhumibol selected for her a boarding school in Lausanne, Riante Rive. A quiet engagement in Lausanne followed on 19 July 1949, and the couple were married on 28 April 1950, just a week before his coronation.

Bhumibol and his wife Queen Sirikit have four children:

- (Formerly HRH) Princess Ubol Ratana, born 5 April 1951 in Lausanne, Switzerland;
- HRH The Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn, born 28 July 1952;
- HRH The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, born 2 April 1955;

- HRH The Princess Chulabhorn Walailak, born 4 July 1957.

One of Bhumibol's grandchildren, Bhumi Jensen, was killed in the tsunami caused by the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake. He was the autistic son of Princess Ubol Ratana.<sup>[22]</sup>

## Coronation and titles



Bhumibol at his coronation at the Grand Palace.

Bhumibol was crowned King of Thailand on 5 May 1950 at the Royal Palace in Bangkok where he pledged that he would "reign with righteousness for the benefit and happiness of the Siamese people" ("เราจะครองแผ่นดินโดยธรรม เพื่อประโยชน์สุขแห่งมหาชนชาวสยาม").<sup>[23]</sup> Notable elements associated with the coronation included the Bahadhrabith Throne beneath the Great White Umbrella of State; and he was presented with the royal regalia and utensils.<sup>[24]</sup>

In 1950 on Coronation Day, Bhumibol's consort was made Queen (Somdej Phra Boromarajini). The date of his coronation is celebrated each 5 May in Thailand as Coronation Day, a public holiday. On 9 June 2006, Bhumibol celebrated his 60th anniversary as the King of Thailand, becoming the longest reigning monarch in Thai history.

Following the death of his grandmother Queen Savang Vadhana, Bhumibol entered a 15-day monkhood (22 October 1956 – 5 November 1956) at Wat Bowonniwet, as is customary for Buddhist males on the death of elder relatives.<sup>[25]</sup> During this time, Sirikit was appointed his regent. She was later appointed Queen Regent (Somdej Phra Boromarajininat) in recognition of this.

Although Bhumibol is sometimes referred to as King Rama IX in English, Thais refer to him as **Nai Luang** or **Phra Chao Yu Hua** (ในหลวง or พระเจ้าอยู่หัว: both mean "the King" or "Lord Upon our Heads"). He is also called **Chao Chivit** ("Lord of Life").<sup>[26]</sup> Formally, he would be referred to as **Phrabat Somdej Phra Chao Yu Hua** (พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว) or, in legal documents, **Phrabat Somdej Phra Paraminthara Maha Bhumibol Adulyadej** (พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช), and in English as His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej. He signs his name as ภูมิพลอดุลยเดช ป.ร. (Bhumibol Adulyadej Por Ror; this is the Thai equivalent of Bhumibol Adulyadej R[ex]).



Bhumibol addresses a joint session of the United States Congress in 1960

## Role in Thai politics

## Plaek Pibulsonggram era



Marshal and Mrs. Pibulsonggram with Eleanor Roosevelt

In the early years of his reign, during the government of military dictator Plaek Pibulsonggram, Bhumibol had no real power and was little more than a ceremonial figure under the military-dominated government. In August 1957, 6 months after parliamentary elections, General Sarit Dhanarajata accused the government of Field Marshal Pibulsonggram of *lèse majesté* due to its conduct of the 2,500th anniversary celebration of Buddhism.<sup>[27][7]</sup> On 16 September 1957, Pibulsonggram went to Bhumibol to seek support for his government.<sup>[28]</sup> Bhumibol told the Field Marshal to resign to avoid a coup; Pibulsonggram refused. That evening, Sarit Dhanarajata seized power, and two hours later Bhumibol imposed martial law throughout the Kingdom.<sup>[29]</sup> Bhumibol issued a Proclamation appointing Sarit as "Military Defender of the Capital" without anyone countersigning this Proclamation. It included the following statements.<sup>[30]</sup>

Whereas it appears that the public administration of the government under the premiership of Field Marshal P. Phibunsongram is untrustworthy, and that it could not maintain the public order, the military, led by Field Marshal Sarit Dhanarajata, has successfully taken over the public administration and now acts as the Military Defender of the Capital. I, hereby, appoint Field Marshal Sarit Dhanarajata as the Military Defender of the Capital, and command that all the citizens shall remain calm while all the public servants shall serve the orders issued by Field Marshal Sarit Dhanarajat. This Proclamation shall come into force immediately. Done this 16th Day of September, Buddhist Era 2500 (1957).

## Sarit Dhanarajata era

During Sarit's dictatorship, the monarchy was revitalised. Bhumibol attended public ceremonies, toured the provinces and patronised development projects. Under Sarit, the practice of crawling in front of royalty during audiences, banned by King Chulalongkorn, was revived in certain situations and the royal-sponsored Thammayut Nikaya order was revitalised. For the first time since the absolute monarchy was overthrown, a king was conveyed up the Chao Phraya River in a Royal Barge Procession to offer robes at temples.<sup>[31][32]</sup>

Other disused ceremonies from the classical period of the Chakri dynasty, such as the royally-patronised ploughing ceremony (Thai: พิธีพืชมงคล), were also revived.<sup>[33]</sup> Bhumibol's birthday (5 December) was declared the national day, replacing the previous national day, the anniversary of the Siamese Revolution of 1932 (24 June).<sup>[34]</sup> Upon Sarit's death in 8 December 1963, an unprecedented 21 days of mourning were declared in the palace. A royal five-tier umbrella shaded his body while it lay in state. Long-time royal adviser Phraya Srivisarn Vacha later noted that no Prime Minister ever had such an intimate relationship with Bhumibol as Sarit.<sup>[35]</sup>

Contemporary thinkers differ in their views about the relationship between Bhumibol and Sarit. Paul Handley, writer of *The King Never Smiles* views Sarit as Bhumibol's tool, whereas political scientist Thak Chaloemtiarana asserts that Sarit used Bhumibol in order to build his own credibility.<sup>[36][37]</sup>

## Thanom Kittikachorn era and short democratic phase

Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn was appointed premier a day after Sarit's death in 1963. He continued most of Sarit's policies for a decade. In October 1973 after massive protests and the deaths of a large number of pro-democracy demonstrators, Bhumibol opened the gates of the Chitralada Palace to fleeing protesters, and held an audience with student leaders. Bhumibol subsequently appointed the Thammasat University Rector Sanya Dharmasakti as the new Prime Minister, replacing Thanom. Thanom subsequently moved to the United States and



Singapore. A succession of civilian governments followed, but the return of Field Marshal Thanom and his ordination as a novice monk at Wat Bowonniwet in 1976 led to renewed conflict, culminating in the 6 October 1976 Massacre at Thammasat University by royalist paramilitary forces.

### Prem Tinsulanond era

The ensuing chaos was used as a pretext for a military coup. The junta submitted three names to the king to choose from to become the next Premier: Deputy President of the king's Privy Council Prakob Hutasingh, right-wing Bangkok Governor Thamnoon Thien-ngern, and conservative Supreme Court judge Tanin Kraivixien.<sup>[38]</sup> Bhumibol chose Tanin as the most suitable. However, Tanin proved to be very right-wing himself, causing student protesters to flee to join the communists in the jungle. Tanin was himself overthrown in a military coup in October 1977 led by General Kriangsak Chomanan. Kriangsak was succeeded in 1980 by the popular Army Commander-in-Chief, General Prem Tinsulanond, later the Privy Council President.

Bhumibol's refusal to endorse military coups in 1981 (the April Fool's Day coup) and 1985 (the Share Rebellion) ultimately led to the victory of forces loyal to the government, despite some violence – including in 1981, the seizure of Bangkok by rebel forces. The coups led many to believe that Bhumibol had misjudged Thai society and that his credibility as an impartial mediator between various political and military factions had been compromised.<sup>[39][40][41]</sup>

### Crisis of 1992

In 1992, Bhumibol played a key role in Thailand's transition to a democratic system. A coup on 23 February 1991 returned Thailand back under military dictatorship. After a general election in 1992, the majority parties invited General Suchinda Kraprayoon, a leader of the coup group, to be the Prime Minister. This caused much dissent, which escalated into demonstrations that led to a large number of deaths when the military was brought in to control the protesters. The situation became increasingly critical as police and military forces clashed with the protesters. Violence and riot spread out in many areas of the capital with rumours of a rift among the armed forces.<sup>[42]</sup>

Amidst the fear of civil war, Bhumibol intervened. He summoned Suchinda and the leader of the pro-democracy movement, retired Major General Chamlong Srimuang, to a televised audience, urged them to find a peaceful resolution. At the height of the crisis, the sight of both men appearing together on their knees (in accordance with royal protocol) made a strong impression on the nation, and led to Suchinda's resignation soon afterwards.

It was one of the few occasions in which Bhumibol directly and publicly intervened in a political conflict. A general election was held shortly afterward, leading to a civilian government.<sup>[43]</sup>

### 2003 War on Drugs

In his 4 December 2002 speech on the eve of his birthday, King Bhumibol spoke about the rise in drug use, the high social costs and deaths caused by drugs, and called for a "War on Drugs."<sup>[44]</sup> Privy Councillor General Phichit Kunlwanit called on the Thaksin Shinawatra government to use its majority in parliament to establish a special court to deal with drug dealers, stating that "if we execute 60,000 the land will rise and our descendants will escape bad karma".<sup>[45]</sup>

On 14 January 2003, Thaksin launched a campaign to rid "every square inch of the country" of drugs.<sup>[46]</sup> His War on Drugs campaign consisted of setting provincial arrest and seizure targets including "blacklists", awarding government officials for achieving targets and threatening punishment for those who failed to make the quota, targeting dealers, and "ruthless" implementation. In the first three months, Human Rights Watch reported that 2,275 people were



With then President Vladimir Putin in Bangkok on 22 October 2003.



killed, almost double the number normally killed in drug-related violence.<sup>[47]</sup> Human rights critics claimed a large number were extrajudicially executed.<sup>[48][49]</sup> The War on Drugs was widely criticized by the international community.<sup>[50]</sup>

According to the Narcotics Control Board, the campaign was effective in reducing drug consumption, especially in schools.<sup>[51]</sup> The War on Drugs was one of the most popular policies of the Thaksin government. Bhumibol, in a 2003 birthday speech, praised Thaksin and criticized those who counted only dead drug dealers while ignoring deaths caused by drugs.<sup>[52]</sup>

"ไ้การชัยชนะของการปราบไอ้ยา เสพติดนี้ ดีที่ปราบ แล้ว ก็ที่ เขา ตำ หนิบอกว่า เอ้ย คนตาย ตั้ง ๒,๕๐๐ คน อะ ไ้รนั้น เรื่อง เล็ก ๒,๕๐๐ คน ถ้า นายกฯ ไม่ ได้ ทำ นายกฯ ไม่ ได้ ทำ ทุกปี ๆ จด ไว้ นะ มีมากกว่า ๒,๕๐๐ คนที่ตาย"

"Victory in the War on Drugs is good. They may blame the crackdown for more than 2,500 deaths, but this is a small price to pay. If the prime minister failed to curb [the drug trade], over the years the number of deaths would easily surpass this toll."<sup>[53]</sup> "

Bhumibol also asked the commander of the police to investigate the killings.<sup>[54]</sup> Police Commander Sant Sarutanond reopened investigations into the deaths, and again claimed that few of the deaths were at the hands of the police.

After the 2006 coup, the military junta appointed a committee led by former Attorney General Kanit Na Nakorn to investigate deaths in the War on Drugs.<sup>[55]</sup> The committee found no evidence linking Thaksin or members of his government to any extrajudicial killings. However, critics claimed that the true findings of the committee were suppressed.<sup>[56]</sup>

While he was opposition leader, Abhisit Vejjajiva accused Thaksin of crimes against humanity for the War on Drugs. After he became Prime Minister, Abhisit opened an investigation led by former attorney-general Kampee Kaewcharoen, claiming that a successful probe could lead to prosecution by the International Criminal Court.<sup>[47][57][58]</sup> As of the August 2011 parliamentary elections, Abhisit's investigation failed to find or publicize any evidence linking Thaksin or members of his Government to any extrajudicial killings.

## Crisis of 2005–2006 and the September 2006 coup

### Background to the coup

Weeks before the April 2006 legislative election, the Democrat Party-led opposition and the People's Alliance for Democracy petitioned Bhumibol to appoint a replacement prime minister and cabinet. Demands for royal intervention met with much criticism from the public. Bhumibol, in a speech on 26 April 2006, responded, "Asking for a Royally-appointed prime minister is undemocratic. It is, pardon me, a mess. It is irrational".<sup>[59]</sup>

After publicly claiming victory in the boycotted April parliamentary elections, Thaksin Shinawatra had a private audience with the king. A few hours later, Thaksin appeared on national television to announce that he would be taking a break from politics.

In May 2006, the Sondhi Limthongkul-owned Manager Daily newspaper published a series of articles describing the "Finland Plot", alleging that Thaksin and former members of the Communist Party of Thailand planned to overthrow the king and seize control of the nation. No evidence was ever produced to verify the existence of such a plot, and Thaksin and his Thai Rak Thai party vehemently denied the accusations and sued the accusers.

In a rare, televised speech to senior judges, Bhumibol requested the judiciary to take action to resolve the political crisis.<sup>[59]</sup> On 8 May 2006, the Constitutional Court invalidated the results of the April elections and ordered new elections scheduled for 15 October 2006.<sup>[60]</sup> The Criminal Court later jailed the Election Commissioners.<sup>[61][62]</sup>

On 14 July 2006, Privy Council President Prem Tinsulanonda addressed graduating cadets of the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy, telling them that the Thai military must serve the King – not the Government.<sup>[63]</sup>

On 20 July, Bhumibol signed a royal decree endorsing new House elections for 15 October 2006. In an unprecedented act, the King wrote a note on the royal decree calling for a clean and fair election. That very day, Bhumibol underwent spinal surgery.<sup>[64]</sup>

### The coup

In the evening of 19 September, the Thai military overthrew the Thaksin government and seized control of Bangkok in a bloodless coup. The junta, led by the Sonthi Boonyaratglin, Commander of the Army, called itself the Council for Democratic Reform under the Constitutional Monarchy, accused the deposed prime minister and his regime of many crimes, including lèse majesté, and pledged its loyalty to Bhumibol. Martial law was declared, the Constitution repealed and the October elections cancelled. Protests and political meetings were banned.<sup>[65]</sup> On 20 September, Bhumibol endorsed the coup, and ordered civil servants to take orders from Sonthi.

The King's role in the coup was the subject of much speculation among Thai analysts and the international media, although publication of such speculation was banned in Thailand. The King had an audience with Privy Council President Prem Tinsulanonda at the same time as the First Special Forces were ordered mobilised.<sup>[66]</sup> Anti-coup protesters claimed that Prem was a key mastermind of the coup, although the military claimed otherwise and banned any discussion of the topic. In a BBC interview, Thitinan Pongsudhirak of Chulalongkorn University noted, "This coup was nothing short of Thaksin versus the King... He is widely seen as having implicitly endorsed the coup." In the same interview, social critic Sulak Sivaraksa claimed, "Without his involvement, the coup would have been impossible." Sulak added that the King is "very skillful. He never becomes obviously involved. If this coup goes wrong, Sonthi will get the blame, but whatever happens, the King will only get praise."<sup>[67]</sup> On Saturday 23 September 2006, the junta warned they would "urgently retaliate against foreign reporters whose coverage has been deemed insulting to the monarchy."<sup>[68]</sup> The President of Bhumibol's Privy Council, General Prem Tinsulanonda, supported the coup. The junta later appointed Privy Council member General Surayud Chulanont as Prime Minister.

On 20 April 2009, Thaksin claimed in an interview with the Financial Times that Bhumibol had been briefed by Privy Councillors Prem Tinsulanonda and Surayud Chulanont about their plans to stage the 2006 coup. He claimed that General Panlop Pinmanee, a leader of the People's Alliance for Democracy, had told him of the briefing.<sup>[69][70]</sup> The Thai embassy in London denied Thaksin's claims.

### After the coup

The junta appointed a Constitutional Tribunal to rule on the alleged poll fraud cases concerning the Thai Rak Thai and Democrat political parties. Guilty rulings would have dissolved both parties, Thailand's largest and oldest, respectively, and banned the parties' leadership from politics for five years. The weeks leading up to the verdicts saw rising political tensions. On 24 May 2007, about a week before the scheduled verdict, Bhumibol gave a rare speech to the Supreme Administrative Court (the President of which is also a member of the Constitutional Tribunal). "You have the responsibility to prevent the country from collapsing," he warned them in the speech, which was shown on all national television channels simultaneously during the evening. "The nation needs political parties.... In my mind, I have a judgment but I cannot say," he said. "Either way the ruling goes, it will be bad for the country, there will be mistakes."<sup>[71][72][73]</sup> The Tribunal later acquitted the Democrat Party but dissolved the Thai Rak Thai party and banned 111 of its executives from politics for five years.

The junta-appointed Constitution Drafting Assembly later tried to use the King in a propaganda campaign to increase public support for its widely criticised draft constitution. The CDA placed billboards saying, "*Love the King. Care about the King. Vote in the referendum.*" throughout the Northeast of Thailand, where opposition to the junta was greatest.<sup>[74]</sup>

## 2008 crisis

The military's constitution passed the referendum, and general election was held in December 2007. The People's Power Party, consisting of many former Thai Rak Thai Party MPs and supporters, won the majority and formed a government.<sup>[75]</sup> The People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) refused to accept the election results and started protests, eventually laying siege to Government House, Don Muang Airport, and Suvarnabhumi Airport. Although the PAD claimed they were defending the monarchy, Bhumibol remained silent. However, after a PAD supporter died in a clash with police, Queen Sirikit presided over her cremation. Princess Sirindhorn, when asked at a US press conference whether the PAD was acting on behalf of the monarchy, replied, "I don't think so. They do things for themselves."<sup>[76]</sup> Questioning and criticism over Bhumibol's role in the crisis increased, particularly from the international press.<sup>[77][78][79][80][81][82][83]</sup> "It is more and more difficult for them to hold the illusion that the monarchy is universally adored," says a Thai academic.<sup>[84]</sup>

In April 2008, Bhumibol appointed alleged coup plotter General Surayud Chulanont to Privy Council of Thailand. In the weeks leading up to 2011 general election, Bhumibol appointed Air Chief Marshal Chalit Pukbhasuk, a leader of the 2006 military coup, to his Privy Council.<sup>[85]</sup>

Bhumibol was admitted to Siriraj Hospital in September 2009 for flu and pneumonia.<sup>[86]</sup> Rumors about his ill-health caused Thai financial markets to tumble in October 2009.<sup>[87]</sup>

## Royal powers

### Constitutional powers

*For a historical perspective on how Bhumibol's constitutional powers have changed over time, see the Constitutions of Thailand article*

Bhumibol retains enormous powers, partly because of his immense popularity and partly because his powers – although clearly defined in the Thai constitution – are often subject to conflicting interpretations. This was highlighted by the controversy surrounding the appointment of Jaruvan Maintaka as Auditor-General. Jaruvavn had been appointed by The State Audit Commission. However, the Constitutional Court ruled in July 2004 that her appointment was unconstitutional. Jaruvan refused to vacate her office without an explicit order from Bhumibol, on the grounds that she had previously been royally approved. When the Senate elected a replacement for Jaruvan, Bhumibol refused to approve him.<sup>[88]</sup> The Senate declined to vote to override Bhumibol's veto.<sup>[89]</sup> Finally in February 2006 the Audit Commission reinstated Jaruvan when it became clear from a memo from the Office of the King's Principal Private Secretary that King Bhumibol supported her appointment.

Bhumibol has vetoed legislation very rarely. In 1976, when the Parliament voted 149–19 to extend democratic elections down to district levels, Bhumibol refused to sign the law.<sup>[90]</sup> The Parliament refused to vote to overturn the King's veto. In 1954, Bhumibol vetoed parliamentary-approved land reform legislation twice before consenting to sign it.<sup>[91]</sup> The law limited the maximum land an individual could hold to 50 rai (80000 square metres (**unknown operator: u'strong'** sq ft)), at a time when the Crown Property Bureau was the Kingdom's largest land-owner. The law was not enforced as General Sarit soon overthrew the elected government in a coup and repealed the law.

Bhumibol has the constitutional prerogative to pardon criminals, although there are several criteria for receiving a pardon, including age and remaining sentence. The 2006 pardoning of several convicted paedophiles, including an Australian rapist and child pornographer, caused controversy.<sup>[92][93][94]</sup> However under the Thailand Constitution, the King has the prerogative to grant a pardon and all laws, Royal Prescripts and Royal Commands relating to State affairs must be countersigned by a Minister unless otherwise provided in this Constitution. The pardon list is created and proposed by the government official, which was under the Shinawatra's 2006 government.

## Network monarchy and extraconstitutional powers

Several academics outside of Thailand, including Duncan McCargo and Federico Ferrara have noted the active political involvement of Bhumibol through a "network monarchy," whose most significant proxy is Privy Council President Prem Tinsulanond. McCargo claimed that Bhumibol's deeply conservative network worked behind the scenes to establish political influence in the 1990s, but was deeply threatened by the landslide election victories of Thaksin Shinawatra in 2001 and 2005.<sup>[95]</sup> Ferrara claimed, shortly before the Thai Supreme Court delivered its verdict to seize Thaksin Shinawatra's assets, that the judiciary was a well-established part of Bhumibol's network and represented his main avenue to exercise extra-constitutional prerogatives despite having the appearance of being constitutional. He also noted how, in comparison to the Constitutional Court's 2001 acquittal of Thaksin, the judiciary was a much more important part of the "network" than it was in the past.<sup>[96]</sup>

The network's ability to exercise power is based partly on Bhumibol's popularity and strict control of Bhumibol's popular image. Bhumibol's popularity was demonstrated following the 2003 Phnom Penh riots in Cambodia, when hundreds of Thai protesters, enraged by rumors that Cambodian rioters had stomped on photographs of Bhumibol, gathered outside the Cambodian embassy in Bangkok. Photographs of the stomping were not published in Thailand, but were available on the internet. The situation was resolved peacefully only when Police General Sant Sarutanonda told the crowd that he had received a call from royal secretary Arsa Sarasin conveying Bhumibol's request for calm. The crowd dispersed.<sup>[97]</sup>



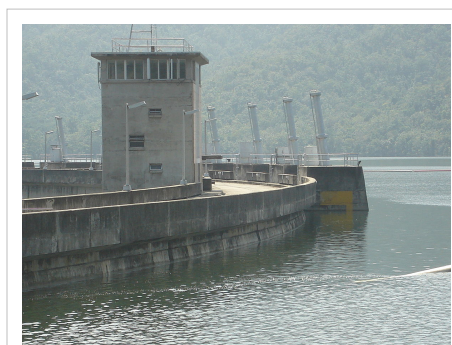
City decoration in observance of King Bhumibol's birthday in Phitsanulok, Thailand

## Royal projects

### History

The development of the country must be fostered in stages. It must start with the construction of infrastructure, that is, the provision of food and basic necessities for the people by methods which are economic, cautious and conforming with principles. Once the foundation is firmly established, progress can be continually, carefully and economically promoted. This approach will prevent incurring mistakes and failures, and lead to the certain and complete achievement of the objectives.

—Bhumibol's speech at Kasetsart University Commencement Ceremony on 19 July 1974.<sup>[98]</sup>



Bhumibol Dam

Bhumibol has been involved in many social and economic development projects. The nature of his involvement has varied by political regime.<sup>[99]</sup>

The government of Plaek Pibulsonggram (1951–1957) limited Bhumibol to a ceremonial role. During that period Bhumibol produced some films and operated a radio station from Chitlada Palace using his own personal funds.

In the military governments of Sarit Dhanarajata and his successors (1958–1980), Bhumibol was re-portrayed as the "Development King" and the inspiration of the economic and political goals of the regime. Royally-ordered projects

were implemented under the financial and political support of the government, including projects in rural areas and communities under the influence of the Communist Party of Thailand. Bhumibol's visits to these projects were heavily promoted by the Sarit government and broadcast on the state-controlled media.

During the governments of General Prem Tinsulanond (1981–1987), the relationship between the Thai state and the monarch was at its closest. Prem, later to become President of Bhumibol's Privy Council, officially allocated government budgets and manpower to support royal projects. Most activities in this period involved the development of large scale irrigation projects in rural areas.

During the modern period (post-1988), the structured development of the Royal Projects reached its apex. Bhumibol's Chaipattana Foundation was established, promoting his "sufficiency economy" theory, an alternative to the export-oriented policies adopted by the period's elected governments. Following the 2006 coup, establishment of a "sufficiency economy" was enshrined in the constitution as being a primary goal of the government, and government financial support for royal projects boomed.

### Example projects

- Rama VIII Bridge. Suggested by Bhumibol, funded by the government
- Huai Ongkod land reform project, Kanchanaburi province. Suggested by Bhumibol, using government-owned land.
- Royal Medical Team. Bhumibol's private physicians accompanying him on village tours were encouraged to provide medical care for local residents. In addition, the Royal Household sends letters of support to physicians who volunteer to serve in hospitals in provinces where royal palaces are situated.<sup>[100]</sup>

### Awards

Bhumibol has received numerous royal and state orders as befitting of his stature. In addition, the king was awarded the William J. Donovan Medal, Award of Friendship OSS, New York, U.S.A. presented by the Office of Strategic Services (soon to be CIA) on 29 October 1987.<sup>[101]</sup>

Bhumibol, who serves as head of The National Scout Organization of Thailand, was presented the Bronze Wolf award on 20 June 2006, the highest award of the World Organization of the Scout Movement, for his support and development of Scouting in Thailand by Carl XVI Gustaf, King of Sweden and Honorary President of the World Scout Foundation. The presentation took place at Chitralada Palace in Thailand and was witnessed by Chairman of the World Scout Committee Herman Hui.

In May 2006, UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, presented the United Nations' first and only Human Development Lifetime Achievement Award to Bhumibol.<sup>[102]</sup>

Bhumibol set a world record for receiving the greatest number of honorary university degrees (136) in 1997.<sup>[103]</sup> Most of his degrees came from Thai universities: for instance, Kasetsart University awarded him ten honorary doctoral degrees at once.



King Bhumibol Adulyadej, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Queen Sirikit and Mamie Eisenhower at the White House in June 1960.












## 60th Anniversary celebrations

Also called the Diamond Jubilee, the 60th Anniversary Celebrations of His Majesty the King's Accession to the Throne were a series of events marking Bhumibol's reign. Events included the royal barge procession on the Chao Phraya River, fireworks displays, art exhibitions, pardoning 25,000 prisoners,<sup>[104]</sup> concerts and dance performances.

Tied in with the anniversary, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan presented Bhumibol with the United Nations Development Programme's first Human Development Lifetime Achievement Award on 26 May 2006. National holidays were on 9 June and 12–13 June 2006. On 9 June, the King and Queen appeared on the balcony of Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall before hundreds of thousands of people. The official royal barge procession on 12 June was attended by the King and Queen and royal visitors from 26 other countries. On 13 June, a state banquet for the royal visitors was held in the newly constructed Rama IX Throne Hall at the Grand Palace, the first official function for the hall. The Chiang Mai Royal Flora Expo was also held to honour the anniversary.

On 16 January 2007, the CDRM officially declared the end of the 60th anniversary celebrations and commenced year-long celebrations of Bhumibol's 80th birthday.<sup>[105]</sup>

## Private life

Monarchs of the Chakri Dynasty	
	Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke (King Rama I)
	Buddha Loetla Nabhalai (King Rama II)
	Jessadabodindra (King Rama III)
	Mongkut (King Rama IV)
	Chulalongkorn (King Rama V)
	Vajiravudh (King Rama VI)
	Prajadhipok (King Rama VII)
	Ananda Mahidol (King Rama VIII)
	Bhumibol Adulyadej (King Rama IX)

Bhumibol is a painter, musician, photographer, author and translator. His book *Phra Mahachanok* is based on a traditional *Jataka* story of Buddhist scripture. *The Story of Thong Daeng* is the story of his dog Thong Daeng.<sup>[106]</sup>

In his youth, Bhumibol was greatly interested in firearms. He kept a carbine, a Sten gun, and two automatic pistols in his bedroom, and he and his elder brother, King Ananda Mahidol, often used the gardens of the palace for target practice.<sup>[107]</sup>

There are two English language books that provide extensive detail – albeit not always verifiable – about Bhumibol's life, especially his early years and then throughout his entire reign. One is *The Revolutionary King* by William

Stevenson, the other is *The King Never Smiles* by Paul M. Handley. A third and earlier work, *The Devil's Discus*, is also available in Thai and English. All three books are banned in Thailand.

Bhumibol's creativity in, among other things, music, art, and invention, was the focus of a 2 minute long documentary created by the government of Abhisit Vejjajiva that was screened at all branches of the Major Cineplex Group and SF Cinema City, the two largest cinema chains in Thailand.<sup>[108]</sup>

## Health

Bhumibol suffers from lumbar spinal stenosis, a narrowing of the canal that contains the spinal cord and nerve roots, which results in back and leg pain and numbness in the legs. He received a microsurgical decompression in July 2006.<sup>[109][110]</sup>

Bhumibol was taken to Bangkok's Siriraj Hospital on 13 October 2007, complaining he felt weak down his right side; doctors later found out through scans that he had a blood shortage to his brain.<sup>[111]</sup> He was discharged on 7 November 2007.<sup>[112]</sup>

On 19 September 2009, he was once again admitted to Siriraj Hospital, apparently with the flu and pneumonia. US diplomatic cables from 2009, published by Wikileaks in 2011, reported that the king is suffering from Parkinson's disease and depression.<sup>[113]</sup> His youngest daughter HRH Princess Chulabhorn Walailak confirmed in an April 2011 television interview that the king remains in the hospital.<sup>[114]</sup>

On 17 November 2011, Bhumibol was diagnosed with diverticulitis while being confined in Siriraj Hospital. He is also forced to remain in fast until the disease is cured, the Bureau of the Royal Household announced.<sup>[115]</sup> He received further treatment for the condition in January 2012.

## Music

Bhumibol is an accomplished jazz musician and composer, particularly for his works on the alto saxophone. He was the first Asian composer awarded honorary membership of the Academy of Music and Dramatic Arts in Vienna at the age of 32.<sup>[116]</sup> He used to play jazz music on air on the Or Sor radio station. In his travels, he has played with such jazz legends as Benny Goodman, Jack Teagarden, Lionel Hampton, Maynard Ferguson, and Preservation Hall Jazz Band. His songs can often be heard at social gatherings and concerts. In 2003, the University of North Texas College of Music awarded him an Honorary Doctorate in Music. The king's abilities as a jazz musician were mentioned by Aunt Jenny (Imogene Coca) in an episode of *The Brady Bunch* titled "Jan's Aunt Jenny", which originally aired on 21 January 1972.<sup>[117]</sup>

## Sailing

Bhumibol is an accomplished sailor and sailboat designer.<sup>[118]</sup> He won a gold medal for sailing in the Fourth Southeast Asian Peninsular (SEAP) Games in 1967, together with HRH Princess Ubol Ratana whom he tied for points.<sup>[119]</sup> This accomplishment is all the more remarkable given Bhumibol's lack of binocular depth perception. Bhumibol has also sailed the Gulf of Thailand from Hua Hin to Toey Harbour in Sattahip, covering 60 nautical miles (**unknown operator: u'strong'** km) in a 14-hour journey on the "Vega 1," an OK Class dinghy he built.<sup>[107]</sup>

Like his father, a former military naval engineer, Bhumibol was an avid boat designer and builder. He produced several small sail-boat designs in the International Enterprise, OK, and Moth Classes. His designs in the Moth class include the "Mod," "Super Mod," and "Micro Mod."<sup>[120]</sup>

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## Patents

Bhumibol is the only Thai monarch to hold a patent.<sup>[121][122]</sup> He obtained one in 1993 for a waste water aerator named "Chai Pattana", and several patents on rainmaking since 1955: the "sandwich" rainmaking patent in 1999 and lately the "supersandwich" patent in 2003.<sup>[123][124][125]</sup>

## Wealth

Estimates of the post-devaluation (circa 1997–1998) wealth of the royal household range from 10 billion to 20 billion USD.<sup>[126]</sup> In August 2008, Forbes came out with its 2008 version of *The World's Richest Royals*. King Bhumibol took first place on the list with an estimated wealth of \$35 billion.<sup>[127]</sup> A few days later the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand issued a statement that the Forbes report erred in attributing wealth owned by the Crown Property Bureau (CPB) solely to Bhumibol.<sup>[128]</sup> In the 2009 version of its list, Forbes acknowledged the government's objections, but justified the continued inclusion of the CPB's assets on the ground that Bhumibol was its trustee.<sup>[10]</sup> The 2009 estimate was down to \$30 billion due to declines in real estate and stocks.<sup>[10]</sup>

The wealth and properties of Bhumibol and the royal family are managed by the Crown Property Bureau and the Privy Purse. The CPB was established by law but is managed independently of the Thai Government and reports only to Bhumibol.<sup>[107][129]</sup>

Through the CPB, Bhumibol and the royal family own land and equity in many companies and massive amounts of land, including 3,493 acres in Bangkok.<sup>[130]</sup> The CPB is the majority shareholder of Siam Cement (the largest Thai industrial conglomerate), Christiani & Nielsen (one of the largest Thai construction firms), Deves Insurance (which holds a monopoly on government property insurance and contract insurance), Siam Commercial Bank (one of the largest Thai banks), and Shin Corporation (a major Thai telecommunications firm, through the CPB's holdings in Siam Commercial Bank). The CPB also rents or leases about 36,000 properties to third parties, including the sites of the Four Seasons Hotel Bangkok, the Suan Lum Night Bazaar, Siam Paragon and the Central World Tower. The CPB spearheaded a plan to turn Bangkok's historical Rajadamnoen Avenue into a shopping street known as the "Champs-Élysées of Asia" and in 2007, shocked longtime residents of traditional marketplace districts by serving them with eviction notices.<sup>[131]</sup> Bhumibol's substantial income from the CPB, estimated to be at least five billion baht in 2004 alone, is exempt from taxes.<sup>[131][132]</sup> The CPB receives many state privileges. Although the Ministry of Finance technically runs the CPB, decisions are made solely by Bhumibol. The CPB's annual report is for the eye of Bhumibol alone; the annual report is not released to the public.<sup>[131]</sup>

In addition, Bhumibol has numerous personal investments independent of the CPB. He is personally the majority shareholder of the Thai Insurance Company and Sammakorn, as well as many other companies.<sup>[133]</sup> He currently holds 30% in Siam Cement,<sup>[134]</sup> and 20% in the Siam Commercial Bank.<sup>[135]</sup>

The CPB has a fleet of three aircraft for the use of the royal family, including a Boeing 737-800 and an Airbus A319. The newer Airbus had been purchased by the Thaksin Shinawatra government for government use, but after the 2006 coup, the junta offered it to the king. The other planes are used by members of the royal family.<sup>[136]</sup>

Among other vehicles, Bhumibol owns two custom-built stretch limousines from LCW Automotive Corp.<sup>[137]</sup> The Golden Jubilee Diamond, the largest faceted diamond in the world, was given to him by businessman Henry Ho.

## Lèse majesté

Although Bhumibol is held in great respect by many Thais, he is also protected by *lèse majesté* laws which allow critics to be jailed for three to fifteen years.<sup>[138]</sup> The laws were toughened during the dictatorship of royalist Premier Tanin Kraivixien, such that criticism of any member of the royal family, the royal development projects, the royal institution, the Chakri Dynasty, or any previous Thai King was also banned.

During his 2005 birthday speech, Bhumibol invited criticism: "Actually, I must also be criticised. I am not afraid if the criticism concerns what I do wrong, because then I know. Because if you say the king cannot be criticised, it means that the king is not human", he claimed. "If the king can do no wrong, it is akin to looking down upon him because the king is not being treated as a human being. But the king can do wrong."<sup>[8]</sup> A widespread barrage of criticisms resulted, followed by a sharp rise in lese majeste prosecutions. Lese majeste cases rose from five or six a year pre-2005 to 478 in 2010.<sup>[139]</sup>

## Biographies

American journalist Paul Handley, who spent thirteen years in Thailand, wrote the biography *The King Never Smiles*. The Information and Communications Ministry banned the book and blocked the book's page on the Yale University Press website in January 2006. In a statement dated 19 January 2006, Thai National Police Chief General Kowit Wattana said the book has "contents which could affect national security and the good morality of the people."<sup>[140]</sup> The book provides a detailed discussion of Bhumibol's role in Thai political history and also analyzes the factors behind Bhumibol's popularity.

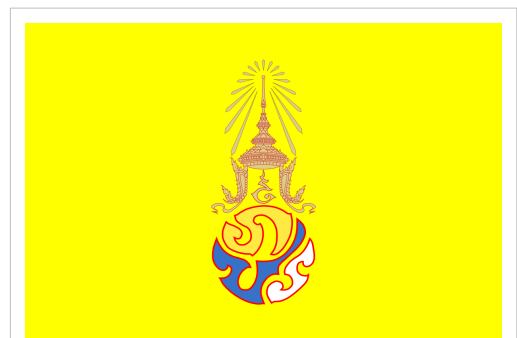
William Stevenson, who had access to the Royal Court and the Royal Family, wrote the biography *The Revolutionary King* in 2001.<sup>[141]</sup> An article in *Time* says the idea for the book was suggested by Bhumibol.<sup>[142]</sup> Critics noted that the book displays intimate knowledge about personal aspects of Bhumibol. However, the book has been unofficially banned in Thailand and the Bureau of the Royal Household warned the Thai media about even referring to it in print. An official ban was not possible as it was written with Bhumibol's blessing. The book has been criticised for factual inaccuracies, disrespecting Bhumibol (it refers to him by his personal nickname "Lek"), and proposing a controversial theory explaining the death of King Ananda. Stevenson said, "The king said from the beginning the book would be dangerous for him and for me."<sup>[142]</sup>

## Succession to the throne

Bhumibol's only son, Prince Vajiralongkorn, was given the title "Somdej Phra Boroma Orasadhiraj Chao Fah Maha Vajiralongkorn Sayam Makutrajakuman" (Crown Prince of Siam) on 28 December 1972 and made heir apparent (อัครราชทายาท) to the throne in accordance with the Palace Law on Succession of 1924.<sup>[143]</sup>

On 5 December 1977, Princess Sirindhorn was given the title "Siam Boromrajakumari" (Princess Royal of Siam). Her title is often translated by the English-language press as "Crown Princess", although her official English-language title is simply "Princess".<sup>[144]</sup>


Although the constitution was later amended to allow the Privy Council to appoint a princess as successor to the throne, this would only occur in the absence of an heir apparent. This amendment is retained in Section 23 of the 1997 "People's Constitution." This effectively allowed Princess Sirindhorn to potentially be second in line to the throne, but did not affect Prince Vajiralongkorn's status as heir apparent.



The King's royal cypher and personal flag.

Recent constitutions of Thailand have made the amendment of the Palace Law of Succession the sole prerogative of the reigning king. According to Gothom Aryan, former election commissioner, this allows the reigning king, if he so chooses, to appoint his son or any of his daughters to the throne.<sup>[145]</sup>

## Titles and styles

Monarchical styles of King Bhumibol Adulyadej Rama IX of Thailand	
	
Reference style	His Majesty
Spoken style	Your Majesty
Alternative style	<i>Sir</i>

King Bhumibol Adulyadej's Thai full title is "**Phra Bat Somdet Phra Poramintharamaha Bhumibol Adulyadej Mahitalathibet Ramathibodi Chakkrinaruebodin Sayamminthrathirat Borommanatbophit**" (Thai: พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช มหาจักรีบรมราชูปถัมภ์ จักรีนฤพดินทร สยามินทราธิราช บรมนาถบพิตร; listen), which is referred to in the chief legal documents; and in general documents, the title is shortened to "*Phra Bat Somdet Phra Poramintharamaha Bhumibol Adulyadej Sayamminthrathirat Borommanatbophit*" or just "*Phra Bat Somdet Phra Poramintharamaha Bhumibol Adulyadej*."

The literal translation of the title is as follows.<sup>[146]</sup>

- *Phra*—a third person pronoun referring to the person with much higher status than the speaker, meaning "excellent" in general. The word is from Sanskrit *vara* ("excellent").
- *Bat*—"foot," from Sanskrit *pāda*.
- *Somdet*—"lord," from Khmer "samdech" ("excellency").
- *Poraminthara*—"the great," from Sanskrit *parama* ("great") + *indra* ("leader")
- *Maha*—"great," from Sanskrit, "maha"
- *Bhumibol*—"Strength of the Land," from Sanskrit *bhumi* ("land") + *bala* ("strength")
- *Adulyadej*—"Incomparable power," from Sanskrit *atulya* ("incomparable") + *teja* ("power")
- *Mahitalathibet*—"Son of Mahidol"
- *Ramathibodi*—"Rama, the Avatar of God Vishnu to become the great ruler"; from Sanskrit *rama* + *adhi* ("great") + *patī* ("president")
- *Chakkrinaruebodin*—"Leader of the People who is from the House of Chakri", from Sanskrit *Cakrī* + *nari* ("men") + *patī* ("president")
- *Sayamminthrathirat*—"the Great King of Siam," from Sanskrit *Siam* (former name of Thailand) + *indra* + *ati* ("great") + *rāja* ("king")
- *Borommanatbophit*—"the Royalty who is the Great Shelter", from Sanskrit *parama* ("great") + *nāḍha* ("the one who others can depend on" or "Power/Right") + *pavitra* ("royalty")



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## External links

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  - A Visionary Monarch (<http://www.bangkokpost.com/king2000/>) – provides a lot of insights on his visions and contributions to the country.
  - Songs composed by Bhumibol (<http://kanchanapisek.or.th/royal-music/index.en.html>)
  - The Golden Jubilee Network (<http://kanchanapisek.or.th/index.en.html>) – has many subjects on Bhumibol, including his projects, speeches, and his royal new year card.
  - Supreme Artist (<http://www.supremeartist.org>) – see works of art created by Bhumibol.
  - The King's Birthplace (<http://www.thailink.com/king.htm>)
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# Bolesław I Chrobry

Bolesław I Chrobry	
King of Poland	
<div></div> <p>Portrait by Jan Matejko.</p>	
Reign	<i>Duke</i> : 992 – 18 April 1025 <i>King</i> : 18 April – 17 June 1025
Coronation	18 April 1025 Gniezno Cathedral, Poland.
Born	967
Birthplace	Poznań
Died	17 June 1025 [aged 58]
Place of death	Kraków?
Buried	Cathedral Basilica of St. Peter and St. Paul, Poznań, D Month, YYYY
Predecessor	Mieszko I
Successor	Mieszko II Lambert
Wives	Hunilda (?), daughter of Rikdag Judith of Hungary Emnilda of Lusatia Oda of Meissen
Offspring	<i>With Hunilda</i> : A daughter, Princess of Pomerania <i>With Judith</i> : Bezprym <i>With Emnilda</i> : A daughter, nun Regelinda, Margravine of Meissen Mieszko II Lambert A daughter, Grand Princess of Kiev Otto <i>With Oda</i> : Matilda

<b>Dynasty</b>	Piast dynasty
<b>Father</b>	Mieszko I
<b>Mother</b>	Dobrawa of Bohemia

**Bolesław I Chrobry** (aka Bolesław I the Brave or *the Valiant*) (Czech: *Boleslav Chrabrý*) (967 – 17 June 1025), in the past also known as **Bolesław I the Great** (*Wielki*), was a Duke of Poland in 992–1025 and the first King of Poland from 19 April 1025 until his death. He also ruled as **Boleslav IV, Duke of Bohemia** during 1002–1003.

He was the firstborn son of Mieszko I by his Czech first wife, Dobrawa, daughter of Boleslav I the Cruel, Duke of Bohemia.<sup>[1][2]</sup> He was named after his maternal grandfather.

Bolesław I was a remarkable politician, strategist and statesman. He turned Poland into a country that was not only comparable to older western monarchies, but also elevated it into the European elite. Bolesław conducted successful military campaigns in the west, south and east. He consolidated the Polish lands and conquered territories outside of modern borders of Poland such as Slovakia, Moravia, Red Ruthenia, Meissen and Lusatia as well as Bohemia. He was a powerful mediator in Central European affairs.

Bolesław was an ally of Holy Roman Emperor Otto III who may have crowned him *rex*. Following the death of Otto III in 1002, he carried out a series of successful wars against the Holy Roman Empire and Otto III's cousin and heir Henry II, ending with the Peace of Bautzen in 1018. In the summer of 1018, in one of his most famous expeditions, Bolesław I captured Kiev, where, according to legend, he notched his sword when hitting Kiev's Golden Gate. Later, a sword known as *Szczerbiec*, meaning notched sword, would become the ceremonial sword used in the coronation ceremony of Polish kings.

Bolesław I also managed to establish a Polish church structure with a Metropolitan See at Gniezno, independent of the German Archbishopric of Magdeburg, which had tried to lay claim to Polish areas. During the famous Congress of Gniezno he officially freed himself of tribute to the Holy Roman Empire and finally, at the peak of his reign, he had himself crowned as King, the first Polish ruler to do so.

He was an able administrator; he established the so-called "Prince's law", and build numerous forts, churches, monasteries and bridges. Bolesław I established the first Polish monetary system, of a Grzywna divided into 240 Denarii,<sup>[1]</sup> and minted his own coin. He is widely considered as one of the most talented and accomplished of the Piast rulers.

## Life

### Youth



Bolesław I Chrobry as imagined by Jan Matejko

Bolesław I was born in Poznań as the first child of Mieszko I, Duke of Poland and his wife, the Bohemian princess Dobrawa. At age six he may have been sent to the Imperial court in Germany as a hostage, according to the agreements of the Imperial Diet of Quedlinburg (although historians now dispute this detail). Another theory stated that Bolesław I spent some time during the 980s at the court of his maternal uncle, Duke Boleslav II the Pious of Bohemia.

In 984 and at the instigation of his father, the eighteen-year-old Bolesław I married the daughter of Rikdag, Margrave of Meissen, probably named Hunilda or Oda. It is believed that following the wedding he became the ruler of Lesser Poland with his capital at Kraków. The death of Margrave Rikdag in 985 left the marriage devoid of any political value, and shortly thereafter the union was dissolved and Hunilda was repudiated.

At the end of 985, probably at the instigation of Boleslav II the Pious, Bolesław I married an unknown Hungarian princess with whom he had a son,

Bezprym.<sup>[3]</sup> In older literature, the princess was identified as Judith, daughter of Géza, Grand Duke of Hungary.<sup>[4]</sup> Though opinions vary about the identity of Bolesław I's second wife, there are a number of researchers who still support the hypothesis of her being the daughter of Géza.<sup>[5]</sup> However, this union also came to a quick end, probably because of the deterioration in political relations between Poland and Hungary, and around 987 the union was dissolved.

By 989, and perhaps as early as 987, Bolesław I married Emnilda, daughter of Dobromir, a Slavic prince of Lusatia. Through this marriage he had a daughter Regelinda, a son, the future king Mieszko II, another daughter and a son Otton. At this time Bolesław I's rule in Lesser Poland may have been at Bohemian conferment. Presuming that it was, he added this province to Poland only after Duke Boleslav II the Pious' death in 999. However assuming that Mieszko I took control of Lesser Poland in 990 (which is likely), than Bolesław I was bestowed the rule in Lesser Poland by his father but without its territory being included in the Polish realm. Bolesław I does not appear in the surviving summary of the *Dagome Iudex* document, and as such it may be supposed that Lesser Poland was already known as Bolesław I's inheritance, while his two surviving half-brothers Mieszko and Lambert, sons of Mieszko I by his second wife Oda, were to divide the rest of the realm between each other. Another theory is that Bolesław I's absence from the document might be explained by an old Slavic custom whereby children received their inheritance as soon as they reached the age of majority. Thus Bolesław I might have received Kraków as his part of his father's legacy before the writing of the *Dagome iudex*.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Accession

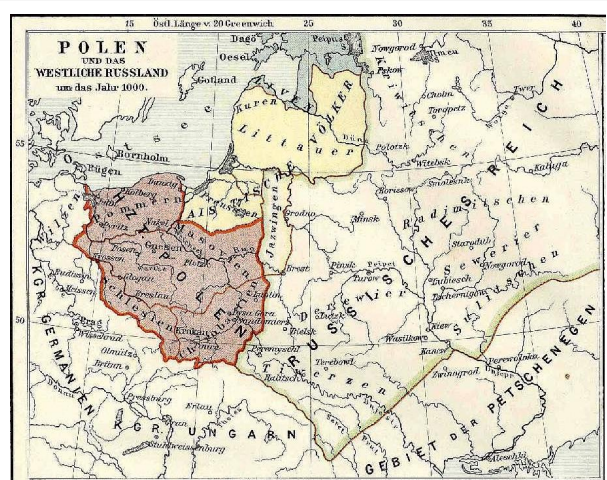
The circumstances in which Bolesław I took control of the country following the passing of his father, Mieszko I, forecasted what would later become a prevalent practice among the Piast dynasty. It consisted of struggle for domination, usually a military one, among the offspring of nearly every deceased monarch of the Piast dynasty. Bolesław I was no different, and shortly after the death of Mieszko I (25 May 992), he banished his stepmother Oda and his two half-brothers, as they had to be considered competitors to the throne, especially in light of the *Dagome Iudex*. The exact circumstances of Bolesław I's ascension to the Ducal throne are unknown, but it is known that by June, he was the unquestioned ruler of Poland – as Otto III asked for his military aid in the summer of 992. Also immediately after gaining the full control over Poland, Bolesław I quelled the opposition of the Barons by blinding two of their leaders, the magnates Odylen and Przybywoj.<sup>[7]</sup> As cruel a sentence as this was, it proved most effective as it triggered such obedience of his subjects that from that point on there was no mention of any challenge of his position whatsoever.



Boleslaw I being crowned, oil on canvas, by Jan Matejko

## Extent of his domains

Bolesław I inherited from his father a realm that was close in dimensions to modern-day Poland. It centered on the core of Polanian country, the later Greater Poland (Polish: *Wielkopolska*). Greater Poland encompassed the valley of river Warta, stretched to the north to the Notec river and to the south it encompassed Kalisz. Outside of this core the nascent Poland included the surrounding areas subdued by Bolesław I's father, Mieszko I which included: parts of Pomerania to the north, including Kolobrzeg in the west and Gdańsk in the east, Mazovia with its capital at Płock to the east and Silesia to the south-west. It is disputed whether Lesser Poland, centered around Kraków, was incorporated into the Polish realm by Mieszko I before 992 or whether it was added by Bolesław I in 999. Either way by the year 1000 Bolesław I was the lord of a domain larger than contemporary England, Denmark, León or Burgundy.



Poland at the beginning of the reign of Boleslaw I



## Duke of Poland

### First years (992–1000)

It appears, from the lack of any record of international activity, that Bolesław I spent the first years as ruler more concerned about gaining the throne and remaining on it than trying to increase the size of his dominion. It is during this period of consolidation of power that he allied himself with Otto III, the Emperor of Germany, when in 995 he aided the Holy Roman Emperor in his expedition against the Lusatians.



Statue of Bolesław I Chrobry at Wrocław

Endeavoring to extend his influence to the territory of the Prussians, Bolesław I encouraged Christianizing missions in the Prussian lands. Most famous of those was the mission of Vojtěch from the Bohemian princely Slavník clan, former bishop of Prague. Known as Adalbert of Prague upon the death of Adalbert of Magdeburg in 981, Adalbert's mission took place in 997 and ended in the missionary's martyrdom at the hands of the pagan Prussians, which occurred in April 997 on the Baltic Sea coast in the vicinity of Truso (a medieval emporia near modern city of Elbląg). The remains of the missionary were held for ransom by the Prussians and Bohemian Přemyslid rulers refused to pay for Adalbert's (Vojtech) body, consequently it was purchased by Duke Bolesław I for its weight in gold, and buried in Gniezno. In 999 Bishop Adalbert was canonized as Saint Adalbert by Pope Sylvester II. He was later made the patron saint of Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, and Prussia. Canonization of Vojtěch increased the prestige of the Polish church in Europe and the prestige of Polish state on the international arena.

### Congress of Gniezno and alliance with the Holy Roman Empire (1000–1002)

By the year 1000, Bolesław I had consolidated his position as Duke (*Dux*) of Poland. Not only did he not meet any internal opposition, but he furthermore had gained the respect of Holy Roman Emperor Otto III (980–1002).<sup>[8]</sup> Consequently in the year 1000, Otto III visited Poland under the pretext of a pilgrimage to the grave of his friend, the recently canonized Bishop Adalbert (*Vojtěch*). In addition to the religious motivation, Otto III's voyage also carried a strong political agenda: he had intentions to renew the Holy Roman Empire based on a federal concept he called "*Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*".<sup>[9]</sup> Within the federal framework, Polish and Hungarian duchies were to be upgraded to eastern *federati* of the empire.<sup>[9]</sup>

The Emperor needed to assess Poland's strength and establish its status within the Holy Roman Empire. The ensuing Congress of Gniezno, where Bolesław I entertained his distinguished guest, is one of the most famous episodes of medieval Polish history. During the time the emperor spent in Poland, Bolesław I did not hide the wealth of his country, in fact he showed off its affluence at every step as he tried to dazzle the emperor. Among other gifts the Polish ruler presented to Otto III were 300 armored knights, while the Emperor responded with a gift of a copy of the lance of Saint Maurice. Evidently Otto III was impressed with what he saw



Bolesław I as depicted on Gniezno Doors, mid. 12th century

and he decided that Poland should be treated as a kingdom on par with Germany and Italy, not merely as a tributary duchy like Bohemia.<sup>[10]</sup> Since Otto III had intentions to renew the Empire based on a federal concept he called "*Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*", and within that federal framework, Polish and Hungarian duchies were to be upgraded to eastern *federati* of the empire it was towards this end that the Emperor placed his Imperial crown on Bolesław I's brow and invested him with the titles *frater et cooperator Imperii* ("Brother and Partner of the Empire") and *populi Romani amicus et socius*.<sup>[9]</sup> He also raised Bolesław I to the dignity of *patricius* or "elder of the Roman nation".<sup>[11]</sup> This episode has long been a subject of hot debate among historians. Some historians see this as an act of favor between an Emperor and his vassal, others as a gesture of friendship between equals. Could placing of the Imperial crown on Bolesław's head mean that the Emperor crowned the Polish Duke? Most modern historians agree that it could not. Though it was undoubtedly a sign of Otto's respect for the Polish ruler, it could not truly mean Bolesław I was King as only the Pope had the authority to invest a prince with the crown and elevate his realm to a status of a kingdom.<sup>[8]</sup> According to one source afterwards Bolesław I traveled with the Emperor to Aix-la-Chapelle where Otto III had the tomb of Charlemagne opened. From there Otto III is reputed to have removed the Imperial throne itself and presented it to the Polish Duke.<sup>[10]</sup>

Other political talks took place as well. Otto III decided that Poland will no longer be required to pay tribute to the Empire. Gniezno was confirmed as an Archbishopric and a Metropolitan See for the Polish area. Three new Bishoprics were created and confirmed with papal consent. They were placed at Kraków, Wrocław and Kolobrzeg. The Poznań missionary Bishopric was confirmed as subject directly to the Vatican. Bolesław I and his heirs gained the right of investiture of bishops. The future marriage of Bolesław I's son Mieszko to Richeza (Polish: *Rycheza*), niece of Otto III, was also probably agreed upon at this point.<sup>[12]</sup>

The untimely death of Otto III at age 22 in 1002 upset the ambitious *renovatio* plans, which were never fully implemented. Henry II, Otto III's less idealistic successor, and an opponent of Otto's policies, reversed the course of Imperial policy towards the east.<sup>[13]</sup>

### Occupation of Meissen, Lusatia, Bautzen and the intervention in Bohemia (1002–1003)

The excellent relations of Poland and Germany enjoyed during the Reign of Otto III, quickly deteriorated following his death. Bolesław I supported Eckard I, Margrave of Meissen, for the German throne. When Eckard was assassinated in April, Bolesław I lent his support to Henry IV, Duke of Bavaria, and helped him ascend to the German throne as Henry II. Bolesław I took advantage of internal strife following the Emperor's death and occupied important areas to the west of the Oder: Margraviate of Meissen and March of Lusatia, including strongholds Budziszyn and Strzala. Bolesław I claimed an hereditary right to Meissen as a relative of its former ruler Margrave Rikdag (only through marriage; he was the former husband of his daughter). Henry II accepted Bolesław I's gains and he allowed the Polish Duke to keep Lusatia as a fief. The one exception was Meissen, which Bolesław I was not allowed to keep. Though at this point Polish–German relations were normalized, soon thereafter Henry II organized a failed assassination attempt on Bolesław I's life and relations between the two countries were severed.<sup>[14]</sup>



Statues of Bolesław I and Mieszko I by Christian Daniel Rauch in the Golden Chapel, Poznań Cathedral

In the same year (1003) Bolesław I became entangled in Bohemian affairs when the Duke Vladivoj died earlier in that year. Following this Bolesław I aided a pretender, Boleslav III the Red, in gaining the throne. Later Boleslav III undermined his own position by ordering a massacre of his leading nobles, the Vršovci, at Vyšehrad. Those nobles who survived the massacre secretly sent messengers to Bolesław I and entreated him to come to their aid. The Polish Duke willingly agreed, and invited Boleslav III to visit him at his castle in Kraków. There, Boleslav III was trapped, blinded and imprisoned, probably dying in captivity some thirty years later. Bolesław I, claiming the Ducal throne for himself, invaded Bohemia in 1003 and took Prague without any serious opposition, ruling as Boleslav IV for a little over a year. It is also likely that Polish forces took control of Moravia and Upper Hungary in 1003 as well. The proper conquest date of the Hungarian territories is 1003 or 1015 and Upper Hungary stayed as part of Poland until 1018.<sup>[15]</sup>



### Polish-German War (1002–1018)

As mentioned above, Bolesław I had taken control of the marches of Lusatia, Sorbian Meissen, and the cities of Budziszyn (Bautzen) and Meissen in 1002, and refused to pay the tribute to the Empire from the conquered territories.

Henry II, allied with the Lutici, answered with an offensive a year later. Though the first attack was not successful, already in the autumn of 1004 the German forces deposed Bolesław I from the Bohemian throne. Bolesław I did manage to keep Moravia and Slovakia, however, over which he exercised control until 1018. During the next part of the offensive Henry II retook Meissen and in 1005 his army advanced as far into Poland as the city of Poznań where a peace treaty was signed.<sup>[16]</sup> According to the peace treaty Bolesław I lost Lusatia and Meissen and likely gave up his claim to the Bohemian throne. Also in 1005, a pagan rebellion in Pomerania overturned Bolesław's rule and resulted in the destruction of the just implemented local bishopric.<sup>[17]</sup>

In 1007 Henry II denounced the Peace of Poznań, resulting in Bolesław I's attack on the Archbishopric of Magdeburg as well as re-occupation of marches of

Lusatia and Sorbian Meissen including the city of Bautzen. The German counter-offensive began three years later, in 1010. It was of no significant consequence, beyond some pillaging in Silesia. In 1012 a five year peace was signed.

Bolesław I broke the peace however, and once again invaded Lusatia. Bolesław I's forces pillaged and burned the city of Lubusz (Lebus).<sup>[16]</sup> In 1013 a peace accord was signed at Merseburg. As part of peace Bolesław I paid homage to Henry II, in exchange for which he received the March of Lusatia and Sorbian Meissen as fiefs. Also, was performed the marriage of his son Mieszko with Richeza of Lotharingia, daughter of the Count Palatine Ezzo of Lotharingia and granddaughter of Emperor Otto II.

In 1014 Bolesław I sent his son Mieszko to Bohemia in order to form an alliance with duke Oldrich against Emperor Henry II. Bolesław I also refused to aid the Emperor militarily in his Italian expedition. This led to imperial intervention in Poland and so in 1015 a war erupted once again. The war started out well for the Emperor as he was able to defeat the Polish forces at Ciani. Once the imperial forces crossed the river Oder, Bolesław I sent a detachment of Moravian knights in a diversionary attack against the Eastern March of the empire. Soon thereafter the Imperial army retreated from Poland without making any permanent gains. Following this Bolesław I's forces took the initiative. The Margrave of Meissen, Gero II, was defeated and killed during a clash with the Polish forces late in 1015.

Later that year, Bolesław I's son Mieszko was sent to plunder Meissen. His attempt at conquering the city however, failed.<sup>[16]</sup> In 1017 Bolesław I defeated Margrave Henry V of Bavaria. In 1017 with Czech and Wendish support Henry II once again invaded Poland, however, once again to very little effect. He did besiege cities of Głogów and Niemcza, but was unable to take them. Taking advantage of Czech troops' involvement, Bolesław I ordered his son to invade Bohemia, where Mieszko met very little resistance. On 30 January 1018, the Peace of Bautzen (which made Bolesław I a clear winner), was signed. The Polish ruler was able to keep the contested marches of Lusatia and



Statue of Bolesław I Chrobry at Gniezno, by Jerzy Sobocinski

Sorbian Meissen not as fiefs, but as part of Polish territory, and also received military aid in his expedition against Kievan Rus. Also, Bolesław I (then a widower) reinforced his dynastic bonds with the German nobility through his marriage with Oda, daughter of Margrave Eckard I of Meissen. The wedding took place four days later, on 3 February in the castle (German: *Burg*) of *Cziczani* (also *Sciciani*, at the site of either modern Groß-Seitschen<sup>[18]</sup> or Zützen<sup>[19]</sup>).

### Intervention in the Kievan Succession (1015–1019)

Bolesław I organized his first expedition against his eastern neighbor in 1015, but the decisive engagements were to take place in 1018 after the peace of Budziszyn was already signed. At the request of his son-in-law Sviatopolk I of Kiev, the Polish duke invaded Kievan Rus' with an army of between 2,000–5,000 Polish warriors, in addition to Thietmar's reported 1,000 Pechenegs, 300 German knights, and 500 Hungarian mercenaries.<sup>[20]</sup> After collecting his forces during June, Bolesław led his troops to the border in July and on 23 July at the banks of the Bug River, near Wielen, he defeated the forces of Yaroslav the Wise prince of Kiev, in what became known as the Battle at Bug river. All primary sources agree that the Polish prince was victorious in battle.<sup>[21][22]</sup> Yaroslav retreated north to Novgorod, rather than to Kiev. The victory opened the road to Kiev, already under harassment from Bolesław's Pecheneg allies. The city, which suffered from fires caused by the Pecheneg siege, surrendered upon seeing the main Polish force on 14 August. The entering army, led by Bolesław I, was ceremonially welcomed by the local archbishop and the family of Vladimir I of Kiev. Bolesław I may have deployed his troops in the capital of Rus for no more than six months (see Kiev Expedition of 1018) but had to recall them eventually due to popular uprising against the Poles. According to popular legend Bolesław I notched his sword (*Szczerbiec*) hitting the Golden Gate of Kiev. During this campaign Poland re-annexed the Red Strongholds, later called Red Ruthenia, lost by Bolesław I's father in 981.

In 1015 Bolesław I sent a detachment of Polish horsemen to aid his nephew Canute the Great, son of his sister Swietoslawa, in his conquest of England.<sup>[11]</sup>



Bolesław I Chrobry entering conquered Kiev. Painting by Jan Matejko



### Coronation and Death (1025)

After Henry's death in 1024, Bolesław I took advantage of the interregnum in Germany and crowned himself king in 1025, thus raising Poland to the rank of a kingdom before its neighbor Bohemia. He was the first Polish king (*rex*), his predecessors having been considered dukes (*dux*) by the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy. Bolesław I died not long after the coronation, due most likely to an illness.

The whereabouts of Boleslaw's burial are uncertain. It is believed that recently discovered remains of a double tomb in Poznań cathedral may be the burial places of the first two Polish Rulers: Boleslaw I and his father Mieszko. Bolesław I's son, Mieszko II, crowned himself king immediately after his father died in Poznań.



Poland at the end of the reign of Boleslaw I.

## Legacy

## Military

At the time of his death Bolesław I left Poland larger than the land he had inherited: he had added to his domains the long-contested marches of Lusatia and Sorbian Meissen as well as Red Ruthenia and possibly Lesser Poland. Militarily, at the time, Poland was unquestionably a considerable power as Bolesław I was able to fight successful campaigns against both Holy Roman Empire and the Kievan Rus. On the other hand it must be highlighted that his long-term involvement in the war against Germany allowed Western Pomerania to gain independence from the Polish aegis. Another negative side of Bolesław I's drawn out military campaigns was a damaging influence on the economy of his kingdom. With the passing of each year, Bolesław I needed ever-increasing amounts to finance his wars, especially when fought on two fronts; in Germany and Kiev. Unceasing war had placed ever-increasing fiscal obligations on his subjects, which in turn caused negative sentiment, sentiment that increased throughout his reign, and that would erupt into popular revolt soon after his death.



Bolesław I the Brave, Painting by Aleksander Lesser.

## Economy



Bolesław I was a gifted and organized administrator. He was largely responsible for fully implementing the "Prince's Law" throughout the Polish lands. The Prince's Law created a sort of nationalized economy, controlled by the state, whose sole duty it was to finance the prince's spending needs. These needs were considerable, as the Duke was responsible for all manner of building projects. The foundation of the "Prince's Law" lay in a network of fortified towns called *grody*, but the ruler also commissioned the building of churches, monasteries, roads, bridges etc., in short the development of an infrastructure. The building projects were financed by collecting taxes in money or goods. Also peasants were required to house the monarch or provide the prince with different manner of goods and services which included communications, hunting, military or others. To produce necessary goods Bolesław I organized a network of service settlements that specialized each in manufacturing about 30 different goods, such as: barrels, arches, metal wares, spears, as well as settlements responsible for animal husbandry, i.e., swine, horses or cattle. Hundreds of villages were thus specialized and named to reflect their particular job. To this day one may find scores of settlements in Poland with names left over from that era, such as: Szewce, Kuchary or Kobylniki. This system functioned well enough to support Bolesław I throughout his 33 year reign.

## Political

Increasing both the internal and external strength of the realm was of paramount importance to Bolesław I, especially in the face of increasing pressure from the magnates. The magnates demanded a larger share in the administration of the country while Bolesław I sought to strengthen the central authority of the ruler. Bolesław I's coronation, sometime in 1025, was aimed precisely to reinforce his leading position. In general an overall integration of the country took place during his reign.

Bolesław I was able to establish an independent Polish church structure with a Metropolitan See at Gniezno, with papal and imperial sanction. His work laid a foundation for the use of designation "Poland" that was to unite all regions of the realm, as well as for the use of one symbol to represent the supreme authority of the prince. The symbol was a sign of Gniezno's knightly class: the white eagle.

## Marriages and Issue

### First marriage: 984–985

An unknown daughter of Rikdag, Margrave of Meissen, probably named Hunilda or Oda. After Rikdag's death in 985, she was repudiated by her husband and sent away.

Issue:

1. A daughter (b. ca. 985 – d. aft. 997), married ca. 996/97 to an unidentified Prince of Pomerania.<sup>[23]</sup>

### Second marriage: 986 – 987/89

An unknown Hungarian princess formerly believed to be Judith, daughter of Géza, Grand Duke of Hungary. Around 987, as a consequence of the deterioration in the political relations between Poland and Hungary, she was repudiated.

Issue:

1. Bezprym (b. ca. 986 – d. 1032).

### Third marriage: 987/89 – 1013

Emnilda, daughter of Dobromir, prince of Lusatia.

Issue:

1. A daughter (b. 988 – d. aft 1013), a nun.
  2. Regelinda (b. 989 – d. 21 March aft. 1014), married by 30 April 1002 to Herman I, Margrave of Meissen.
  3. Mieszko II Lambert (b. 990 – d. 10/11 May 1034).
  4. A daughter (b. ca. 991 – d. aft. 14 August 1018), married bef. 15 July 1015 to Sviatopolk I, Grand Prince of Kiev.
  5. Otto (b. 1000 – d. 1033).
-

**Fourth marriage: 1018–1025**

Oda (b. ca. 996 – d. aft. 1025), daughter of Eckard I, Margrave of Meissen.

Issue:

1. Matilda (b. aft. 1018 – d. aft. 1036), betrothed (or married) on 18 May 1035 to Otto of Schweinfurt, since 1048 Duke Otto III of Swabia.

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# Bruno the Great

Bruno the Great



Born	925
Died	965 Reims
Honored in	Roman Catholicism
Major shrine	St Patrokli Dom in Soest
Feast	October 11

**Bruno the Great** (or **Bruno I**) (925–965) was Archbishop of Cologne, Germany, from 953 until his death, and Duke of Lotharingia from 954. He was the brother of Otto I, king of Germany and later Holy Roman Emperor.

Bruno was the youngest son of Henry the Fowler and his second wife Matilda of Ringelheim. While he was still a child, it was decided that he should pursue an ecclesiastical career, and he was educated appropriately. In 951, Otto appointed Bruno as his archchaplain.

Bruno soon received further advancement. In 953, the Archbishopric of Cologne fell vacant just when Conrad the Red, Duke of Lotharingia and Otto's son-in-law, had joined a rebellion against Otto. By appointing Bruno to the vacant position, Otto provided himself with a powerful ally against Conrad in Lotharingia (much of which fell under the archdiocese of Cologne) just when he needed one most. By the next year, the rebellion had collapsed. Otto deposed Conrad as Duke of Lotharingia and appointed Bruno in his place.

Bruno was to be almost the last duke of the whole of Lotharingia: in 959 two local nobles, Godfrey and Frederick, were appointed as margraves of Lower Lotharingia and Upper Lotharingia respectively. Both margraves were recognised as dukes after Bruno's death. The two duchies would only be reunited between 1033 and 1044 under Gothelo I, Duke of Lotharingia.

The combined positions of archbishop and duke — or *archduke*, as his biographer Ruotger called him — made Bruno the most powerful man after Otto not just in Germany but also beyond its borders. After the deaths of Louis IV of West Francia in 954 and Hugh the Great, his most powerful feudatory, in 956, Bruno, as brother-in-law to both of them and maternal uncle to their heirs Lothair, the new king, and Hugh Capet, acted as regent of west Francia.

From 961 onwards, Bruno was also appointed as Otto's regent in Germany while Otto was absent in Italy.

Bruno died in Reims in 965 and was buried in the monastery of St Pantaleon, which he had founded, just outside Cologne.

Bruno's position in Cologne was little short of royal. Indeed, Otto delegated to Bruno and his successors as archbishop a number of normally royal privileges — the right to build fortifications and set up markets, to strike coins and collect (and keep) such taxes as the special ones on Jews in return for royal protection, those on market trading and tolls from traffic along the Rhine. Even though Bruno's successors as archbishops would not be dukes as well, they would be the secular as well as the ecclesiastical rulers of Cologne until the battle of Worringen three centuries later.

Bruno's court in Cologne was the main intellectual and artistic centre of its period in Germany — far more so than that of his brother Otto, which was far more peripatetic and militarily oriented. Among others, Ratherius and Liutprand of Cremona spent time at the court. Many of the next generation of German ecclesiastical leaders were educated at Bruno's court, like Everaclus of Liège, Gerard bishop of Toul, Wikfrid, bishop of Verdun, and Theoderic, bishop of Metz.


Bruno's effect on medieval Cologne was immense. Apart from building a palace, he extended the cathedral to the point where it was regarded as rivalling St Peter's in Rome (this cathedral burned down in 1248 and was replaced by the current one). He brought the area between the old Roman walls and the Rhine within the city fortifications; and built new churches to Saint Martin of Tours within this area and to Saint Andrew just outside the northern city wall and a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St Pantaleon to the south-west of the city.

Bruno translated St. Patroclus' relics from Troyes and buried them in 964 at St Patrokli Dom in Soest, where Patroclus is still today venerated.

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# Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke

Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke	
<i>King Rama I</i>	
	
King of Siam	
<b>Reign</b>	6 April 1782 – 7 September 1809
<b>Coronation</b>	6 April 1782
<b>Predecessor</b>	Taksin of Thonburi
<b>Successor</b>	Buddha Loetla Nabhalai (Rama II)
<b>Vice King</b>	Maha Sura Singhanat Isarasundhorn (Rama II)
<b>Spouse</b>	Queen Amarindra
<b>Issue</b>	42 sons and daughters with various consorts
<b>House</b>	Chakri Dynasty
<b>Father</b>	Thongdee (later Somdet Phra Prathom Borom Maha Rajchanok)
<b>Mother</b>	Daoreung
<b>Born</b>	20 March 1736 Ayutthaya, Kingdom of Ayutthaya
<b>Died</b>	7 September 1809 (aged 73) Bangkok, Kingdom of Siam
<b>Religion</b>	Theravada Buddhism

**Phra Bat Somdet Phra Poramoruraja Maha Chakri Borommanat Phra Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke** (Thai: พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมิรุราชามาหากัริ์บรมนารถ พระพุทธยอดฟ้าจุฬาโลก; RTGS: —*Phra Phuttha Yot Fa Chula Lok*), posthumously titled "the Great", or **Rama I** (20 March 1736 – 7 September 1809), was the founder and the first monarch of the reigning House of Chakri of Siam (now Thailand). He ascended the throne in 1782, after defeating a rebellion which had deposed King Taksin of Thonburi. He was also celebrated as the founder of Rattanakosin (now Bangkok) as the new capital of the reunited kingdom. Rama I was born in the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, and had served King Taksin in wars against the Burmese Konbaung dynasty and helped him in the reunification of Siam. During this time he emerged as Siam's most powerful military leader. In 1782, he took control of Siam and crowned himself as the monarch.

The most famous event in his reign was the Burmese-Siamese War of 1785, which was the last major Burmese assault on Siam. Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke was also the first *Somdet Chao Phraya*, the highest rank the nobility

could attain, equaled to that of royalty.

## Early life

### An Ayutthayan aristocrat

**Thong Duang** was born in 1736 in the reign of King Boromakot of Ayutthaya. His father was Thong Dee (later raised as Somdet Phra Prathom Borom Maha Rajchanok – the grand primordial father) who was "Phra Aksara Sundhornsat" (Royal Secretary of northern Siam, Keeper of the Royal Seal). Aksara Sundhornsat was also a descendant of Kosa Pan, the leader of King Narai's embassy to the French court, and was of Mon descent,<sup>[1][2]</sup> His mother, Daoreung (original name Yok), was part-Chinese.<sup>[3][4][5]</sup> Thong Duang had six other siblings.

Thong Duang at a young age entered the Royal Palace as one of the royal pages of King Uthumporn, where he met his childhood friend Taksin. In 1757, aged 21, he became a monk temporarily, in accordance with Siamese custom. In 1760, he married Nak, daughter of a town patron in Samut Sakorn. He was later appointed the **Luang Yokkrabat** (Governor of) **Ratchaburi** by King Ekatat in 1758.

### Service under Taksin

On the eve of the fall of Ayutthaya, Phraya Wachira Prakarn (later King Taksin) had foreseen that the fall of the city was certain. Wachira Prakarn decided to break the siege of the city of Ayutthaya by the Burmese army and establish a new base outside. Phraya Ratchaburi also joined this venture. In 1767, Ayutthaya under King Ekatat fell to Burmese invaders, the city was completely destroyed; burned and looted. Local warlords rose up to establish their supremacy in the absence of a central authority.

Despite the fall of Ayutthaya, Taksin and his men in the same year managed to capture Chantaburi and Trat. During this time Phraya Ratchaburi became one of Taksin's six ministers<sup>[6]</sup> and together with Phraya Pichai they were regarded by Taksin as his two most valuable generals.

### Military leader

Swiftly Taksin made a strategic plan and under it recaptured Ayutthaya in one year. In 1768 Taksin crowned himself and founded the Kingdom of Thonburi on the west bank of the mouth of the Chao Phraya river, using Thonburi as a new capital. Under the new Thonburi regime, Thong Duang was appointed **Phra Raja Warindra** (Royal Police). After subjugating the warlord of Pimai with his brother Maha Montri (later Maha Sura Singhanat), he was raised to **Phraya Abhaya Ronarit**.

After the campaign to subdue the lord of Fang in 1769, Abhaya Ronarit was raised to **Phraya Yommaraj** and in the next year became **Chao Phraya Maha Chakri** – the Samuha Nayok (Prime Minister). Maha Chakri joined the Burmese wars and went on to subjugate Cambodia. His brother, Phraya Anuchit Raja (previously Maha Montri), accompanied him in various campaigns. Chakri and his brother Phraya Surasi was sent to the north to Lanna in 1774 to free the kingdom from Burmese rule with the help of Kawila, a prince from Lampang. In 1776, he conquered Khmer Pa Dong (around modern Surin). He was assigned the task of conquering Laotian kingdoms in 1778 and all the three kingdoms (Vientiane, Luang Prabang, Champasak) fell to the Siamese in the same year. He was eventually raised to **Somdet Chao Phraya Maha Kshatriyaseuk**, the first Somdet Chao Phraya.



## Ascension as King



Mural of the epic Ramakien, written by the King, the Thai version of the Ramayana, on the walls of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Grand Palace, Bangkok.

In 1781, Chao Phraya went on the campaigns against Cambodia, only to return prematurely due to the instability of Thonburi. The rebellion of Phraya San had broken out and the rebels deposed King Taksin. Some sources report that Taksin was consigned to a monastery. After arriving in Thonburi in 1782, Chao Phraya defeated the Phraya San with his forces. Later sources widely reported that the general eventually executed the ousted Taksin, contradicting to some earlier sources. He then seized power and made himself King, establishing the Chakri Dynasty, which continues to rule Thailand to this day.

General Maha Kshatriyaseuk crowned himself on 6 April 1782. Without naming himself (he was only referred to as King or His Majesty), he was later given his name as **Phrabat Somdet Phra Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke** or

**Rama I** or the **First Reign** much later by his descendants. Rama I decided to move the capital of Siam to the east bank of the Chao Phraya river for several reasons, including its better strategic location and a desire to promote his legitimacy by starting from a clean slate. He decided to name his new capital "Rattanakosin" ("Keeping place of the Emerald Buddha"). Rama I also raised various members of his family to royalty. He appointed his brother Surasi (Anuchit Raja) or Maha Sura Singhanat as the "Front Palace" (conventional title of the heir) and his nephew Thong-In or Anurak Devesh as the "Rear Palace".

The King had 42 children. Ten of these were born to Queen Amarinda, the others by various concubines. The Queen's children included Prince Isarasundhorn, later King Buddha Loetla Nabhalai (Rama II) (whom the King appointed as Front Palace after the death of Maha Sura Singhanat in 1803), Prince Maha Senanurak and Prince Maha Sakdi Polsep.

## Foreign Policy and War

### Vietnam and Cambodia

Further information: Tây Sơn-Siam War

In 1784-1785, the last of the Nguyễn Lords, Nguyễn Ánh, convinced Rama I to give him forces to attack Vietnam, which was then under the control of the Tây Sơn brothers. However, the joint Nguyễn-Siam fleet was destroyed in the Battle of Rach Gam–Xoai Mut in the Mekong Delta region. Nguyễn's appeal for Siamese assistance enabled the Siamese to exert considerable political influence over Nguyễn's court. Mac Tu Sinh, the son of Mạc Thiên Tứ and his Siamese wife, was raised among the Siamese, and held office as the governor of Hà Tiên until his death in 1787. Ngo Ma, a general of Siamese descent, was appointed as its acting governor in Mac's place.<sup>[7]</sup> Nguyễn Ánh also took refuge in Siam at the King's court waiting for the opportunities to defeat Tây Sơn. These episodes demonstrated Rama I's willingness to extend Siamese power beyond his Kingdom.

In Cambodia, King Reamraja of Cambodia was deposed in 1779 and the throne was given to his son, the young Ang Eng. However, the pro-Vietnamese policies of certain Cambodian aristocrats under Ang Eng alarmed Rama I. As a result, Rama I had Ang Eng captured and deported to Bangkok, where he became Rama's adopted son to implant pro-Siamese sentiments on him. Rama I also imposed Chao Phraya Abhaya Bhuket as the Regent of Cambodia.

Nguyễn Ánh secretly left for Vietnam in 1787, leaving Rama I a note. Nguyen managed to recapture Saigon by 1788 and later ascended as Emperor Gia Long in 1802.<sup>[8]</sup> (Thai; Phrachao Vietnam Ya Long)

In 1794, upon Ang Eng's majority, Rama I reinstalled him as the Narairaja III of Cambodia. The area around Siemreap and Battambang was annexed by Siam, and were governed by Abhaya Bhuket. However, Rama I allowed these territories to be ruled in accordance with Cambodian traditions.

## Wars with Burma

Soon King Bodawpaya of Burma started to pursue his ambitious campaigns to expand his dominions over Siam. The Burmo-Siamese War (1785–1786), also known in Siam as the "Nine Armies War" because the Burmese came in nine armies, broke out. The Burmese soldiers poured into Lanna and Northern Siam. Siamese forces, commanded by Kawila, Prince of Lampang, put up a brave fight and delayed the Burmese advance, all the while waiting for reinforcements from Bangkok.

When Phitsnulok was captured, Anurak Devesh the *Rear Palace*, and Rama I himself led Siamese forces to the north. The Siamese relieved Lampang from the Burmese siege.

In the south, Bodawpaya was waiting at Chedi Sam Ong ready to attack. The Front Palace was ordered to lead his troops to the south and counter-attack the Burmese coming to Ranong through Nakhon Si Thammarat. He brought the Burmese to battle near Kanchanaburi. The Burmese also attacked Thalang (Phuket), where the governor had just died. Chan, his wife, and her sister Mook gathered the local people and successfully defended Thalang against the Burmese. Today, Chan and Mook are revered as heroines because of their opposition to the Burmese invasions. In their own lifetimes, Rama I bestowed on them the titles Thao Thep Kasattri and Thao Sri Sunthon.










The Burmese proceeded to capture Songkhla. Upon hearing the news, the governors of Phatthalung fled. However, a monk named Phra Maha encouraged the citizens of the area to take up arms against the Burmese, his campaign was also successful. Phra Maha was later raised to the nobility by Rama I.

As his armies were destroyed, Bodawpaya retreated. The next year, he attacked again, this time constituting his troops as a single army. With this force Bodawpaya passed through the Chedi Sam Ong pass and settled in Ta Din Dang. The Front Palace marched the Siamese forces to face Bodawpaya. The fighting was very short and Bodawpaya was quickly defeated. This short war was called the "Ta Din Dang campaign".

## Economics, Culture and Religion



Statue of Rama I at the Phra Buddha Yodfa Memorial Bridge, Bangkok (1932)

Monarchs of the Chakri Dynasty	
	Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke (King Rama I)
	Buddha Loetla Nabhalai (King Rama II)
	Jessadabodindra (King Rama III)
	Mongkut (King Rama IV)
	Chulalongkorn (King Rama V)
	Vajiravudh (King Rama VI)
	Prajadhipok (King Rama VII)
	Ananda Mahidol (King Rama VIII)
	Bhumibol Adulyadej (King Rama IX)

Chinese immigration increased during Rama I's reign, who maintained Taksin's policy of allowing Chinese immigration to sustain the country's economy. The Chinese were found mainly in the trading and mercantile sector, and by the time his son and grandson came to the throne, European explorers noted that Bangkok was filled with Chinese junks of all sizes.<sup>[9]</sup>



The Temple of the Emerald Buddha, one of the King's many construction projects.

Rama I moved the capital from Thonburi, which was founded by his predecessor Taksin, and built the new capital Bangkok. During the first few years prior to the founding of the current capital, he saw the construction of the palaces and the Chapel Royal. The Chapel Royal or Wat Phra Kaew of which the Emerald Buddha is enshrined is located within his Royal Palace or the Grand Palace. With the completion of the new capital, Rama I held an official ceremony naming the new capital.<sup>[10]</sup>

In 1804, Rama I began the compilation of the Three Seals Law, consisting of old Ayutthayan laws collected and organized. He also initiated a reform of government and the style of Kingship.

Rama I was also noted for instituting major reforms in Buddhism as well as restoring moral discipline among the monks in the country, which had gradually eroded with the fall of Ayutthaya. Monks had already dabbled in superstitions when he first came to power, and Rama I implemented a law which required a monk who wished to

travel to another principality for further education to present a certificate bearing his personal particulars, which would prove a monk own's legitimacy that he had been properly ordained. The King also repeatedly emphasised in state ceremonies to place devotion to the Buddha, and not over guardian spirits and past rulers, of which vestiges of ancient Animist worship had a persisted among the Thais prior to his rule.<sup>[11]</sup>

The King also appointed the first Supreme Patriarch of Thai Buddhism, whose responsibilities included the duty of ensuring that Rama I's laws are maintained which was to ensure law and order within the Buddhist Sangha.<sup>[12]</sup> Rama I's passion for literature, which was also connected with his concern for Buddhist order within the country. He was noted for advocating Thai translation of important Pali works.<sup>[13]</sup> and Buddhist texts lost in the chaos after the sacking of Ayutthaya by the Burmese in 1767, some were salvaged under the direction of Rama I. He also wrote a Thai version of the Ramayana epos called Ramakian.

Also, Rama I renewed the relationship with Vatican and the Jesuits. Missionaries who were expelled during the Taksin's reign, were invited back to Siam. Catholic missionaries's activities then continued in Siam. Reportedly the numbers of local Catholics increased steadily to thousands as their churches were protected, gaining freedom to propagate their belief again.<sup>[14]</sup>

## Death and legacy

King Rama I died on 7 September 1809 after a short but acute illness,<sup>[15]</sup> he was succeeded by his son Prince Isarasundhorn as Buddha Loetla Nabhalai or Rama II.

Siam during the reign of Rama I reached a new height of power not seen since the sixteenth century. Militarily Siam was able to successfully repel Burmese invasions and exerted control over Laos and Cambodia and Vietnam. Culturally Rama I also encouraged cultural works to rehabilitate people after the successive series of wars and built many temples and monuments during his reign. His policies laid the foundation for Siam to expand within the next decades.

## Titles and styles

- **1736-1758:** Nai Thong Duang
- **1758-1768:** Luang Yorkbat of Ratchaburi
- **1768:** Phra Raja Warindra
- **1768-1769:** Phraya Abhaya Ronarit
- **1769-1770:** Phraya Yommaraj
- **1770-1778:** Chao Phraya Maha Chakri
- **1778-1782:** (Somdet) Chao Praya Maha Ksatriyaseuk
- **1782-1809:** Phra Bat Somdet Phra Borommarajadhiraj Ramadhibodi
- Posthumously renamed by King Mongkut as : Phra Bat Somdet Phra Poramoruraja Maha Chakri Borommanat Phra Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke

Further information: Rama (Kings of Thailand)

## In Memoriam

6 April is **Chakri Memorial Day**, a holiday to commemorate the founder of the Chakri Dynasty.

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# Cnut the Great

Cnut	
Coin of Cnut the Great from the British Museum	
Coin of Cnut the Great from the British Museum	
King of Denmark	
Reign	1018–1035
Predecessor	Harald II of Denmark
Successor	Harthacnut
King of England	
Reign	1016–1035
Coronation	6 January 1017 (London)
Predecessor	Edmund
Successor	Harold
King of Norway	
Reign	1028–1035
Predecessor	Olaf Haraldsson
Successor	Magnus Olafsson
King of parts of Sweden	
Reign	1026–1030
Predecessor	Anund Jacob
Successor	Anund Jacob
Spouse	Ælfgifu of Northampton Emma of Normandy
Issue	
Svein Knutsson, King of Denmark Harold, King of England Harthacnut, King of England Gunhilda, Holy Roman Empress	
House	House of Denmark
Father	Sweyn Forkbeard
Mother	Świętosława / Sigrid the Haughty <sup>[1]</sup>
Born	c. 985 – c. 995 Denmark
Died	12 November 1035 England (Shaftesbury, Dorset)
Burial	Old Minster, Winchester. Bones now in Winchester Cathedral

**Cnut the Great**<sup>[2]</sup> (Old Norse: *Knútr inn ríki*;<sup>[3]</sup> c. 985 or 995 – 12 November 1035), also known as **Canute**, was a king of Denmark, England, Norway and parts of Sweden. Though after the death of his heirs within a decade of his own and the Norman conquest of England in 1066, his legacy was largely lost to history, historian Norman F. Cantor



has made the paradoxical statement that he was "the most effective king in Anglo-Saxon history".<sup>[4]</sup>

Cnut was of Danish and Slavic descent. His father was Sweyn Forkbeard, King of Denmark (which gave Cnut the patronym *Sweynsson*, Old Norse *Sveinsson*). Cnut's mother was the daughter of the first duke of the Polans, Mieszko I; her name may have been Świętosława (see: Sigrid Storråda),<sup>[5][6][7]</sup> but the Oxford DNB article on Cnut states that her name is unknown.<sup>[8]</sup>

As a prince of Denmark, Cnut won the throne of England in 1016 in the wake of centuries of Viking activity in northwestern Europe. His accession to the Danish throne in 1018 brought the crowns of England and Denmark together. Cnut held this power-base together by uniting Danes and Englishmen under cultural bonds of wealth and custom, rather than sheer brutality. After a decade of conflict with opponents in Scandinavia, Cnut claimed the crown of Norway in Trondheim in 1028. The Swedish city Sigtuna was held by Cnut.<sup>[9]</sup> He had coins struck which called him king there, but there is no narrative record of his occupation.

The kingship of England of course lent the Danes an important link to the maritime zone between the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, where Cnut like his father before him had a strong interest and wielded much influence among the Gall-Ghaedhil.<sup>[10]</sup>

Cnut's possession of England's dioceses and the continental Diocese of Denmark – with a claim laid upon it by the Holy Roman Empire's Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen – was a source of great leverage within the Church, gaining notable concessions from Pope Benedict VIII, and his successor John XIX, such as one on the price of the pallium of his bishops. Cnut also gained concessions on the tolls his people had to pay on the way to Rome from other magnates of medieval Christendom, at the coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor. After his 1026 victory against Norway and Sweden, and on his way to Rome for this coronation, Cnut, in a letter written for the benefit of his subjects, stated himself "king of all England and Denmark and the Norwegians and of some of the Swedes".<sup>[11]</sup>

## Birth and kingship

Cnut was a son of the Danish king Sweyn Forkbeard, and the heir to a line of Scandinavian rulers central to the unification of Denmark.<sup>[12]</sup> Harthacnut was the semi-legendary founder of the Danish royal house at the beginning of the tenth century, and his son, Gorm the Old, was the first in the official line (the 'Old' in his name being to this effect). Harald Bluetooth, Gorm's son and Cnut's grandfather, was the Danish king at the time of the Christianization of Denmark. He was the first Scandinavian king to accept Christianity.

Cnut's mother's precise identity is unknown, although it is likely that she was a Slavic princess, daughter to Mieszko I of Poland (in accord with the Monk of St Omer's, *Encomium Emmae*<sup>[5]</sup> and Thietmar of Merseburg's contemporary *Chronicon*<sup>[6]</sup>).<sup>[7]</sup> Norse sources of the high medieval period, most prominently Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, also give a Polish princess as Cnut's mother, whom they call Gunhild and a daughter of *Burislav*, the king of *Vindland*.<sup>[13]</sup> Since in the Norse sagas the *king of Vindland* is always *Burislav*, this is reconcilable with the assumption that her father was Mieszko (not his son Bolesław). Adam of Bremen in *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* is unique in equating Cnut's mother (for whom he also produces no name) with the former queen of Sweden, wife of Eric the Victorious and by this marriage mother of Olof Skötkonung.<sup>[14]</sup> To complicate the matter, *Heimskringla* and other Sagas also have Sweyn marrying Eric's widow, but she is distinctly another person in these texts, by name of *Sigrid the Haughty*, whom Sweyn only marries after *Gunhild*, the Slavic princess who bore Cnut, has died.<sup>[15]</sup> Different theories regarding the number and ancestry of Sweyn's wives (or wife) have been brought forward (see Sigrid the Haughty and Gunhild). But since Adam is the only source to state the identity of Cnut's with Olof Skötkonung's mother, this is often seen as an error of Adam, and it is often assumed that Sweyn had two wives, the first being Cnut's mother, and the second being the former queen of Sweden.

Cnut's brother Harald was the first born and crown prince.

Some hint of Cnut's childhood can be found in the *Flateyjarbók*, a 13th-century source, stating at one point that Cnut was taught his soldiery by the chieftain Thorkell the Tall,<sup>[16]</sup> brother to Sigurd, Jarl of mythical Jomsborg, and the

legendary Joms, at their Viking stronghold on the Island of Wollin, off the coast of Pomerania. His date of birth, like his mother's name, is unknown. Contemporary works such as the *Chronicon* and the *Encomium Emmae*, do not mention it. Even so, in a *Knútsdrápa* by the skald Óttarr svarti, there is a statement that Cnut was "of no great age" when he first went to war.<sup>[17]</sup> It also mentions a battle identifiable with Forkbeard's invasion of England, and attack on the city of Norwich, in 1003/04, after the St. Brice's Day massacre of Danes by the English, in 1002. If it is the case that Cnut was part of this, his birthdate may be near 990, or even 980. If not, and the skald's poetic verse envisages another assault, with Forkbeard's conquest of England in 1013/14, it may even suggest a birth date nearer 1000.<sup>[18]</sup> There is a passage of the Encomiast's (as the author of the *Encomium Emmae* is known) with a reference to the force Cnut led in his English conquest of 1015/16. Here (see below) it says all the Vikings were of "mature age" under Cnut "the king".

A description of Cnut can be found within the 13th-century *Knýtlinga saga*:

Knut was exceptionally tall and strong, and the handsomest of men, all except for his nose, that was thin, high-set, and rather hooked. He had a fair complexion none-the-less, and a fine, thick head of hair. His eyes were better than those of other men, both the handsomer and the keener of their sight.

—*Knýtlinga Saga*<sup>[19][20]</sup>

Hardly anything is known for sure of Cnut's life until the year he was part of a Scandinavian force under his father, King Sweyn; with his invasion of England in summer 1013. It was the climax to a succession of Viking raids spread over a number of decades. With their landing in the Humber<sup>[21]</sup> the kingdom fell to the Vikings quickly, and near the end of the year King Aethelred fled to Normandy, leaving Sweyn in possession of England. In the winter, Forkbeard was in the process of consolidating his kingship, with Cnut left in charge of the fleet, and the base of the army at Gainsborough.

On the death of Forkbeard after a few months as king, on Candlemas Sunday 3 February 1014,<sup>[22]</sup> Harald succeeded him as King of Denmark, while Cnut was immediately elected king by the Vikings, and the people of the Danelaw.<sup>[23]</sup> However, the English nobility took a different view, and the Witenagemot recalled Aethelred from Normandy. The restored king swiftly led an army against Cnut, who fled with his army to Denmark, along the way mutilating the hostages they had taken and abandoning them on the beach at Sandwich.<sup>[24]</sup> Cnut went to Harald and supposedly made the suggestion they might have a joint kingship, although this found no favour with his brother.<sup>[23]</sup> Harald is thought to have offered Cnut command of his forces for another invasion of England, on the condition he did not continue to press his claim.<sup>[23]</sup> In any case, Cnut was able to assemble a large fleet with which to launch another invasion.<sup>[24]</sup>

## Conquest of England

Among the allies of Denmark was Boleslaw the Brave, the Duke of Poland and a relative to the Danish royal house. He lent some Polish troops,<sup>[25]</sup> likely to have been a pledge made to Cnut and Harald when, in the winter, they "went amongst the Wends" to fetch their mother back to the Danish court. She had been sent away by their father after the death of the Swedish king Eric the Victorious in 995, and his marriage to Sigrid the Haughty, the Swedish queen mother. With this wedlock there was a strong alliance between the successor to the throne of Sweden, Olof Skötkonung, and the rulers of Denmark, his in-laws.<sup>[25]</sup> Swedes were certainly among the allies in the English conquest. Another in-law to the Danish royal house, Eiríkr Hákonarson, was Trondejarl (Earl of Lade) and the co-ruler of Norway, with his brother Svein Hakonarson – Norway having been under Danish sovereignty since the Battle of Svolder, in 999. Eiríkr's participation in the invasion left his son Hakon to rule Norway, with Svein.

In the summer of 1015, Cnut's fleet set sail for England with a Danish army of perhaps 10,000 in 200 longships.<sup>[26]</sup> Cnut was at the head of an array of Vikings from all over Scandinavia. The invasion force was to engage in often close and grisly warfare with the English for the next fourteen months. Practically all of the battles were fought against Aethelred's son, Edmund Ironside.



This runestone, U 194, in memory of a Viking known as Alli, says he won *Knútr's* payment in England.

## Landing in Wessex

According to the Peterborough manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, early in September 1015 "[Cnut] came into Sandwich, and straightway sailed around Kent to Wessex, until he came to the mouth of the Frome, and harried in Dorset and Wiltshire and Somerset",<sup>[27]</sup> beginning a campaign of an intensity not seen since the days of Alfred the Great.<sup>[28]</sup> A passage from Emma's Encomium provides a picture of Cnut's fleet:

[T]here were so many kinds of shields, that you could have believed that troops of all nations were present. ... Gold shone on the prows, silver also flashed on the variously shaped ships. ... For who could look upon the lions of the foe, terrible with the brightness of gold, who upon the men of metal, menacing with golden face, ... who upon the bulls on the ships threatening death, their horns shining with gold, without feeling any fear for the king of such a force? Furthermore, in this great expedition there was present no slave, no man freed from slavery, no low-born man, no man weakened by age; for all were noble, all strong with the might of mature age, all sufficiently fit for any type of fighting, all of such great fleetness, that they scorned the speed of horsemen.

Wessex, long ruled by the dynasty of Alfred and Aethelred, submitted to Cnut late in 1015, as it had to his father two years earlier.<sup>[28]</sup> At this point Eadric Streona, the Ealdorman of Mercia, deserted Aethelred together with 40 ships and their crews and joined forces with Cnut.<sup>[29]</sup> Another defector was Thorkell the Tall, a Jomsviking chief who had fought against the Viking invasion of Sweyn Forkbeard, with a pledge of allegiance to the English in 1012<sup>[28]</sup> – some explanation for this shift of allegiance may be found in a stanza of the *Jómsvíkinga saga* which mentions two attacks against Jomsborg's mercenaries while they were in England, with a man known as Henninge among their casualties, a brother of Thorkell's.<sup>[30]</sup> If the *Flateyjarbók* is correct in its statement this man was Cnut's childhood mentor, it explains his acceptance of his allegiance – with Jomvikings ultimately in the service of Jomsborg. The 40 ships Eadric came with, often thought to be of the Danelaw<sup>[30]</sup> were probably Thorkell's.<sup>[31]</sup>

## Advance into the North

Early in 1016, the Vikings crossed the Thames and harried Warwickshire, while Aethelred's eldest son Edmund Ironside's attempts at opposition seem to have come to nothing – the chronicler says the English army disbanded because the king and the citizenry of London were not present.<sup>[28]</sup> Cnut's mid-winter assault devastated its way northwards across eastern Mercia. Another summons of the army brought the Englishmen together, and they were met this time by the king although 'it came to nothing as so often before', and Aethelred returned to London with fears of betrayal.<sup>[28]</sup> Edmund then went north to join Uhtred the Earl of Northumbria and together harried Staffordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire in western Mercia,<sup>[32]</sup> possibly targeting the estates of Eadric Streona. Cnut's occupation of Northumbria meant Uhtred returned home to submit himself to Cnut<sup>[33]</sup> who seems to have sent a Northumbrian rival, Thurbrand the Hold, to massacre Uhtred and his retinue. Eiríkr Hákonarson, most likely with another force of Scandinavians, came to support Cnut at this point,<sup>[34]</sup> and the veteran Norwegian jarl was put in charge of Northumbria.

In London, still unsubdued behind its famous walls, Edmund was elected king after the death of Aethelred on 23 April 1016.

## Siege of London

Cnut returned southward and the Danish army evidently divided, some dealing with Edmund – who had broken out of London before Cnut's encirclement of the city was complete and gone to gather an army in Wessex, the traditional heartland of the English monarchy – some besieging London – with the construction of dikes on the northern and southern flanks and a channel dug across the banks of the Thames to the south of the city for the longships to cut off communications up-river.

There was a battle fought at Penselwood, in Somerset – with a hill in Selwood Forest as the likely location<sup>[32]</sup> – and a subsequent battle at Sherston, in Wiltshire, which was fought over two days but left neither side victorious.<sup>[35]</sup>

Edmund was able to temporarily relieve London, driving the enemy away and defeating them after crossing the Thames at Brentford.<sup>[32]</sup> Suffering heavy losses he withdrew to Wessex to gather fresh troops, and the Danes again brought London under siege, but after another unsuccessful assault themselves withdrew into Kent under attack by the English, with a battle fought at Otford. At this point Eadric Streona went over to Edmund,<sup>[36]</sup> and Cnut set sail northwards across the sea to Essex, and from the landing of the ships up the River Orwell went to ravage Mercia.<sup>[32]</sup>



Medieval impression depicting Edmund Ironside (left) and Cnut (right).

## Completion of the Danish conquest

On 18 October 1016, as the Danes retired towards their ships they were engaged by Edmund's army, leading to the Battle of Assandun, the site of which may have been either Ashingdon, in south-east, or Ashdon, in north-west Essex. In the ensuing struggle, Eadric Streona, whose return to the English side had perhaps only been a ruse, withdrew his forces from the fray, bringing about a decisive English defeat.<sup>[37]</sup> Edmund fled

westwards and Cnut went after him into Gloucestershire, with another battle probably fought near the Forest of Dean – for Edmund had an alliance with some of the Welsh.<sup>[32]</sup>

Through intermediaries Cnut and Edmund agreed to come to a negotiated settlement, and on an island near Deerhurst they made peace, dividing the kingdom between them. All of England north of the Thames was to be the domain of the Danish prince, while all to the south was kept by the English king, along with London. Edmund died

on 30 November, within weeks of the agreement. The circumstances of his death are unknown.<sup>[38]</sup> In accord with his treaty with Ironside, Cnut was left as king of all England. His coronation was in London, at Christmas, with recognition by the nobility in January the next year at Oxford.<sup>[39]</sup>

## King of England

Cnut was to rule England for almost twenty years. The protection he lent against Viking raiders – with many of them under his command – restored the prosperity that had been increasingly impaired since the resumption of Viking attacks in the 980s. The resources he commanded in England helped him to establish control of the majority of Scandinavia too.<sup>[40]</sup>

## The government of England

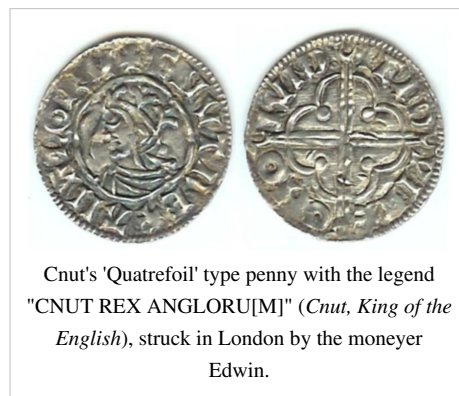
In July 1017, Cnut wed Emma of Normandy, the widow of Aethelred, and daughter of Richard the Fearless, the first Duke of Normandy.

With Edmund dead, Cnut was quick to eliminate any prospective challenge from the survivors of the legitimate dynasty. The first year of his reign was marked by the executions of a number of English noblemen whom he considered suspect. Aethelred's son Eadwig fled from England but was killed on Cnut's orders.<sup>[41]</sup> Edmund Ironside's sons Edward and Edmund likewise fled abroad, Edward eventually to Hungary. Emma's sons by Aethelred, Edward the Confessor and Alfred Atheling went into exile among their relatives in Normandy. Cnut put forward Harthacnut, his son by Emma, to be his heir; Svein Knutsson and Harold Harefoot, his two sons from his marriage to Ælfgifu of Northampton, his handfast wife, were kept on the sidelines.

In 1018, having collected a Danegeld amounting to the colossal sum of £72,000 levied nationwide, with an additional £10,500 extracted from London, Cnut paid off his army and sent most of them home. He retained 40 ships and their crews as a standing force in England. An annual tax called heregeld (army payment) was collected through the same system Aethelred had instituted in 1012 to reward Scandinavians in his service<sup>[42]</sup>

Cnut extended the existing trend for multiple shires to be grouped together under a single ealdorman, dividing the country into four large administrative units whose geographical extent was based on the largest and most durable of the separate kingdoms which had preceded the unification of England. The officials responsible for these provinces were designated earls, a title of Scandinavian origin already in localised use in England which now everywhere replaced that of ealdorman. Wessex was initially kept under Cnut's personal control, while Northumbria went to Erik of Hlathir, East Anglia to Thorkell the Tall, and Mercia remained in the hands of Eadric Streona.<sup>[43]</sup>

This initial distribution of power was short-lived. The chronically treacherous Eadric was executed within a year of Cnut's accession.<sup>[41]</sup> Mercia passed to one of the leading families of the region, probably first to Leofwine, ealdorman of the Hwicce under Aethelred, but certainly soon to his son Leofric.<sup>[44]</sup> In 1021 Thorkel the Tall also fell from favour and was outlawed. Following the death of Erik in the 1020s, he was succeeded as Earl of Northumbria by Siward, whose grandmother, Estrid (married to Úlfr Thorgilsson), was Canut's sister. Bernicia, the northern part of Northumbria, was theoretically part of Erik and Siward's earldom but throughout Cnut's reign it effectively remained under the control of the English dynasty based at Bamburgh who had dominated the area at least since the early tenth century. They served as junior Earls of Bernicia under the titular authority of the Earl of Northumbria. By the 1030s Cnut's direct administration of Wessex had come to an end, with the establishment of an earldom under Godwin, an Englishman from a powerful Sussex family. In general, after an attempt to govern through his Scandinavian followers in the first years of his reign, Cnut reverted to reliance on the leading families of the existing English nobility.





## Affairs to the East

At the Battle of Nesjar, in 1016, Olaf Haraldsson won the kingdom of Norway from the Danes. It was at some time after Eirikr left for England, and on the death of Svein while retreating to Sweden, maybe intent on returning to Norway with reinforcements, Eirikr's son Hakon went to join his father and support Cnut in England too.

Cnut's brother Harald was possibly at Cnut's coronation, in 1016, with his return to Denmark, as its king, with part of the fleet, at some point thereafter. It is only certain, though, there was an entry of his name, alongside Cnut's, in confraternity with Christ Church, Canterbury,<sup>[45]</sup> in 1018. This, though, is not conclusive, for the entry may have been made in Harald's absence, by the hand of Cnut himself even, which means, while it is usually thought that Harald died in 1018, it is unsure if he was even alive to do this.<sup>[45]</sup> Entry of his brother's name in the Canterbury codex may have been Cnut's attempt to make his vengeance for Harald's murder good with the Church. Of course, this was maybe just a gesture for a soul to be under God's protection. There is evidence Cnut was in battle with *pirates* in 1018, with his destruction of the crews of thirty ships,<sup>[46]</sup> although it is unknown if this was off the English or Danish shores. He himself mentions troubles in his 1019 letter (to England, from Denmark), written as the King of England and Denmark. These events can be seen, with plausibility, to be in connection with the death of Harald. Cnut says he dealt with dissenters to ensure Denmark was free to assist England:<sup>[47]</sup>

King Cnut greets in friendship his archbishop and his diocesan bishops and Earl Thurkil and all his earls... ecclesiastic and lay, in England... I inform you that I will be a gracious lord and a faithfull observer of God's rights and just secular law. (He exhorts his ealdormen to assist the bishops in the maintenance of) God's rights... and the benefit of the people.

If anyone, ecclesiastic or layman, Dane or Englishman, is so presumptuous as to defy God's law and my royal authority or the secular laws, and he will not make amends and desist according to the direction of my bishops, I then pray, and also command, Earl Thurkil, if he can, to cause the evil-doer to do right. And if he cannot, then it is my will that with the power of us both he shall destroy him in the land or drive him out of the land, whether he be of high or low rank. And it is my will that all the nation, ecclesiastical and lay, shall steadfastly observe Edgar's laws, which all men have chosen and sworn at Oxford.

Since I did not spare my money, as long as hostility was threatening you, I with God's help have put an end to it. Then I was informed that greater danger was approaching us than we liked at all; and then I went myself with the men who accompanied me to Denmark, from where the greatest injury had come to us, and with God's help I have made it so that never henceforth shall hostility reach you from there as long as you support me rightly and my life lasts. Now I thank Almighty God for his help and his mercy, that I have settled the great dangers which were approaching us that we need fear no danger to us from there; but we may reckon on full help and deliverance, if we need it

—Cnut's letter of 1019<sup>[48]</sup>



Coins of Cnut the Great. British Museum.



## Statesmanship

Cnut was generally remembered as a wise and successful king of England, although this view may in part be attributable to his good treatment of the Church, keeper of the historic record. Accordingly, we hear of him, even today, as a religious man (see below), despite the fact that he was in an arguably sinful relationship, with two wives, and the harsh treatment he dealt his fellow Christian opponents.

Under his reign, Cnut brought together the English and Danish kingdoms, and the people saw a golden age of dominance across Scandinavia, as well as within the British Isles.<sup>[49]</sup> His campaigns abroad meant the tables of Viking supremacy were stacked in favour of the English, turning the prows of the longships towards Scandinavia. He reinstated the Laws of King Edgar to allow for the constitution of a Danelaw, and the activity of Scandinavians at large. He also reinstituted the extant laws with a series of proclamations to assuage common grievances brought to his attention. Two significant ones were: On Inheritance in case of Intestacy, and, On Heriots and Reliefs. He strengthened the currency, initiating a series of coins of equal weight to those being used in Denmark and other parts of Scandinavia. This meant the markets grew, and the economy of England was able to spread itself, as well as widen the scope of goods to be bought and sold.



Coins of Cnut the Great. British Museum.

## King of Denmark

In 1018, Harald II died and Cnut went to Denmark to affirm his succession to the Danish crown as Cnut II. In the 1019 letter (see above) he states his intentions to avert attacks against England. It seems there were Danes in opposition to him, and an attack he carried out on the Wends of Pomerania may have had something to do with this. In this expedition at least one of Cnut's English men, Godwin, apparently won the king's trust after a night-time raid he personally led against a Wendish encampment.

His hold on the Danish throne presumably stable, Cnut was back in England in 1020. Ulf Jarl, the husband of his sister Estrid Svendsdatter, was his appointee as regent of Denmark, with the entrustment of his young son by Queen Emma, Harthacnut, whom he had made the crown prince of his kingdom.

Thorkell the Tall's banishment in 1021 may be seen in relation to the attack on the Wends for the death of Olof Skötkonung in 1022, and the succession to the Swedish throne of his son, Anund Jacob, bringing Sweden into alliance with Norway. Thus, there was cause for a demonstration of Danish strength in the Baltic. Jomsborg, the legendary stronghold of the Jomsvikings, thought to be on an island off the coast of Pomerania, was probably the target of Cnut's expedition.<sup>[50]</sup> After this clear display of Cnut's intentions to dominate Scandinavian affairs, it seems Thorkell reconciled with Cnut in 1023.

When Olaf Haraldsson and Anund Jakob took advantage of Cnut's commitment to England and began to launch attacks against Denmark, Ulf gave the freemen cause to accept Harthacnut, still a child, as king. This was a ruse on Ulf's part since the role he had as the caretaker of Harthacnut consequently gave him the reign of the kingdom. Upon news of these events Cnut set sail for Denmark, to restore himself and deal with Ulf, who then got back in line. In a battle known as the Battle of the Helgeå, Cnut and his men fought the Norwegians and Swedes at the mouth of the river Helgea. 1026 is the likely date for the battle, and the apparent victory left Cnut as the dominant leader in Scandinavia. Ulf the usurper's realignment and participation in the battle did not, in the end, earn him Cnut's forgiveness. Some sources state, at a banquet in Roskilde, the brothers-in-law were playing chess when an argument arose between them, and the next day, Christmas of 1026, one of Cnut's housecarls, with his blessing, killed the jarl, in Trinity Church, the predecessor to Roskilde Cathedral.

## Journey to Rome

His enemies in Scandinavia subdued, and apparently at his leisure, Cnut was able to accept an invitation to witness the accession of the Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II. He left his affairs in the north, and went from Denmark to the coronation of the King of the Romans, at Easter 1027, in Rome – a pilgrimage of considerable prestige for rulers of Europe in the Middle-Ages, to the heart of Christendom.

On the return journey his letter of 1027, like his letter of 1019, was written to inform his subjects in England of his intentions from abroad.<sup>[51]</sup> It is in this letter he proclaims himself *'king of all England and Denmark and the Norwegians and of some of the Swedes'*.<sup>[11]</sup>

Consistent with his role as a Christian king, Cnut says he went to Rome to repent for his sins, pray for redemption and the security of his subjects, and negotiate with the Pope for a reduction in the costs of the pallium for English archbishops,<sup>[52]</sup> and for a resolution to the competition of the archdioceses of Canterbury, and Hamburg-Bremen, for superiority over the Danish dioceses. He also sought to improve the conditions for pilgrims, as well as merchants, on the road to Rome. In his own words:

... I spoke with the Emperor himself and the Lord Pope and the princes there about the needs of all people of my entire realm, both English and Danes, that a juster law and securer peace might be granted to them on the road to Rome and that they should not be straitened by so many barriers along the road, and harassed by unjust tolls; and the Emperor agreed and likewise King Robert who governs most of these same toll gates. And all the merchants confirmed by edict that my people, both merchants, and the others who travel to make their devotions, might go to Rome and return without being afflicted by barriers and toll collectors, in firm peace and secure in a just law.

—Cnut's letter of 1027<sup>[53]</sup>

"Robert" in Cnut's text is probably a clerical error for Rudolph, the last ruler of an independent Kingdom of Burgundy. Hence, the solemn word of the Pope, the Emperor, and Rudolph, was given with the witness of four archbishops, twenty bishops, and 'innumerable multitudes of dukes and nobles'.<sup>[53]</sup> This suggests it was before the ceremonies were at an end.<sup>[53]</sup> It is without doubt Cnut threw himself into his role with zest.<sup>[54]</sup> His image as the just Christian king, statesman and diplomat, and crusader against unjustness, seems to be one with its roots in reality, as well as one he sought to project.

A good illustration of his status within Europe is the fact Cnut, and the King of Burgundy went alongside the emperor in the imperial procession,<sup>[55]</sup> and stood shoulder to shoulder with him on the same pedestal.<sup>[56]</sup> Cnut and the emperor, in accord with various sources,<sup>[56]</sup> took one another's company like brothers, for they were of a similar age. Conrad gave Cnut lands in the Mark of Schleswig—the land-bridge between the Scandinavian kingdoms and the continent—as a token of their treaty of friendship.<sup>[57]</sup> Centuries of conflict in this area between the Danes and the Germans was the cause for the construction of the Danevirke, from Schleswig, on the Schlei, an inlet of the Baltic Sea, to the North Sea.

His visit to Rome was a triumph. In the verse of *Knútsdrápa*, Sigvatr Þórðarson praises Cnut, his king, as being "dear to the Emperor, close to Peter".<sup>[58]</sup> In the days of Christendom, a king seen to be in favour with God could expect to be ruler over a happy kingdom.<sup>[58]</sup> He was surely in a stronger position, not only with the Church, and the people, but with the alliance with his southern rivals he was able to conclude his conflicts with his rivals in the north. His letter not only tells his countrymen of his achievements in Rome, but also of his ambitions within the Scandinavian world at his arrival home:

... I, as I wish to be made known to you, returning by the same route that I took out, am going to Denmark to arrange peace and a firm treaty, in the counsel of all the Danes, with those races and people who would have



Coins of Cnut the Great. British Museum.

deprived us of life and rule if they could, but they could not, God destroying their strength. May he preserve us by his bounteous compassion in rule and honour and henceforth scatter and bring to nothing the power and might of all our enemies! And finally, when peace has been arranged with our surrounding peoples and all our kingdom here in the east has been properly ordered and pacified, so that we have no war to fear on any side or the hostility of individuals, I intend to come to England as early this summer as I can to attend to the equipping of a fleet.

—*Cnut's letter of 1027*<sup>[53]</sup>

Cnut was to return to Denmark from Rome, arrange for some kind of pact with the peoples of Scandinavia,<sup>[11]</sup> and afterwards sail to England.

## King of Norway and part of Sweden

In the 1027 letter, Cnut considers himself *King of all England and Denmark, and the Norwegians, and of some of the Swedes* – victory over Swedes suggests Helgea to be the river in Uppland and not the one in eastern Scania, while Sweden's king appears to have been made a renegade.<sup>[59]</sup> He also stated his intention of proceeding to Denmark, for the securing of a peace between the kingdoms of Scandinavia, which fits John of Worcester's writing that in 1027 Cnut heard some Norwegians were discontented and sent them sums of gold and silver to gain their support in his claim on the throne.<sup>[11]</sup>

In 1028, after his return from Rome, through Denmark, Cnut set off from England with a fleet of fifty ships,<sup>[11][60]</sup> to Norway, and the city of Trondheim. Olaf Haraldsson stood down, unable to put up any fight, as his nobles were against him for a tendency to flay their wives for sorcery.<sup>[61]</sup> Cnut was crowned king, now of England and Denmark, and Norway (he was not King of Sweden, only some of the Swedes).<sup>[25]</sup> He entrusted the Earldom of Lade to the former line of earls, in Håkon Eiriksson, with Earl Eiríkr Hákonarson probably dead at this date.<sup>[62]</sup> Hakon was possibly the Earl of Northumbria after Erik too.<sup>[63]</sup>

Hakon, a member of a family with a long tradition of hostility towards the independent Norwegian kings, and a relative of Cnut's, was already in lordship over the Isles, with the earldom of Worcester, possibly from 1016–17. The sea-lanes through the Irish Sea and Hebrides, led to Orkney and Norway, and were central to Cnut's ambitions for dominance of Scandinavia, as well as the British Isles. Hakon was meant to be Cnut's lieutenant of this strategic chain. And the final component was his installation as the king's deputy in Norway, after the expulsion of Olaf Haraldsson in 1028. Hakon, though, died in a shipwreck in the Pentland Firth, between the Orkneys and the Scottish mainland, either late 1029 or early 1030.<sup>[64]</sup>

Upon the death of Hakon, Olaf Haraldsson was to return to Norway, with Swedes in his army. He, though, was to meet his death at the hands of his own people, at the Battle of Stiklestad, in 1030. Cnut's subsequent attempt to rule Norway without the key support of the Trondejarls, through Ælfgifu of Northampton, and his eldest son by her, Sweyn Knutsson, was not a success. It is known as *Aelfgifu's Time* in Norway, with heavy taxation, a rebellion, and the restoration of the former Norwegian dynasty under Saint Olaf's illegitimate son Magnus the Good.

## Influence in the western sea-ways

At the Battle of Clontarf on 23 April 1014—even as Cnut was preparing his re-invasion of England—there was an epic array of armies laid out on the fields before the walls of Dublin. Máel Mórda, king of Leinster, and Sigtrygg Silkbeard, ruler of the Norse-Gaelic kingdom of Dublin, had sent out emissaries to all the Viking kingdoms to request assistance in their rebellion against Brian Bóruma, the high king of Ireland. Sigurd the Stout, the Earl of Orkney, was offered command of all the Norse forces. Likewise, the High King had sought assistance from the Albannaich, who were led by Domhnall Mac Eiminn Mac Cainnich, Mormaer of Ce (Marr & Buchan).

The Leinster-Norse alliance was defeated, with both commanders, Sigurd and Máel Mórda, being killed. However, Brian, his son, his grandson, and the Mormaer Domhnall were slain too. Sigtrygg's alliance was broken, although he

was left alive, and the high-kingship of Ireland went back to the Uí Néill, again under Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill.<sup>[21]</sup>

There was a brief period of freedom in the Irish Sea zone for the Vikings of Dublin with a political vacuum felt throughout the entire Western Maritime Zone of the North Atlantic Archipelago, and prominent among those who stood to fill it was Cnut, "whose leadership of the Scandinavian world gave him a unique influence over the western colonies and whose control of their commercial arteries gave an economic edge to political domination".<sup>[65]</sup> A strong piece of evidence for Dublin's involvement with Cnut is that its king, Sitric Silkbeard, struck coinage of Cnut's quatrefoil type—in issue c. 1017–25 – sporadically replacing the legend with one bearing his own name and styling him as ruler either 'of Dublin' or 'among the Irish'.<sup>[66]</sup> Another is the entry of one *Sihtric dux* in three of Cnut's charters.<sup>[67]</sup>

In one of his verses, Cnut's court poet Sigvatr Þórðarson recounts that famous princes brought their heads to Cnut and bought peace. This verse mentions Olaf Haraldsson in the past tense, with his death at the Battle of Stiklestad, in 1030. It was therefore at some point after this, and the consolidation of Norway, Cnut went to Scotland, with an army,<sup>[68]</sup> and the navy in the Irish Sea,<sup>[69]</sup> in 1031, to receive, without bloodshed, the submission of three Scottish kings: Maelcolm, Maelbeth, and Iehmarc.<sup>[70]</sup> One of these kings, Iehmarc, may be one Echmarcach mac Ragnaill, an Uí Ímair chieftain, and the ruler of a sea-kingdom of the Irish Sea,<sup>[55]</sup> with Galloway among his domains. Further, a *Lausavísa* attributable to the skald Óttarr svarti greets the ruler of the Danes, Irish, English and Island-dwellers<sup>[71]</sup> – use of *Irish* here being likely to mean the Gall Ghaedil kingdoms, rather than the Gaelic kingdoms too, while it "brings to mind Sweyn Forkbeard's putative activities in the Irish Sea and Adam of Bremen's story of his stay with a *rex Scothorum* (? king of the Irish)<sup>[72]</sup> [&] can also be linked to... Iehmarc, who submitted in 1031 [&] could be relevant to Cnut's relations with the Irish".<sup>[69]</sup>

## Relations with the Church

Cnut's actions as a Viking conqueror had made him uneasy with the Church. He was already a Christian before he was king – being named *Lambert* at his baptism<sup>[73][74]</sup> – although the Christianization of Scandinavia was not at all complete in his day. His ruthless treatment of the overthrown dynasty, as well as his open relationship with a concubine—Ælfgifu of Northampton, his handfast wife, whom he kept as his northern queen when he wed Emma of Normandy, confusingly also Ælfgifu in Old English, who was kept in the south, with an estate in Exeter— was a bone of contention, to say the least. It was important for him to reconcile himself with his churchmen, and he made considerable efforts to do so. In this effort Cnut repaired all the English churches and monasteries that were victims of the Viking love for plunder, and refilled their coffers. He also built new churches and was an earnest patron of monastic communities. His homeland of Denmark was a Christian nation on the rise, and the desire to enhance the religion still fresh. As an example, the first stone church recorded to have been built in Scandinavia, was in Roskilde c. 1027, and its patron was Cnut's sister Estrid.<sup>[75]</sup>

It is hard to conclude if Cnut's attitude towards the Church came out of deep religious devotion, or merely as a means to reinforce his regime's hold on the people. There is evidence of a respect for the Viking religion in his praise poetry, which he was happy enough for his *skalds* to embellish in Norse mythology, while other Viking leaders were insistent on the rigid observation of the Christian line, like St Olaf.<sup>[76]</sup> We see too the desire for a respectable Christian nationhood within Europe. In 1018, some sources suggest he was at Canterbury on the return of its Archbishop Lyfing from Rome, to receive letters of exhortation from the Pope.<sup>[77]</sup> If this chronology is correct, he probably went from Canturbury to the Witan at Oxford, with Archbishop Wulfstan of York in attendance to record the event.<sup>[78]</sup>

Cnut's ecumenical gifts were widespread and often exuberant.<sup>[79]</sup> Commonly land was given, exemption from taxes, as well as relics. Christ Church was probably given rights at the important port of Sandwich as well as tax exemption, with confirmation in the placement of their charters on the altar,<sup>[78]</sup> while it got the relics of St Ælfheah,<sup>[80]</sup> which was at the displeasure of the people of London. Another see in the king's favour was Winchester, second only to the Canturbury see in terms of its wealth.<sup>[81]</sup> New Minster's *Liber Vitae* records Cnut as a benefactor of the monastery,<sup>[81]</sup> and the Winchester Cross, with 500 marks of silver and 30 marks of gold in, as well as relics of various saints<sup>[82]</sup> was given to it. Old Minster was the recipient of a shrine for the relics of St Birinus and the probable confirmation of its privileges.<sup>[81]</sup> The monastery at Evesham, with its Abbot Ælfweard purportedly a relative of the king through Ælfgifu the Lady (probably Ælfgifu of Northampton, rather than Queen Emma, also known as Ælfgifu), got the relics of St Wigstan.<sup>[83]</sup> Cnut's generosity towards his subjects, a thing his *skalds* called *destroying treasure*,<sup>[84]</sup> was of course popular with the English. Still, it is important to remember not all Englishmen were in his favour, and the burden of taxation was widely felt.<sup>[85]</sup> His attitude towards London's see was clearly not benign. The monasteries at Ely and Glastonbury were apparently not on good terms either. Other gifts were also given to his neighbours. Among these were a gift to Chartres, of which its bishop wrote, "When we saw the gift that you sent us, we were amazed at your knowledge as well as your faith ... since you, whom we had heard to be a pagan prince, we now know to be not only a Christian, but also a most generous donor to God's churches and servants".<sup>[81]</sup> He is known to have sent a psalter and sacramentary made in Peterborough, famous for its illustrations, to Cologne,<sup>[86]</sup> and a book written in gold, among other gifts, to William the Great of Aquitaine.<sup>[86]</sup> This golden book was apparently to support Aquitanian claims of St Martial, patron saint of Aquitaine, as an apostle.<sup>[87]</sup> Of some consequence, its recipient was an avid artisan, scholar, and devout Christian, and the Abbey of Saint-Martial was a great library and scriptorium, second only to the one at Cluny. It is probable that Cnut's gifts were well beyond anything we can now prove.<sup>[86]</sup>

Cnut's journey to Rome in 1027 is another sign of his dedication to the Christian religion. It may be that he went to attend Emperor Conrad II's coronation in order to improve relations between the two powers, yet he had made a vow previously to seek the favour of St Peter, the keeper of the keys to the heavenly kingdom.<sup>[88]</sup> While in Rome, Cnut made an agreement with the Pope to reduce the fees paid by the English archbishops to receive their pallium. He also arranged that travelers from his realm should pay reduced or no tolls, and that they should be safeguarded on their way to and from Rome. Some evidence exists for a second journey in 1030.<sup>[89]</sup>



Angels crown Cnut as he and Emma present a large gold cross to Hyde Abbey.



## Death and succession

Cnut died in 1035, at the Abbey in Shaftesbury, Dorset. His burial was in Winchester, the English capital of the time, and stronghold of the royal house of Wessex, whom the Danes had overthrown more or less two decades before.

In Denmark he was succeeded by Harthacnut, reigning as Cnut III, although with a war in Scandinavia against Magnus I of Norway, Harthacnut was "forsaken (by the English) because he was too long in Denmark",<sup>[90]</sup> and his mother Queen Emma, previously resident at Winchester with some of her son's housecarls, was made to flee to Bruges, in Flanders; under pressure from supporters of Cnut's other son – after Svein – by Ælfgifu of Northampton. Harold Harefoot – regent in England 1035–37 – succeeded to claim the throne, in 1037, reigning until his death in 1040. Eventual peace in Scandinavia left Harthacnut free to claim the throne himself, in 1040, and regain his mother her place. He brought the crowns of Denmark and England together again, until his death, in 1042. Denmark fell into a period of disorder with the power struggle between the pretender to the throne Sweyn Estridsson, son of Ulf, and the Norwegian king, until Magnus' death in 1047 and restoration of the Danish sovereignty. And the inheritance of England was briefly to return to its Anglo-Saxon lineage.



A 13th century portrait of Cnut the Great. It shows him as a king of Christendom.

The house of Wessex was to reign again in Edward the Confessor, whom Harthacnut had brought out of exile in Normandy and made a treaty with. Like in his treaty with Magnus, it was decreed the throne was to go to Edward if Harthacnut died with no legitimate male heir. In 1042, Harthacnut died, and Edward was king. His reign meant Norman influence at Court was on the rise thereafter, and the ambitions of its dukes finally found fruition in 1066, with William the Conqueror's invasion of England, and crowning, fifty years after Cnut was crowned in 1016.

Had the sons of Cnut not died within a decade of him, and his (only known) daughter Cunigund – set to marry Conrad II's son Henry III eight months after his death – not died in Italy before she became empress,<sup>[91]</sup> Cnut's reign might well have been the foundation for a complete political union between England and Scandinavia.<sup>[92]</sup>

## Bones at Winchester

The new regime of Normandy was keen to signal its arrival with an ambitious programme of grandiose cathedrals and castles throughout the High Middle Ages. Winchester Cathedral was built on the old Anglo-Saxon site (Old Minster) and the previous burials were set in mortuary chests there. Then, during the English Civil War, in the 17th century, plundering Roundhead soldiers scattered the bones on the floor, and the bones of Cnut were spread amongst the various other chests of rulers: notably William Rufus.<sup>[93]</sup>

Marriages and issue

- 1 – Ælfgifu of Northampton
  - Sweyn Knutsson, King of Norway
  - Harold Harefoot, King of England
- 2 – Emma of Normandy
  - Harthacnut, King of Denmark and England
  - Gunhilda of Denmark, wed Henry III, Holy Roman Emperor.

Family tree



+Said to have been a great-granddaughter of Cnut's grandfather Harald Bluetooth, but this was probably a fiction intended to give her a royal bloodline.

## Ruler of the waves

Henry of Huntingdon, the 12th-century chronicler, tells how Cnut set his throne by the sea shore and commanded the tide to halt and not wet his feet and robes. Yet "continuing to rise as usual [the tide] dashed over his feet and legs without respect to his royal person. Then the king leapt backwards, saying: 'Let all men know how empty and worthless is the power of kings, for there is none worthy of the name, but He whom heaven, earth, and sea obey by eternal laws.' He then hung his gold crown on a crucifix, and never wore it again 'to the honour of God the almighty King'".<sup>[94]</sup> This incident is usually misrepresented by popular commentators and politicians as an example of Cnut's arrogance.<sup>[95]</sup>

This story may be apocryphal. While the contemporary *Encomium Emmae* has no mention of it, it would seem that so pious a dedication might have been recorded there, since the same source gives an "eye-witness account of his lavish gifts to the monasteries and poor of St Omer when on the way to Rome, and of the tears and breast-beating which accompanied them".<sup>[54]</sup> Goscelin, writing later in the 11th century, instead has Cnut place his crown on a crucifix at Winchester one Easter, with no mention of the sea, and "with the explanation that the king of kings was more worthy of it than he".<sup>[54]</sup> Nevertheless, there may be a "basis of fact, in a planned act of piety"<sup>[54]</sup> behind this story, and Henry of Huntingdon cites it as an example of the king's "nobleness and greatness of mind."<sup>[94]</sup> Later historians repeated the story, most of them adjusting it to have Cnut more clearly aware that the tides would not obey him, and staging the scene to rebuke the flattery of his courtiers; and there are earlier Celtic parallels in stories of men who commanded the tides, namely Saint Illtud, Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd, and Tuirbe, of Tuirbe's Strand, in Brittany.<sup>[96]</sup>

The encounter with the waves is said to have taken place at Thorn-eye (Thorn Island), or Southampton in Hampshire. There were and are numerous islands so named, including at Westminster and Bosham in West Sussex, both places closely associated with Cnut. According to the House of Commons Information Office,<sup>[97]</sup> Cnut set up a Royal palace during his reign on Thorney Island (later to become known as Westminster) as the area was sufficiently far away from the busy settlement to the east known as London. It is believed that, on this site, Cnut tried to command the tide of the river to prove to his courtiers that they were fools to think that he could command the waves.<sup>[98]</sup> Conflictingly, a sign on Southampton city centre's Canute Road reads, "Near this spot AD 1028 Canute reproved his courtiers".<sup>[99][100]</sup>

## Cnut's skalds

The Old Norse catalogue of skalds known as *Skáldatal* lists eight skalds who were active at Cnut's court. Four of them, namely Sigvatr Þórðarson, Óttarr svarti, Þórarinn loftunga and Hallvarðr háreksblei, composed verses in honour of Cnut which have survived in some form, while no such thing is apparent from the four other skalds Bersi Torfuson, Arnórr Þórðarson jarlaskáld (known from other works), Steinn Skaptason and Óðarkepr (unknown). The principal works for Cnut are the three *Knútsdrápur* by Sigvatr Þórðarson, Óttarr svarti and Hallvarðr háreksblei, and the *Höfuðlausn* and *Tøgdrápa* by Þórarinn loftunga. Cnut also features in two other contemporary skaldic poems, namely Þórðr Kolbeinsson's *Eiríksdrápa* and the anonymous *Liðsmannaflakkr*.

Cnut's skalds emphasize the parallelism between Cnut's rule of his earthly kingdom and God's rule of Heaven.<sup>[101]</sup> This is particularly apparent in their refrains. Thus the refrain of Þórarinn's *Höfuðlausn* translates to "Cnut protects the land as the guardian of Byzantium [God] [does] Heaven" and the refrain of Hallvarðr's *Knútsdrápa* translates to "Cnut protects the land as the Lord of all [does] the splendid hall of the mountains [Heaven]".<sup>[102]</sup> Despite the Christian message, the poets also make use of traditional pagan references and this is particularly true of Hallvarðr. As an example, one of his half-stanzas translates to "The Freyr of the noise of weapons [warrior] has also cast under him Norway; the battle-server [warrior] diminishes the hunger of the valkyrie's hawks [ravens]".<sup>[103]</sup> The skald here refers to Cnut as "Freyr of battle", a kenning using the name of the pagan god Freyr. References of this sort were avoided by poets composing for the contemporary kings of Norway but Cnut seems to have had a more relaxed attitude towards pagan literary allusions.<sup>[104]</sup>

## Notes

- [1] Cnut's mother is the subject of historical debate. Some sources identify as her Gunnhilda, others say she is apocryphal or that there is insufficient evidence to name her. According to Medieval chroniclers Thietmar of Merseburg and Adam of Bremen, Cnut was the son of a Polish princess who was the daughter of Mieszko I and sister of Boleslaw I: this has been linked to Cnut's use of Polish troops in England and Cnut's sister's Anglicized Slavic name, *Santslaue*.
- [2] Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 2009)
- [3] Modern languages: Danish: *Knud den Store* or *Knud II*, Norwegian: *Knud den mektige*, Swedish: *Knut den Store*, , Polish: *Kanut Wielki*
- [4] Cantor, *The Civilization of the Middle Ages*, 1995:166.
- [5] Encomiast, *Encomium Emmae*, ii. 2, pg. 18
- [6] Thietmar, *Chronicon*, vii. 39, pgs. 446–447
- [7] Trow, *Cnut*, p. 40.
- [8] M. K. Lawson, Cnut, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2005 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4579>)
- [9] Graslund, B., 'Knut den store och sveariket: Slaget vid Helgea i ny belysning', *Scandia*, vol. 52 (1986), pp. 211–238.
- [10] Forte, et al., *Viking Empires*, p. 196.
- [11] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 97. The Anglo-Saxon kings used the title "king of the English". Canute was *ealles Engla landes cyning* – "king of all England."
- [12] Trow, *Cnut*, pp. 30–31.
- [13] Snorri, *Heimskringla, The History of Olav Trygvason*, ch. 34, p. 141
- [14] Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, Book II, ch. 37; see also Book II, ch. 33, Scholion 25
- [15] Snorri, *Heimskringla, The History of Olav Trygvason*, ch. 91, p. 184
- [16] Trow, *Cnut*, p. 44.
- [17] Douglas, *English Historical Documents*, pp. 335–336
- [18] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 160.
- [19] Trow, *Cnut*, p. 92.
- [20] John, H., *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, Penguin (1995), p. 122.
- [21] Ellis, *Celt & Saxon*, p. 182.
- [22] William of Malms., *Gesta Regnum Anglorum*, pp. 308–310
- [23] Sawyer, *History of the Vikings*, pp. 171
- [24] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 27
- [25] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 49.
- [26] Trow, *Cnut*, p. ???.
- [27] Garmonsway, G.N. (ed. & trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Dent Dutton, 1972 & 1975, Peterborough (E) text, s.a. 1015, p. 146.
- [28] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 27.
- [29] G. Jones, *Vikings*, p. 370
- [30] Trow, *Cnut*, p. 57.
- [31] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 161
- [32] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 28.
- [33] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 146–9.
- [34] Trow, *Cnut*, p. 59.
- [35] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 148–50
- [36] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 150–1
- [37] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 151–3
- [38] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 152–3; Williams, A., *Æthelred the Unready The Ill-Counselled King*, Hambledon & London, 2003, pp. 146–7.
- [39] Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971, ISBN 198217161, p. 399.
- [40] Forte, Oram & Pedersen, *Viking Empires*, pp. 198
- [41] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, p. 154
- [42] Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 51-2 & 163.
- [43] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 83.
- [44] Lawson, *cnut*, p.162
- [45] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 89.
- [46] Thietmar, *Chronicon*, vii. 7, pp.502–03
- [47] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 90.
- [48] Trow, *Cnut*, pp.168–69.
- [49] Forte, et al., *Viking Empires*, pp. 198
- [50] Jones, *Vikings*, p.373
- [51] Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 65–66.
- [52] Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 124–125.

- [53] Trow, *Cnut*, p. 193.
- [54] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 125.
- [55] Forte, et al., *Viking Empires*, pp. 198.
- [56] Trow, *Cnut*, p. 189.
- [57] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 104.
- [58] Trow, *Cnut*, p. 191.
- [59] Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 95–8.
- [60] Trow, *Cnut*, p.197.
- [61] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Daenorum*, ii.61, p. 120.
- [62] Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. ??
- [63] Trow, *Cnut*, pp. 197.
- [64] Forte, et al., *Viking Empires*, pp. 196–197
- [65] Forte, et al., *Viking Empires*, p. 227.
- [66] Hudson, *Knutr*, pp. 323–25.
- [67] Hudson, *Knutr*, pp. 330–31.
- [68] Forte, et al., *Viking Empires*, pp. 197–198.
- [69] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 102.
- [70] Trow, *Cnut*, pp. 197–198.
- [71] *Lausavisur*, ed. Johson Al, pgs. 269–270
- [72] Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 31-2.
- [73] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Daenorum*, scholium 37, p. 112.
- [74] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 121
- [75] Olsen, *Christianity & Churches*, in Roesdahl & Wilson (eds) *From Viking to Crusader – The Scandinavians & Europe 800–1200*
- [76] Trow, *Cnut*, p.129
- [77] Lawson, *Cnut*, P.86
- [78] Lawson, *Cnut*, P.87
- [79] Lawson, *Cnut*, pp.139–147
- [80] Lawson, *Cnut*, p.141
- [81] Lawson, *Cnut*, p.142
- [82] Lawson, *Cnut*, p.126
- [83] Lawson, *Cnut*, p.143
- [84] Trow, *Cnut*, p.128
- [85] Lawson, *Cnut*, p.147
- [86] Lawson, *Cnut*, p.146
- [87] Lawson, *Cnut*, p.144
- [88] Lawson, *Cnut*, p.145
- [89] Trow, *Cnut*, p.186
- [90] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
- [91] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 98 & pp. 104–105
- [92] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 195.
- [93] "Photo of a sign posted in Winchester Cathedral marking Cnut's mortuary chest, posted at the astoft.co.uk web site, retrieved 2009-07-25" (<http://www.astoft.co.uk/Dscn0764-405.jpg>). .
- [94] Henry of Hntdn., *The Chronicle*, p. 199.
- [95] Is King Canute misunderstood? (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-13524677>) BBC news story
- [96] Lord Raglan: "Cnut and the Waves (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2797899>)": *Man*, Vol. 60, (Jan., 1960), pp. 7–8. The legend of Canute's attempt to rule the waves has long persisted in the lore of western civilization, being cited, for example, by Stacy Head as typifying the New Orleans City Council's response to Hurricane Katrina.
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- [101] Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 126
- [102] Frank 1999:116.
- [103] Frank 1999:120.
- [104] Frank 1999:121.



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## External links

- Canute the Great ([http://www.englishmonarchs.co.uk/vikings\\_2.htm](http://www.englishmonarchs.co.uk/vikings_2.htm))
  - Canute (Knud) The Great – From Viking warrior to English king (<http://www.viking.no/e/people/e-knud.htm>)
  - Vikingworld (Danish) – Canute the Great (Knud den Store) (<http://www.vikingworld.dk/jellinge49.htm>)
  - Time Team – Who was King Cnut? ([http://www.channel4.com/history/microsites/T/timeteam/snapshot\\_cnut.html](http://www.channel4.com/history/microsites/T/timeteam/snapshot_cnut.html))
  - Northvegr (Scandinavian) – A History of the Vikings (Search) (<http://www.northvegr.org/main.php>)
  - Images from the British Library's collections (<http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/britishlibrary/controller/subjectidsearch?height=3&width=1&startid=0&image.y=12&image.y=17&id=8444&image.x=26&image.x=24&image.x=12&image.y=11>)
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# Casimir III the Great

Casimir III the Great Kazimierz Wielki	
<i>King of Poland</i> Casimir by the grace of God king of Poland, lord and inheritor of the land of Kraków, Sandomierz, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Kuyavia, Pomerania (Pomerelia) and Ruthenia. <sup>[1]</sup>	
Tomb effigy	
Tomb effigy	
King of Poland	
Reign	1333–1370
Coronation	25 April 1333
Predecessor	Władysław Elbow-high
Successor	Louis I
Spouse	Aldona of Lithuania Adelaide of Hesse Christina Rokiczana Hedwig of Sagan
more...	
Issue	
Elisabeth, Duchess of Pomerania Anna, Countess of Cilli	
House	Piast 
Father	Władysław I the Elbow-high
Mother	Hedwig of Kalisz
Born	30 April 1310 Kowal, Poland
Died	5 November 1370 (aged 60) Kraków, Poland
Burial	Wawel Cathedral, Kraków
Signature	

**Casimir III the Great** (Polish: *Kazimierz Wielki*) (30 April 1310 – 5 November 1370), last King of Poland from the Piast dynasty (reigned 1333–1370), was the son of King Władysław I the Elbow-high and Hedwig of Kalisz.

## Life

Born in Kowal, Casimir the Great first married Anna, or Aldona Ona, the daughter of the Prince of Lithuania, Gediminas. The daughters from this marriage were Cunigunde (d 1357), who was married to Louis VI the Roman, the son of Louis IV, Holy Roman Emperor, and Elisabeth, who was married to Duke Bogislaus V of Pomerania. Aldona died in 1339 and Kazimierz then married Adelaide of Hesse. He divorced Adelheid in 1356, married Christina, divorced her, and while Adelaide and possibly also Christina were still alive (ca. 1365) married Hedwig (Jadwiga) of Głogów and Sagan.

His three daughters by his fourth wife were very young and regarded as of dubious legitimacy because of their father's bigamy. Because all of the five children he fathered with his first and fourth wife were daughters, he would have no lawful male heir to his throne.

When Casimir, the last Piast king of Poland, died in 1370, his nephew King Louis I of Hungary succeeded him to become king of Poland in personal union with Hungary.

## Great king

Casimir is the only Polish king who both received and kept the title of *Great* in Polish history (Bolesław I Chrobry is also called *the Great*, but his title Chrobry (Valiant) is now more common). When he received the crown, his hold on it was in danger, as even his neighbours did not recognise his title and instead called him "king of Kraków". The economy was ruined, and the country was depopulated and exhausted by war. Upon his death, he left a country doubled in size (mostly through the addition of land in today's Ukraine, then the Duchy of Halicz), prosperous, wealthy and with great prospects for the future. Although he is depicted as a peaceful king in children's books, he in fact waged many victorious wars and was readying for others just before he died.

Casimir the Great built many new castles, reformed the Polish army and Polish civil and criminal law. At the Sejm in Wiślica, 11 March 1347, he introduced salutary legal reforms in the jurisprudence of his country. He sanctioned a code of laws for Great and Lesser Poland, which gained for him the title of "the Polish Justinian" and founded the University of Kraków which is the oldest Polish university, although his death temporarily stalled the university's development (which is why it is today called the "Jagiellonian" rather than "Casimirian" University).

He organized a meeting of kings at Kraków (1364) in which he exhibited the wealth of the Polish kingdom.

## Concession to the nobility



Subjection of Ruthenia by the Crown of the Polish Kingdom (1366), by Jan Matejko

In order to enlist the support of the nobility, especially the military help of *pospolite ruszenie*, Casimir was forced to give up important privileges to their caste, which made them finally clearly dominant over townsfolk (burghers or *mieszczaństwo*).

In 1335, in the Treaty of Trentschin, Kazimierz relinquished "in perpetuity" his claims to Silesia. In 1355 in Buda, Casimir designated Louis I of Hungary as his successor. In exchange, the *szlachta*'s tax burden was reduced and they would no longer be required to pay for military expeditions expenses outside Poland. Those important concessions would eventually lead to the ultimately crippling rise of the unique nobles' democracy in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

His second daughter, Elisabeth, Duchess of Pomerania, bore a son in 1351, Casimir IV of Pomerania. He was slated to become the heir, but did not succeed to the throne, dying childless in 1377, 7 years after King

Casimir. He was the only male descendant of King Casimir who lived during his lifetime.

Also, his son-in-law Louis VI the Roman of Bavaria, Margrave and Prince-elector of Brandenburg, was thought as a possible successor as king of Poland. However, he was not deemed eligible as his wife, Casimir's daughter Cunigunde, had died already in 1357, without children.

The Poles repulsed many raids of the Tatar-Mongols. However, Casimir III the Great submitted to the Golden Horde and undertook to pay tribute in order to avoid more conflicts.<sup>[2]</sup> The 7 Mongol princes were sent by Jani Beg khan to assist Poland.<sup>[3]</sup>

Casimir had no legitimate sons. Apparently, he deemed his own descendants either unsuitable or too young to inherit. Thus, and in order to provide a clear line of succession and avoid dynastic uncertainty, he arranged for his nephew, King Louis I of Hungary, to be his successor in Poland. Louis was proclaimed king on Casimir's death in 1370, and Casimir's sister Elisabeth (Louis's mother) held much of the real power until her death in 1380.

### Relationship with Polish Jews

King Casimir was favorably disposed toward Jews. On 9 October 1334, he confirmed the privileges granted to Jewish Poles in 1264 by Bolesław V the Chaste. Under penalty of death, he prohibited the kidnapping of Jewish children for the purpose of enforced Christian baptism. He inflicted heavy punishment for the desecration of Jewish cemeteries.

Although Jews had lived in Poland since before the reign of King Casimir, he allowed them to settle in Poland in great numbers and protected them as *people of the king*.<sup>[4]</sup>

### Relationships and children

#### Aldona of Lithuania

On 30 April or 16 October 1325, Casimir married Aldona of Lithuania. She was a daughter of Gediminas of Lithuania and Jewna. They had two children:

- Elisabeth of Poland (ca. 1326–1361). She married Bogusław V, Duke of Pomerania.
- Cunigunde of Poland (1334–1357). Married Louis VI the Roman.

Aldona died on 26 May 1339. Casimir remained a widower for two years.



*Wiec in reign of Casimir the Great*



*Wojciech Gerson, Casimir the Great and the Jews*

### Adelheid of Hesse

On 29 September 1341, Casimir married his second wife Adelheid of Hesse. She was a daughter of Henry II, Landgrave of Hesse and Elisabeth of Meissen. Her maternal grandparents were Frederick I, Margrave of Meissen and his second wife Elizabeth of Lobdeburg-Arnshaugk. They had no children.

Casimir started living separately from Adelheid soon after their marriage. Their loveless marriage lasted until 1356.

### Christina

Casimir effectively divorced Adelheid and married his mistress Christina. Christina was the widow of Miklusz Rokiczani, a wealthy merchant. Her own origins are unknown. Following the death of her first husband she had entered the court of Bohemia in Prague as a lady-in-waiting. Casimir brought her with him from Prague and convinced the abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Tyniec to marry them. The marriage was held in a secret ceremony but soon became known. Adelheid renounced it as bigamous and returned to Hesse without permission.

Casimir continued living with Christine despite complaints by Pope Innocent VI on behalf of Adelheid. The marriage lasted until 1363/1364 when Casimir again declared himself divorced. They had no children.

### Jadwiga of Żagań

In about 1365, Casimir married his fourth wife Hedwig of Żagań. She was a daughter of Henry V of Iron, Duke of Żagań and Anna of Mazovia. They had three children:

- Anna of Poland, Countess of Celje (1366 – 9 June 1422). Married firstly William of Celje. Their only daughter was Anne of Cilli. Married secondly Ulrich, Duke of Teck. They had no children.
- Kunigunde of Poland (1367–1370).
- Hedwig of Poland (1368 – ca. 1407). Reportedly married ca. 1382 but the details are obscure.

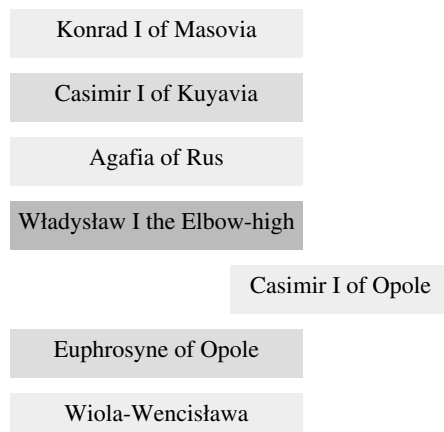
With Adelheid still alive and Christine possibly surviving, the marriage to Hedwig was also considered bigamous. The legitimacy of the three last daughters was disputed. Casimir managed to have Anne and Cunigunde legitimated by Pope Urban V on 5 December 1369. Hedwig the younger was legitimated by Pope Gregory XI on 11 October 1371.

### Cudka

Casimir also had three illegitimate sons by his mistress Cudka, wife of a castellan.

- Niemierz (last mentioned alive in 1386). Oldest son. Survived his father, inherited lands around Stopnica.
- Pelka (1342–1365). Married and had two sons. Predeceased his father.
- Jan (d. 28 October 1383). Youngest son. Survived his father, inherited lands around Stopnica.

### Ancestors





Casimir III the Great

Władysław Odonic

Boleslaus the Pious

Jadwiga of Pomerania

Hedwig of Kalisz

Béla IV of Hungary

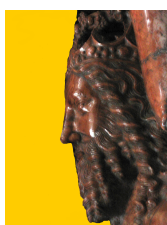
Blessed Jolenta

Maria Laskarina

## Gallery



The King's  
sarcophagus at  
Wawel  
Cathedral



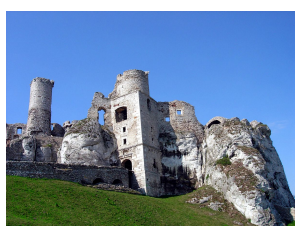
Tomb effigy,  
profile



The Cracow Gate  
in Szydłów, part  
of the city walls  
established by the  
King



Będzin Castle; in 1348 the King  
upgraded it from a wooden  
fortress to a stone one



Ruins of the Ogródzieniec Castle,  
built on the King's order<sup>[5]</sup>



Ruins of the  
Castle in  
Kazimierz Dolny;  
the King extended  
it in the 1340s



Statue of the  
King in  
Niepołomice  
near his  
hunting  
castle



Basilica in  
Wiślica, funded  
by the King, and  
built in the third  
quarter of the  
14th century



Saint Ladislaus Church in Szydłów, established by the King in 1355



Saint Catherine Church in Kazimierz, founded by the King in 1363



Latin Cathedral in Lviv, construction began in 1360 on the King's order



the Castle in Sanok, built on the King's order



Herma of Saint Sigismund of Burgundy, founded by the King for Płock Cathedral



Kazimierz the Great, by Marcello Bacciarelli



Kazimierz the Great, by Jan Matejko


## References

- [1] Royal titles in Latin: *Kazimirus, Dei gracia rex Poloniae ac terrarum Cracoviae, Sandomiriae, Syradiæ, Lancicie, Cuyavie, Pomeranie, Russiequæ dominus et heres.*
- [2] CICO-X, pp.189
- [3] Peter Jackson-the Mongols and the West, p.211
- [4] "In Poland, a Jewish Revival Thrives—Minus Jews". New York Times. 12 July 2007. "Probably about 70 percent of the world's European Jews, or Ashkenazi, can trace their ancestry to Poland—thanks to a 14th-century king, Casimir III, the Great, who drew Jewish settlers from across Europe with his vow to protect them as "people of the king.""
- [5] Zamek Ogrodzieniec w Podzamczu ([http://www.ogrodzieniec.pl/index1.php?go=zamki\\_i\\_warownie&zid=261](http://www.ogrodzieniec.pl/index1.php?go=zamki_i_warownie&zid=261)) (**Polish**)

## External links

- His listing in "Medieval lands" by Charles Cawley. The project "involves extracting and analysing detailed information from primary sources, including contemporary chronicles, cartularies, necrologies and testaments." (<http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/POLAND.htm#KazimierzIIIdied1370>)

# Catherine the Great

Catherine the Great	
	
Catherine II by Fyodor Rokotov	
Empress and Autocrat of All the Russias	
Reign	9 July 1762 – 17 November 1796
Coronation	12 September 1762
Predecessor	Peter III
Successor	Paul I
Empress consort of All the Russias	
Tenure	25 December 1761 – 9 July 1762
Spouse	Peter III of Russia
3 illegitimate children	
Issue	
Paul I of Russia	
Full name	
Sophie Friederike Auguste	
House	<div><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>House of Romanov</li><li>House of Ascania</li></ul></div>
Father	Christian Augustus, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst
Mother	Johanna Elisabeth of Holstein-Gottorp
Born	<div>2 May 1729</div> <div>Stettin, Pomerania, Kingdom of Prussia, Holy Roman Empire</div>
Died	<div>17 November 1796 (aged 67)</div> <div>Saint Petersburg, Russia</div>
Burial	Peter and Paul Cathedral in Saint Petersburg
Signature	
Religion	Lutheranism, then Eastern Orthodox

**Catherine II**, also known as **Catherine the Great** (Russian: Екатерина II Великая, *Yekaterina II Velikaya*; German: *Katharina die Große*), Empress of Russia (2 May [O.S. 21 April] 1729 – 17 November [O.S. 6 November] 1796),

was the most renowned and the longest-ruling female leader of Russia, reigning from 9 July [O.S. 28 June] 1762 until her death at the age of 67. She was born in Stettin, Pomerania, Prussia as *Sophie Friederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg*, and came to power following a *coup d'état* and the assassination of her husband, Peter III, at the end of the Seven Years' War. Russia was revitalized under her reign, growing larger and stronger than ever and becoming recognized as one of the great powers of Europe.

In both her accession to power and in rule of her empire, Catherine often relied on her noble favourites, most notably Grigory Orlov and Grigory Potemkin. Assisted by highly successful generals such as Pyotr Rumyantsev and Alexander Suvorov, and admirals such as Fyodor Ushakov, she governed at a time when the Russian Empire was expanding rapidly by conquest and diplomacy. In the south, the Crimean Khanate was crushed following victories over the Ottoman Empire in the Russo-Turkish wars, and Russia colonised the vast territories of Novorossiia along the coasts of the Black and Azov Seas. In the west, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, ruled by Catherine's former lover, king Stanisław August Poniatowski, was eventually partitioned, with the Russian Empire gaining the largest share. In the east, Russia started to colonise Alaska, establishing Russian America.

Catherine reformed the administration of Russian guberniyas, and many new cities and towns were founded on her orders. An admirer of Peter the Great, Catherine continued to modernize Russia along Western European lines. However, military conscription and economy continued to depend on serfdom, and the increasing demands of the state and private landowners led to increased levels of exploitation of serfs. This was one of the chief reasons behind several rebellions, including the large-scale Pugachev's Rebellion of cossacks and peasants.

The period of Catherine the Great's rule, the ***Catherinian Era***, is often considered the Golden Age of the Russian Empire and the Russian nobility. The *Manifesto on Freedom of the Nobility*, issued during the short reign of Peter III and confirmed by Catherine, freed Russian nobles from compulsory military or state service. Construction of many mansions of the nobility, in the classical style endorsed by the Empress, changed the face of the country. A notable example of enlightened despot, a correspondent of Voltaire and an amateur opera librettist, Catherine presided over the age of the Russian Enlightenment, when the Smolny Institute, the first state-financed higher education institution for women in Europe, was established.

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## Early life



Young Catherine soon after the arrival to Russia, by Louis Caravaque.

Catherine's father Christian August, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst belonged to the ruling family of Anhalt, but held the rank of a Prussian general in his capacity as Governor of the city of Stettin (now Szczecin, Poland). Born as Sophia Augusta Fredericka (German: *Sophie Friederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg*, nicknamed "Figchen") in Stettin, Pomerania, two of her first cousins became Kings of Sweden: Gustav III and Charles XIII. In accordance with the custom then prevailing in the ruling dynasties of Germany, she received her education chiefly from a French governess and from tutors. Catherine's childhood was quite uneventful. She herself once wrote to her correspondent Baron Grimm: "I see nothing of interest in it."<sup>[1]</sup> Although Catherine was born a princess, her family had very little money. Catherine was to come to power based on her mother's relations to wealthy members of royalty.<sup>[2][3]</sup>

The choice of Sophia as wife of her second cousin, the prospective tsar Peter of Holstein-Gottorp, resulted from some amount of diplomatic management in which Count Lestocq, Peter's aunt (the ruling Russian Empress Elizabeth),

and Frederick II of Prussia took part. Lestocq and Frederick wanted to strengthen the friendship between Prussia and Russia in order to weaken Austria's influence and ruin the Russian chancellor Bestuzhev, on whom Empress Elizabeth relied, and who acted as a known partisan of Russo-Austrian co-operation. Catherine first met Peter III at the tender age of ten. Based on her writings, she found Peter detestable upon meeting him. She disliked his pale complexion and his fondness of alcohol at such a young age.<sup>[4]</sup>

The diplomatic intrigue failed, largely due to the intervention of Sophia's mother, Johanna Elisabeth of Holstein-Gottorp. Historical accounts portray her as a cold, abusive woman who loved gossip and court intrigues. Johanna's hunger for fame centered on her daughter's prospects of becoming empress of Russia, but she infuriated Empress Elizabeth, who eventually banned her from the country for spying for King Frederick of Prussia. The empress knew the family well: she herself had intended to marry Princess Johanna's brother Charles Augustus (Karl August von Holstein), who had died of smallpox in 1727 before the wedding could take place. Nonetheless, Elizabeth took a strong liking to the daughter, who on arrival in Russia spared no effort to ingratiate herself not only with the Empress Elizabeth, but with her husband and with the Russian people. She applied herself to learning the Russian language with such zeal that she rose at night and walked about her bedroom barefoot repeating her lessons (though she mastered the language, she retained an accent). This led to a severe attack of pneumonia in March 1744. When she wrote her memoirs, she said she made up her mind when she came to Russia to do whatever was necessary, and to profess to believe whatever was required of her, to become qualified to wear the crown.



Princess Sophia's father, a devout German Lutheran, opposed his daughter's conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy. Despite his objection, on 28 June 1744 the Russian Orthodox Church received Princess Sophia as a member with the new name Catherine (*Yekaterina* or *Ekaterina*) and the (artificial) patronymic Алексеевна (*Alekseyevna*, daughter of *Aleksey*). On the following day the formal betrothal took place. The long-planned dynastic marriage finally occurred on 21 August 1745 at Saint Petersburg. Sophia had turned 16; her father did not travel to Russia for the wedding. The bridegroom, known then as Peter von Holstein-Gottorp, had become Duke of Holstein-Gottorp (located in the north-west of present-day Germany near the border with Denmark) in 1739.

As she recalls herself in her memoirs, as soon as she arrived in Russia she fell ill with a pleuritis which almost killed her. She says she owes her survival to frequent bloodletting; in one single day she had four phlebotomies. Her mother, being opposed to this practice, fell into the Empress' disfavour. When her situation looked desperate, her mother wanted her confessed by a Lutheran priest; she however, awaking from her delirium, said: "I don't want any Lutheran; I want my orthodox father." This raised her in the empress' estimation.

The newlyweds settled in the palace of Oranienbaum, which remained the residence of the "young court" for many years to come.

Count Andrei Shuvalov, chamberlain to Catherine, knew the diarist James Boswell well, and Boswell reports that Shuvalov shared private information regarding the monarch's intimate affairs. Some of these rumours included that Peter took a mistress (Elizabeth Vorontsova), while Catherine carried on liaisons with Sergei Saltykov, Grigory Grigoryevich Orlov (1734–1783), Stanisław August Poniatowski, Alexander Vasilchikov, and others. She became friends with Princess Ekaterina Vorontsova-Dashkova, the sister of her husband's mistress, who introduced her to several powerful political groups that opposed her husband. Peter III's temperament became quite unbearable for those who resided in the palace. He would announce trying drills in the morning to male servants who would later join Catherine in her room to sing and dance until late hours.<sup>[5]</sup> Catherine became pregnant with her second child, Anna, who would only live to be four months old, in 1759. Due to various rumors of Catherine's promiscuity, Peter was led to believe that he was not the child's biological father and is known to have proclaimed, "Go to the devil!" when Catherine angrily dismissed his accusation. She thus spent much of this time alone in her own private boudoir to hide away from Peter's abrasive persona and his disapproved war tactics.<sup>[6]</sup>



Portrait by George Christoph Grooth of the Grand Duchess Ekaterina Alekseyevna around the time of her wedding, 1745.





Tsar Peter III reigned only six months; he died on 17 July 1762

Of the period before her accession to the Russian throne, Catherine said: "Happiness and unhappiness are in the heart and spirit of each one of us: if you feel unhappy, then place yourself above that and act so that your happiness does not get to be dependent on anything."<sup>[7]</sup>

### **The reign of Peter III and the coup d'état of July 1762**

After the death of the Empress Elizabeth on 5 January 1762 (OS: 25 December 1761), Peter, the Grand Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, succeeded to the throne as Peter III of Russia, and Catherine became Empress Consort of Russia. The imperial couple moved into the new Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg.

The new Tsar's eccentricities and policies, including a great admiration for the Prussian king, Frederick II, alienated the same groups that Catherine had cultivated. Besides, Peter intervened in a dispute between his Duchy of Holstein and Denmark over the province of Schleswig (see Count Johann

Hartwig Ernst von Bernstorff).

On the night of June 28, 1762, Catherine the Great was awoken and given the news that one of her co-conspirators had been arrested by her estranged husband, and that all they had been planning must take place at once. She left the palace and departed for the Ismailovsky regiment, where Catherine delivered a speech asking the soldiers to protect her from her husband. Catherine then left with the regiment to go to the Semenovskiy Barracks where the clergy was waiting to ordain her as sole ruler of the Russian throne. She had her husband, Peter, arrested and forced him to sign a document of abdication, leaving no one to dispute her ascension to the throne. Shortly after being arrested, Peter was strangled by his guards. Some speculate that Catherine had ordered this done, but there is no evidence to back this theory.<sup>[8] [9]</sup>

Russia and Prussia fought each other during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) until Peter's accession. Peter's insistence on supporting Frederick II of Prussia, who had seen Berlin occupied by Russian troops in 1760 but now suggested partitioning Polish territories with Russia, eroded much of his support among the nobility.

In July 1762, barely six months after becoming the Tsar, Peter committed the political error of retiring with his Holstein-born courtiers and relatives to Oranienbaum, leaving his wife in Saint Petersburg. On 8 and 9 July, the Leib Guard revolted, deposed Peter from power, and proclaimed Catherine the Empress of Russia. The bloodless coup succeeded.

On 17 July 1762—eight days after the coup and just six months after his accession to the throne—Peter III died at Ropsha, at the hands of Alexei Orlov (younger brother to Gregory Orlov, then a court favorite and a participant in the coup). Historians find no evidence for Catherine's complicity in the supposed assassination.<sup>[10]</sup> Other potential rival claimants to the throne existed: Ivan VI (1740–1764), in closed confinement at Schlüsselburg, in Lake Ladoga, from the age of 6 months; and Princess Tarakanova (1753–1775). Ivan VI was assassinated during an attempt to free him as part of a failed coup against Catherine. Apparently, Catherine had given strict instructions to kill the royal captive in just such an instance, so her innocence here is unclear. (Ivan was thought to be insane because of his years of solitary confinement so might have made a poor emperor, even as a figurehead).

Catherine, although not descended from any previous Russian emperor, succeeded her husband as Empress Regnant. She followed the precedent established when Catherine I (born in the lower classes in the Swedish East Baltic territories) succeeded her husband Peter the Great in 1725.

Historians debate Catherine's technical status, seeing her as a Regent or as an usurper, tolerable only during the minority of her son, Grand Duke Paul. In the 1770s, a group of nobles connected with Paul (Nikita Panin and others) considered a new coup to depose Catherine and transfer the crown to Paul, whose power they envisaged restricting in a kind of constitutional monarchy.<sup>[11]</sup> However, nothing came of this, and Catherine reigned until her death.

## Reign (1762–1796)



### Foreign affairs

During her reign Catherine extended the borders of the Russian Empire southward and westward to absorb New Russia, Crimea, Northern Caucasus, Right-Bank Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, and Courland at the expense, mainly, of two powers – the Ottoman Empire and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. All told, she added some 200000 square miles (**unknown operator: u'strong'** km<sup>2</sup>) to Russian territory.

Catherine's foreign minister, Nikita Panin (in office 1763–81), exercised considerable influence from the beginning of her reign. A shrewd statesman, Panin dedicated much effort and millions of rubles to setting up a "Northern Accord" between Russia, Prussia, Poland, and Sweden, to counter the power of the Bourbon–Habsburg League. When it became apparent that his plan could not succeed, Panin fell out of favor and Catherine had him replaced with Ivan Osterman (in office 1781–97).



Equestrian portrait of the Grand Duchess  
Yekaterina Alexeyevna

Catherine agreed to a commercial treaty with Great Britain in 1766, but stopped short of a full military alliance.<sup>[12]</sup> Although she could see the benefits of Britain's friendship, she was wary of Britain's increased power following its victory in the Seven Years War, which threatened the European balance of power.

### Russo-Turkish Wars

While Peter the Great had succeeded only in gaining a foothold in the south on the edge of the Black Sea in the Azov campaigns, Catherine completed the conquest of the south. Catherine made Russia the dominant power in south-eastern Europe after her first Russo-Turkish War against the Ottoman Empire (1768–74), which saw some of the heaviest defeats in Turkish history, including the Battle of Chesma (5–7 July 1770) and the Battle of Kagul (21 July 1770).

The Russian victories allowed Catherine's government to obtain access to the Black Sea and to incorporate present-day southern Ukraine, where the Russians founded the new cities of Odessa, Nikolayev, Yekaterinoslav (literally: "the Glory of Catherine"; the future Dnepropetrovsk), and Kherson. The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, signed 10 July 1774, gave the Russians territories at Azov, Kerch, Yenikale, Kinburn, and the small strip of Black Sea coast between the rivers Dnieper and Bug. The treaty also removed restrictions on Russian naval or commercial traffic in the Azov Sea, granted to Russia the position of protector of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and made the Crimea a protectorate of Russia.

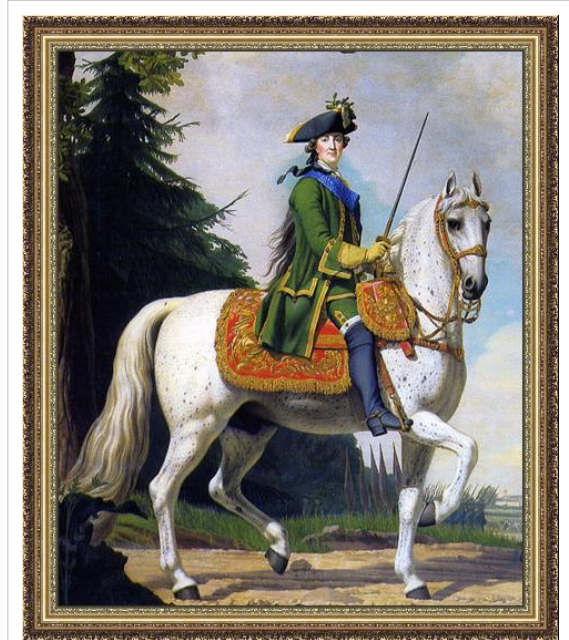
Catherine annexed the Crimea in 1783, nine years after the Crimean Khanate had gained nominal independence—which had been guaranteed by Russia—from the Ottoman Empire as a result of her first war against the Turks. The palace of the Crimean khans passed into the hands of the Russians. In 1786 Catherine conducted a triumphal procession in the Crimea, which helped provoke the next Russo–Turkish War.

The Ottomans re-started hostilities in the second Russo-Turkish War (1787–92). This war, catastrophic for the Ottomans, ended with the Treaty of Jassy (1792), which legitimized the Russian claim to the Crimea and granted the Yedisian region to Russia.

### Relations with Western Europe



A 1791 British caricature of an attempted mediation between Catherine (on the right, supported by Austria and France) and Turkey



Equestrian portrait of Catherine in the Preobrazhensky Regiment's uniform

Catherine longed for recognition as an enlightened sovereign. She pioneered for Russia the role that Britain later played through most of the nineteenth and early twentieth century as an international mediator in disputes that could, or did, lead to war. She acted as mediator in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–79) between the German states of Prussia and Austria. In 1780 she established a League of Armed Neutrality, designed to defend neutral shipping from the British Royal Navy during the American Revolution.



From 1788 to 1790 Russia fought in the Russo-Swedish War against Sweden, a conflict instigated by Catherine's cousin, King Gustav III of Sweden, who expected to simply overtake the Russian armies still engaged in war against the Ottoman Turks and hoped to strike Saint Petersburg directly. But Russia's Baltic Fleet checked the Royal Swedish navy in a tied battle off Hogland (July 1788), and the Swedish army failed to advance. Denmark declared war on Sweden in 1788 (the Theater War). After the decisive defeat of the Russian fleet at the Battle of Svensksund in 1790, the parties signed the Treaty of Värälä (14 August 1790), returning all conquered territories to their respective owners and confirming the Treaty of Åbo. Peace ensued for 20 years, aided by the assassination of Gustav III in 1792.

### The partitions of Poland

In 1764 Catherine placed Stanisław Poniatowski, her former lover, on the Polish throne. Although the idea of partitioning Poland came from the King Frederick II of Prussia, Catherine took a leading role in carrying it out in the 1790s. In 1768 she formally became protector of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, which provoked an anti-Russian uprising in Poland, the Confederation of Bar (1768–72). After smashing the uprising she established in the *Rzeczpospolita*, a system of government fully controlled by the Russian Empire through a Permanent Council, under the supervision of her ambassadors and envoys.

After the French Revolution of 1789, Catherine rejected many principles of the Enlightenment that she had once viewed favorably. Afraid that the May Constitution of Poland (1791) might lead to a resurgence in the power of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and that the growing democratic movements inside the Commonwealth might become a threat to the European monarchies, Catherine decided to intervene in Poland. She provided support to a Polish anti-reform group known as the Targowica Confederation. After defeating Polish loyalist forces in the Polish–Russian War of 1792 and in the Kościuszko Uprising (1794), Russia completed the partitioning of Poland, dividing all of the remaining Commonwealth territory with Prussia and Austria (1795).



Catherine II of Russia by Johann Baptist von Lampi the Elder.

### Relations with Japan

In the Far East, Russians became active in fur trapping in Kamchatka and in the Kuril Islands. This spurred Russian interest in opening trade with Japan to the south for supplies and food. In 1783 storms drove a Japanese sea captain, Daikokuya Kōdayū, ashore in the Aleutian Islands, at that time Russian territory. Russian local authorities helped his party, and the Russian government decided to use him as a trade envoy. On 28 June 1791, Catherine granted Kōdayū an audience at Tsarskoye Selo. Subsequently, in 1792, the Russian government dispatched a trade mission to Japan, led by Adam Laxman. The Tokugawa shogunate received the mission, but negotiations failed.

## Banking and finance

In 1768 the Assignation Bank was tasked with issuing the first government paper money. It opened in St. Petersburg and in Moscow in 1769. Several bank branches were afterwards established in other towns, called government towns. Paper notes were issued upon payment of similar sums in copper money, which were also refunded upon the presentation of those notes.

The emergence of these Assignation rubles was necessary due to large government spending on military needs, which led to a shortage of silver in the treasury (transactions, especially in foreign trade, were conducted almost exclusively in silver and gold coins). Assignation rubles circulated on equal footing with the silver ruble; there was an ongoing market exchange rate for these two currencies. The use of these notes continued until 1849.

## Arts and culture

Catherine had a reputation as a patron of the arts, literature, and education. The Hermitage Museum, which now occupies the whole Winter Palace, began as Catherine's personal collection. At the instigation of her factotum, Ivan Betskoy, she wrote a manual for the education of young children, drawing from the ideas of John Locke, and founded (1764) the famous Smolny Institute, which admitted young girls of the nobility.

She wrote comedies, fiction, and memoirs, while cultivating Voltaire, Diderot, and d'Alembert—all French encyclopedists who later cemented her reputation in their writings. The leading economists of her day, such as Arthur Young and Jacques Necker, became foreign members of the Free Economic Society, established on her suggestion in Saint Petersburg in 1765. She lured the scientists Leonhard Euler and Peter Simon Pallas from Berlin and Anders Johan Lexell from Sweden to the Russian capital.

Catherine enlisted Voltaire to her cause, and corresponded with him for 15 years, from her accession to his death in 1778. He lauded her accomplishments, calling her "The Star of the North" and the "Semiramis of Russia" (in reference to the legendary Queen of Babylon, a subject on which he published a tragedy in 1768). Though she never met him face to face, she mourned him bitterly when he died. She acquired his collection of books from his heirs, and placed them in the National Library of Russia.

Within a few months of her accession in 1762, having heard that the French government threatened to stop the publication of the famous French *Encyclopédie* on account of its irreligious spirit, Catherine proposed to Diderot that he should complete his great work in Russia under her protection.

Four years later, in 1766, she endeavored to embody in legislation the principles of Enlightenment she learned from studying the French philosophers. She called together at Moscow a Grand Commission—almost a consultative parliament—composed of 652 members of all classes (officials, nobles, burghers and peasants) and of various nationalities. The Commission had to consider the needs of the Russian Empire and the means of satisfying them. The Empress herself prepared the "Instructions for the Guidance of the Assembly", pillaging (as she frankly admitted) the philosophers of Western Europe, especially Montesquieu and Cesare Beccaria.

As many of the democratic principles frightened her more moderate and experienced advisers, she refrained from immediately putting them into execution. After holding more than 200 sittings the so-called Commission dissolved without getting beyond the realm of theory.

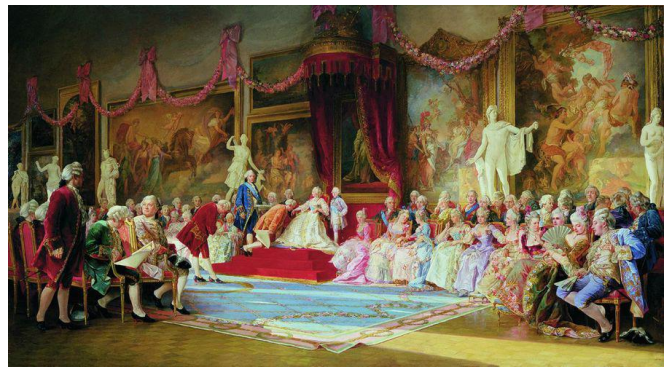
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In spite of this, Catherine began issuing codes to address some of the modernization trends suggested in her Nakaz. In 1775 the Empress decreed a Statute for the Administration of the Provinces of the Russian Empire. The Statute sought to efficiently govern Russia by increasing population and dividing the country into provinces and districts. By the end of her reign, there were fifty provinces, nearly 500 districts, more than double the government officials, and they were spending six times as much as previously on local government. In 1785

Catherine conferred on the nobility the Charter to the Nobility, increasing further the power of the landed oligarchs. Nobles in each district elected a Marshal of the Nobility who spoke on their behalf to the monarch on issues of concern to them, mainly economic ones. In the same year, Catherine issued the Charter of the Towns, which distributed all people into six groups as a way to limit the power of nobles and create a middle estate. Catherine also issued the Code of Commercial Navigation and Salt Trade Code of 1781, the Police Ordinance of 1782, and the Statue of National Education of 1786. In 1777, the Empress described to Voltaire her legal innovations within a backward Russia as progressing "little by little".

During Catherine's reign, Russians imported and studied the classical and European influences that inspired the Russian Enlightenment. Gavril Derzhavin, Denis Fonvizin, and Ippolit Bogdanovich laid the groundwork for the great writers of the nineteenth century, especially for Alexander Pushkin. Catherine became a great patron of Russian opera (see Catherine II and opera for details).

When Alexander Radishchev published his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* in 1790 (one year after the start of the French Revolution) and warned of uprisings because of the deplorable social conditions of the peasants held as serfs, Catherine exiled him to Siberia.



*The Inauguration of the Academy of Arts, a painting by Valery Jacobi.*



## Education



Yekaterina Vorontsova-Dashkova, the closest female friend of Empress Catherine and a major figure of the Russian Enlightenment.

Catherine held western European philosophies and culture close to her heart and she wanted to surround herself with like-minded people within Russia.<sup>[13]</sup> She believed a 'new kind of person' could be created by inoculating Russian children with European education. Catherine believed education could change the hearts and minds of the Russian people and turn them away from backwardness. This meant developing individuals both intellectually and morally, providing them knowledge and skills, and fostering a sense of civic responsibility.<sup>[14]</sup>

Catherine appointed Ivan Betskoy as her adviser on educational matters.<sup>[15]</sup> Through him, she collected information from Russia and other countries about educational institutions. She also established a commission composed of T.N. Teplov, T. von Klingstedt, F.G. Dilthey, and the historian G. Muller. She consulted British education pioneers, particularly Rev. Daniel Dumaesq and Dr. John Brown.<sup>[16]</sup> In 1764 Catherine sent for Dumaesq to come to Russia and then appointed him to the educational Commission. The Commission studied the reform projects previously installed by I.I. Shuvalov under Elizabeth and under Peter III. They submitted recommendations for the establishment of a general system of education for all Russian orthodox subjects from

the age of 5 to 18, excluding serfs.<sup>[17]</sup> However, no action was taken on any recommendations put forth by the Commission due to the calling of the Legislative Commission. In July 1765 Dumaesq wrote to Dr. John Brown about the commission's problems and received a long reply containing very general and sweeping suggestions for education and social reforms in Russia. Dr. Brown argued that in a democratic country, education ought to be under the state's control and based on an education code. He also placed great emphasis on the "proper and effectual education of the female sex"; two years prior, Catherine had commissioned Ivan Betskoy to draw up the *General Program for the Education of Young People of Both Sexes*.<sup>[18]</sup> This work emphasized the fostering of the creation of a 'new kind of people' raised in isolation from the damaging influence of a backward Russian environment.<sup>[19]</sup> The Establishment of the Moscow Foundling Home (Moscow Orphanage) was the first attempt at achieving that goal. It was charged with admitting destitute and extramarital children in order to educate them in any way the state deemed fit. Since the Moscow Foundling Home was not established as a state funded institution, the Home represented an opportunity to experiment with new educational theories. However, the Moscow Foundling Home was unsuccessful, mainly due to extremely high mortality rates, which prevented many of the children from living long enough to develop into the enlightened subjects the state desired.<sup>[20]</sup>

Not long after the Moscow Foundling Home, Catherine established the Smolny Institute for Noble Girls to educate females. The Smolny Institute was the first of its kind in Russia. At first the Institute only admitted young girls of the noble elite, but eventually it began to admit girls of the *petit-bourgeoisie* as well.<sup>[21]</sup> The girls that attended the Smolny Institute, *Smolyanki*, were often accused of being ignorant of anything that went on in the world outside the walls of the Smolny buildings. Within the walls of the Institute they were taught impeccable French, musicianship, dancing, and complete awe of the Monarch. At the Institute, enforcement of strict discipline was central to its philosophy. Running and games were forbidden and the building was kept particularly cold because it was believed that too much warmth was harmful to the developing body, as was excess play.<sup>[22]</sup>

During the years 1768–1774, there was no progress made in setting up a national school system.<sup>[23]</sup> Catherine continued to investigate educational theory and practice of other countries. She made many educational reforms despite the lack of a national school system. The remodeling of the Cadet Corps 1766 initiated many educational reforms. It then began to take children from a very young age and educate them until the age of 21. The curriculum was broadened from the professional military curriculum to include the sciences, philosophy, ethics, history, and international law. This policy in the Cadet Corps influenced the teaching in the Naval Cadet Corps and in the Engineering and Artillery Schools. After the war and the defeat of Pugachov, Catherine laid the obligation to establish schools at the *guberniya*—a provincial subdivision of the Russian empire ruled by a governor—on the Boards of Social Welfare set up with the participation of elected representatives from the three free estates.<sup>[24]</sup>

By 1782 Catherine arranged another advisory commission to study the information gathered about the educational systems of many different countries.<sup>[25]</sup> A system produced by a mathematician, Franz Aepinus, stood out in particular. He was strongly in favor of the adoption of the Austrian three-tier model of trivial, real, and normal schools at village, town, and provincial capital level. In addition to the advisory commission, Catherine established a Commission of National Schools under Pyotr Zavadovsky. This commission was charged with organizing a national school network, training the teachers, and providing the textbooks. On 5 August 1786, the Russian Statute of National Education was promulgated.<sup>[26]</sup> The Statute established a two-tier network of high schools and primary schools in *guberniya* capitals that were free of charge, open to all of the free classes (non-serfs), and co-educational. It also regulated, in detail, the subjects to be taught at every age and the method of teaching. In addition to the textbooks translated by the Commission, teachers were provided with the *Guide to Teachers*. This work, divided into four parts, dealt with teaching methods, the subjects taught, the behavior of the teacher, and the running of a school.<sup>[26]</sup>



The Moscow Orphanage.



The Smolny Institute, the first Russian Institute for Noble Maidens and the first European state higher education institution for women

Judgment of the 19th century was generally critical, claiming that Catherine failed to supply enough money to support her educational program.<sup>[27]</sup> Two years after the implementation of Catherine's program, a member of the National Commission inspected the institutions established. Throughout Russia, the inspectors encountered a patchy response. While the nobility put up appreciable amounts of money for these institutions, they preferred to send their children to private, more prestigious institutions. Also, the townspeople tended to turn against the junior schools and their pedagogical methods. It is estimated that about 62,000 pupils were being educated in some 549 state institutions near the end of Catherine's reign. This was only a minuscule number of people compared to the size of the Russian population.<sup>[28]</sup>

## Religious affairs



Catherine II in the Russian national costume.

Catherine's apparent whole-hearted adoption of all things Russian (including Orthodoxy) may have prompted her personal indifference to religion.<sup>[29]</sup> She did not allow dissenters to build chapels, and she suppressed religious dissent after the onset of the French Revolution.<sup>[29]</sup>

Politically, Catherine exploited Christianity in her anti-Ottoman policy, promoting the protection and fostering of Christians under Turkish rule.<sup>[29]</sup> She placed strictures on Roman Catholics (*ukaz* of 23 February 1769), mainly Polish, and attempted to assert and extend state control over them in the wake of the partitions of Poland.<sup>[30]</sup> Nevertheless, Catherine's Russia provided an asylum and a base for re-grouping to the Society of Jesus following the suppression of the Jesuits in most of Europe in 1773.<sup>[30]</sup>

### Islam

Catherine took many different approaches to Islam during her reign. Between 1762 and 1773, Muslims were actively prohibited from owning any Orthodox serfs. They were also

pressured into Orthodoxy through monetary incentives.<sup>[31]</sup> Catherine promised more serfs of all religions, as well as amnesty for convicts, if Muslims chose to convert to Orthodoxy.<sup>[32]</sup> However, the Legislative Commission of 1767 offered several seats to people professing the Islamic faith. This Commission promised to protect their religious rights, but did not do so. Many Orthodox peasants felt threatened by the sudden change, and burned mosques as a sign of their displeasure.<sup>[32]</sup> Catherine chose to assimilate Islam into the state rather than eliminate it when public outcry against equality got too disruptive. After the "Toleration of All Faiths" Edict of 1773, Muslims were permitted to build mosques and practice all of their traditions, the most obvious of these being the pilgrimage to Mecca, which had been denied previously.<sup>[33]</sup> Catherine created the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly to help regulate Muslim-populated regions, as well as regulate the instruction and ideals of Mullahs. The positions on the Assembly were appointed and paid for by Catherine and her government, as a way of regulating the religious affairs of her nation.<sup>[34]</sup>

In 1785 Catherine approved the subsidization of new mosques and new town settlements for Muslims. This was another attempt to organize and passively control the outer fringes of her country. By building new settlements with mosques placed in them, Catherine attempted to ground many of the nomadic people that wandered through southern Russia.<sup>[35]</sup> In 1786 Catherine assimilated the Islamic schools into the Russian public school system, to be regulated by the government. The plan was another attempt to force nomadic people to settle. This allowed the Russian



government to control more people, especially those who previously had not fallen under the jurisdiction of Russian law.

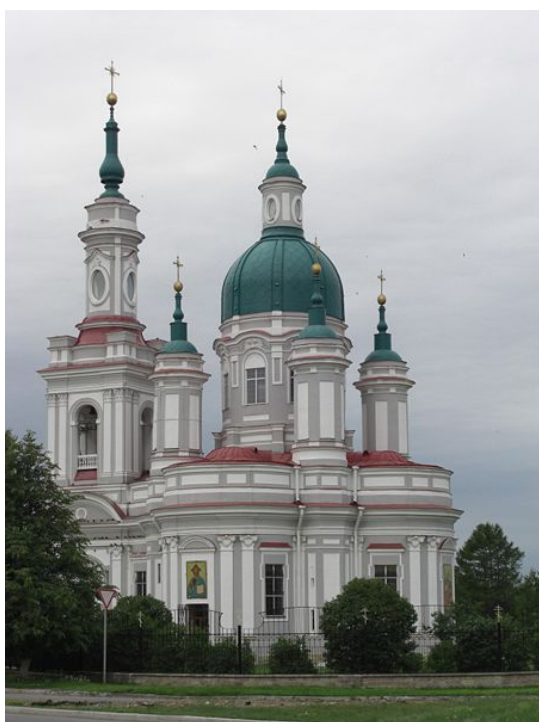
### Judaism

Russia often treated Judaism as a separate entity, where Jews were maintained with a separate legal and bureaucratic system. Although the government knew that Judaism existed, Catherine and her advisers had no real definition of what a "Jew" is, since the term meant many things during her reign.<sup>[36]</sup> Judaism was a small, if not nonexistent, religion in Russia until 1772. When Catherine agreed to the First Partition of Poland, Jews were treated as a separate people, defined by their religion. In keeping with their treatment in Poland, Catherine allowed the Jews to separate themselves from Orthodox society, with certain restrictions. She levied taxes only on the followers of Judaism; if a family converted to the Russian faith, that tax was lifted.<sup>[37]</sup> Jewish members of society were required to pay double the tax of their Orthodox neighbors. Converted Jews could gain permission to enter the merchant class and farm as free peasants under Russian rule.<sup>[38]</sup>

In an attempt to assimilate the Jews into Russia's economy, Catherine included them under the rights and laws of the Charter of the Towns of 1782.<sup>[39]</sup> While this presented some benefits for Jews—they received recognition as equals to any Orthodox citizen—many people attempted to take advantage of this equality. Orthodox Russians disliked the inclusion of Judaism, mainly for economic reasons; many Jews were bankers and merchants. Catherine tried to keep the Jews away from certain economic spheres, even with a ruse of equality; in 1790, she banned Jewish citizens from Moscow's middle class.<sup>[40]</sup>

In 1785 Catherine declared that Jews were officially foreigners, with foreigners' rights.<sup>[41]</sup> This reestablished the separate identity that Judaism maintained in Russia throughout the Jewish period of failed assimilation. Catherine's decree also denied Jews the rights of an Orthodox or naturalized citizen of Russia. Taxes doubled again for those of Jewish descent in 1794, and Catherine officially declared that Jews bore no relation to Russians.

### Russian Orthodoxy



St. Catherine Cathedral in Kingisepp, an example of Russian classicism.

In many ways, the Orthodox Church fared no better than its foreign counterparts during the reign of Catherine. Under her leadership, she completed what Peter III had started; the church's lands were appropriated, and the budget of both monasteries and bishoprics were controlled by the College of Economy.<sup>[42]</sup> Endowments from the government replaced income from privately held lands. The endowments were often much less than the original intended amount.<sup>[43]</sup> She closed 569 out of 954 monasteries and only 161 got government money. Only 400,000 rubles of church wealth was paid back.<sup>[44]</sup> While other religions (such as Islam) received invitations to the Legislative Commission, the Orthodox clergy did not receive a single seat.<sup>[43]</sup> Their place in government was restricted severely during the years of Catherine's reign.

In 1762, to help mend the rift between the Orthodox church and a sect that called themselves the Old Believers, Catherine passed an act that allowed Old Believers to practice their faith openly without interference.<sup>[45]</sup> While

claiming religious tolerance, she intended to recall the Believers into the official church. They refused to comply, and in 1764 Catherine deported over 20,000 Old Believers to Siberia on the grounds of their faith.<sup>[45]</sup> In later years, Catherine amended her thoughts. Old Believers were allowed to hold elected municipal positions after the Urban Charter of 1785, and she promised religious freedom to those who wished to settle in Russia.<sup>[46][47]</sup>

Religious education was also strictly reviewed. At first, she simply attempted to revise clerical studies, proposing a reform of religious schools. This reform never progressed beyond the planning stages. By 1786 Catherine excluded all religion and clerical studies programs from lay education.<sup>[48]</sup> By separating the public interests from those of the church, Catherine began a secularization of the day-to-day workings of Russia. She transformed the clergy from a group that wielded great power over the Russian government and its people to a segregated community forced to depend on the state for compensation.<sup>[43]</sup>

## Personal life

Catherine, throughout her long reign, took many lovers, often elevating them to high positions<sup>[49]</sup> for as long as they held her interest, and then pensioning them off with gifts of serfs and large estates. The percentage of state money spent on the court increased from 10.4% in 1767 to 11.4% in 1781 to 13.5% in 1795. Catherine gave away 66,000 serfs 1762–72, 202,000 1773–93 and 100,000 in one day: 18 August 1795.<sup>[50]:119</sup> Just as the church supported her hoping to get their land back, Catherine bought the support of the bureaucracy by making promotion up the 14 ranks automatic after a certain time period, regardless of position or merit. Thus, the bureaucracy was populated with time servers.<sup>[50]</sup>

After her affair with her lover and adviser Grigori Alexandrovich Potemkin ended in 1776, he allegedly selected a candidate-lover for her who had the physical beauty and mental faculties to hold her interest (such as Alexander Dmitriev-Mamonov). Some of these men loved her in return, and she always showed generosity towards them, even after the affair ended. One of her lovers, Pyotr Zavadovsky, received 50,000 rubles, a pension of 5,000 rubles, and 4,000 peasants in the Ukraine after she dismissed him in 1777.<sup>[51]</sup> The last of her lovers, Prince Zubov, was 40 years her junior. Her sexual independence led to many of the legends about her.

In her memoirs, Catherine indicated that her first lover, Serge Saltykov, had fathered Paul, but Paul physically resembled her husband, Peter.<sup>[52]</sup> Catherine kept near Tula, away from her court, her illegitimate son by Grigori Orlov, Alexis Bobrinskoy (later created Count Bobrinskoy by Paul). Catherine and Orlov had another child,<sup>[53]</sup> a daughter, called Elizabeth Alexandrovna Alexeeva (born in Saint Petersburg, 1761 – died 1844), born one year before Alexis. She married (1787) Friedrich Maximilian Klinger and from this marriage she had one son, Alexander, who apparently died young in 1812.



Count Grigory Orlov, by Fyodor Rokotov.

## Poniatowski



Stanisław August Poniatowski, the last King of Poland-Lithuania

Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British ambassador to Russia, offered Stanisław Poniatowski a place in the embassy, in return for gaining Catherine as an ally. Poniatowski, through his mother's side, came from the Czartoryski family, prominent members of the pro-Russian faction in Poland. Catherine, 26 years old and already married to the then-Grand Duke Peter for some 10 years, met the 22-year-old Poniatowski in 1755, therefore well before encountering the Orlov brothers. In 1757 Poniatowski served in the British forces during the Seven Years' War, thus severing close relationships with Catherine. She bore him a daughter named Anna Petrovna in December 1757 (not to be confused with Grand Duchess Anna Petrovna of Russia, the daughter of Peter I's second marriage).

King Augustus III of Poland died in 1763, and therefore Poland needed to elect a new ruler. Catherine supported Poniatowski as a candidate to become the next king.

Catherine sent the Russian army into Poland to avoid possible disputes. Russia invaded Poland on 26 August 1764, threatening to fight, and imposing Poniatowski as become king. Poniatowski accepted the

throne, and thereby put himself under Catherine's control. News of Catherine's plan spread and Frederick II (others say the Ottoman sultan) warned her that if she tried to conquer Poland by marrying Poniatowski, all of Europe would oppose her strongly.

She had no intention of marrying him, having already given birth to Orlov's child and to the Grand Duke Paul by then. She told Poniatowski to marry someone else to remove all suspicion. Poniatowski refused; he never married.

Prussia (through the agency of Prince Henry), Russia (under Catherine), and Austria (under Maria Theresa) began preparing the ground for the partitions of Poland. In the first partition, 1772, the three powers split 20000 square miles (**unknown operator: u'strong'** km<sup>2</sup>) between them. Russia got territories east of the line connecting, more or less, Riga–Polotsk–Mogilev.

In the second partition, in 1793, Russia received the most land, from west of Minsk almost to Kiev and down the river Dnieper, leaving some spaces of steppe down south in front of Ochakov, on the Black Sea.

After this, uprisings in Poland led to the third partition, 1795, one year before Catherine's death.

## Orlov

Grigory Orlov, the grandson of a rebel in the Streltsy Uprising (1698) against Peter the Great, distinguished himself in the Battle of Zorndorf (25 August 1758), receiving three wounds. He represented an opposite to Peter's pro-Prussian sentiment, with which Catherine disagreed. By 1759 he and Catherine had become lovers; no one told Catherine's husband, the Grand Duke Peter. Catherine saw Orlov as very useful, and he became instrumental in the 28 June 1762 coup d'état against her husband, but she preferred to remain the Dowager Empress of Russia, rather than marrying anyone.



Grigory Orlov and his other three brothers found themselves rewarded with titles, money, swords, and other gifts. But Catherine did not marry Grigory, who proved inept at politics and useless when asked for advice. He received a palace in St. Petersburg when Catherine became Empress.

Orlov died in 1783. His and Catherine's son, Aleksey Grygoriovich Bobrinsky (1762–1813), had one daughter, Maria Alexeeva Bobrinsky (Bobrinskaya) (1798–1835), who married in 1819 the 34-year-old Prince Nikolai Sergeevich Gagarin (London, England, 12 July 1784 – 25 July 1842) who took part in the Battle of Borodino (7 September 1812) against Napoleon, and later served as Ambassador in Turin, the capital of the Duchy of Savoy.



Catherine the Great's natural son by Count Grigory Orlov -Aleksey Grigorievich Bobrinsky, (11 April 1762 – 20 June 1813 in his estate of Bogoroditsk, near Tula). Born three months before the deposition and assassination by the Orlov brothers of her husband Peter III

## Potemkin



Catherine II and Potemkin on the Millennium Monument in Novgorod

Grigory Potemkin had had involvement in the coup d'état of 1762. In 1772, Catherine's close friends informed her of Orlov's affairs with other women, and she dismissed him. By the winter of 1773 the Pugachev revolt had started to threaten. Catherine's son Paul had also started gaining support; both of these trends threatened her power. She called Potemkin for help—mostly military—and he became devoted to her.

In 1772 Catherine wrote to Potemkin. Days earlier, she had found out about an uprising in the Volga region. She appointed General Aleksandr Bibikov to put down the uprising, but she needed Potemkin's advice on military strategy.

Potemkin quickly gained positions and awards. Russian poets wrote about his virtues, the court praised him, foreign ambassadors fought for his favor, and his family moved into the palace. He later became governor of New Russia.

In 1780, the son of Holy Roman Empress Maria Theresa, Emperor Joseph II, toyed with the idea of determining whether or not to enter an alliance with Russia, and asked to meet Catherine. Potemkin had the task of briefing him and traveling with him to Saint Petersburg.

Potemkin also convinced Catherine to expand the universities in Russia to increase the number of scientists.

Potemkin fell very ill in August 1783. Catherine worried that he would not finish his work developing the south as he had planned. Potemkin died at the age of 52 in 1791.

## The Serfs

### Rights and Conditions under Catherine's Rule

At the time of Catherine's reign, the landowning noble class owned the serfs, who were bound to the land that they tilled. Children of serfs were born into serfdom and worked the same land that their parents had. The serfs had very limited rights, but they were not exactly slaves. While the state did not technically allow them to own possessions, some serfs were able to accumulate enough wealth to pay for their freedom.<sup>[54]</sup> The understanding of law in imperial Russia by all sections of society was often weak, confused, or nonexistent, particularly in the provinces where most serfs lived. This is why some serfs were able to do things such as accumulate wealth. To become a serf, someone would give up their freedoms to a landowner in exchange for their protection and support in times of hardship. In addition, they would receive land to till but would be taxed a certain percentage of their crop to give to their landowner. These were the privileges to which a serf was entitled and which nobles were bound to carry out. All of this was true before Catherine's reign, and this is the system she inherited.

Catherine did initiate some changes to serfdom though. If the nobles did not live up to their side of the deal, then the serfs could file complaints against them by following the proper channels of law.<sup>[55]</sup> Catherine gave them this new right, but in exchange they could no longer appeal directly to her. She did this because did not want to be bothered by the peasantry but did not want to give them reason to revolt either. In this act though, she unintentionally gave the serfs a legitimate bureaucratic status that they had lacked before.<sup>[56]</sup> Some serfs were able to use their new status to their advantage. For example, serfs could apply to be freed if they were under illegal ownership, and non-nobles were not allowed to own serfs.<sup>[57]</sup> Some serfs did apply for freedom and were, surprisingly, successful. In addition, some governors listened to the complaints of serfs and punished nobles. But this was by no means all-inclusive.

Other than these, the rights of a serf were very limited. A landowner could punish his serfs at his discretion, and under Catherine the Great gained the ability to sentence his serfs to hard labor in Siberia, a punishment normally reserved for convicted criminals.<sup>[58]</sup> The only thing a noble could not do to one of his serfs was to kill him or her. The life of a serf belonged to the state. Historically, when the serfs faced problems they could not solve on their own (such as abusive masters) they often appealed to the autocrat, and continued doing so during Catherine's reign even though she signed legislation prohibiting it.<sup>[59]</sup> Although she did not want to communicate directly with the serfs, she did create some measures to improve their conditions as a class and reduce the size of the institution of serfdom. For example, Catherine took action to limit the number of new serfs; she eliminated many ways for people to become serfs, culminating in the manifesto of 17 March 1775, which prohibited a serf who had once been freed from becoming a serf again.<sup>[60]</sup> However, she also restricted the freedoms of many peasants. During her reign, Catherine gave away many state peasants (peasants owned by the state) to become private serfs (peasants owned by a landowner), and while their ownership changed hands, a serf's location never did. However, peasants owned by the state generally had more freedoms than those owned by a noble.

While the majority of serfs were farmers bound to the land, a noble could also have his serfs sent away to learn a trade or be educated at a school, in addition to employing them at businesses that paid wages.<sup>[61]</sup> This happened more often during Catherine's reign because of the new schools she established. Only in this way could a serf leave the farm he was responsible for.

### Mentality and Attitude Towards Catherine

The attitude of the serfs toward their autocrat had historically been a positive one. They did not always like what he did, but the Tsar always knew what was best, so they listened to him unquestioningly.

However, if the Tsar's policies were too extreme or too disliked then obviously he was not the true Tsar. In these cases, it was necessary to replace this "fake" Tsar with the "true" Tsar, whoever he may be. Because the serfs had no political power, they rioted to get their message across. But usually, if the serfs did not like the policies of the Tsar they saw the nobles as corrupt and evil, preventing the people of Russia from communicating with the well-intentioned Tsar and misinterpreting his decrees. However, they were already suspicious of Catherine upon her accession because she had annulled an act by Peter III that had essentially freed the serfs belonging to the Orthodox Church.<sup>[62]</sup> Naturally, the serfs did not like it when Catherine tried to take away their right to petition her because they felt as though she had severed their connection to the autocrat, and their power to appeal to her. Far away from the capital, they were also confused as to the circumstances of her ascension to the throne.

The peasants were discontented because of many other factors as well, including plague, crop failure, and epidemics, including a major epidemic in 1771. The nobles were also imposing a stricter rule than ever, reducing the land of each serf and restricting their freedoms further beginning around 1767.<sup>[63]</sup> Their discontent led to widespread outbreaks of violence and rioting during Pugachev's Rebellion of 1774. The serfs probably followed someone who was pretending to be the true Tsar because of their feelings of disconnection to Catherine and her policies empowering the nobles, but this was not the first time that they followed a pretender under Catherine's reign.<sup>[64]</sup> Pugachev had made stories about himself acting as a real tsar should, helping the common people, listening to their problems, praying for them, and generally acting saintly, and this helped rally the peasants and serfs, with their very conservative values, to his cause.<sup>[65]</sup> With all this discontent in mind, Catherine did rule for ten years before the anger of the serfs boiled over into a rebellion as extensive as Pugachev's. But under Catherine's rule, despite her enlightened ideals, the serfs were generally unhappy and discontent.

### Final months and death

Though Catherine's life and reign included remarkable personal successes, they ended with two failures. Her Swedish cousin (once removed) King Gustav IV Adolph visited her in September 1796, the empress's intention being that her granddaughter Alexandra should become Queen of Sweden by marriage. A ball was given at the imperial court on 11 September, when the engagement was supposed to be announced. Gustav Adolph felt pressured to accept the fact that Alexandra would not be converting to Lutheranism, and though he was delighted by the young lady, he refused to appear at the ball and left for Stockholm. Catherine was so irritated at this that her health was impacted.<sup>[66]</sup> She recovered well enough to begin to plan a ceremony where a favorite grandson would supersede her difficult son on the throne, but she died of a stroke before the announcement could be made, just over two months after the engagement ball.

On 16 November [O.S. 5 November] 1796, Catherine rose early in the morning and had her usual morning coffee, soon settling down to work on papers at her study. Her lady's maid, Maria Perekusikhina, had asked the Empress if she had slept well, and Catherine reportedly replied that she had not slept so well in a long time.<sup>[67]</sup>



Portrait of Catherine in an advanced age, with the Chesme Column in the background.

Sometime after 9:00 am that morning, Catherine went to her dressing room and collapsed on the floor. Worried by Catherine's absence, her attendant, Zakhar Zotov, opened the door and peered in. Catherine's body was sprawled on the floor. Her face appeared purplish, her pulse was weak, and her breathing was shallow and labored.<sup>[67]</sup> The servants lifted Catherine from the floor and brought her to the bedroom. Some 45 minutes later, the royal court's Scottish physician, Dr. John Rogerson, arrived and determined that Catherine had suffered a stroke.<sup>[67][68]</sup> Despite all attempts to revive the Empress, she fell into a coma from which she never recovered. Catherine was given the Last Rites and died the following evening at approximately 9:45 pm.<sup>[68]</sup> An autopsy performed on her body the next day confirmed the cause of death as stroke.<sup>[69]</sup>

Catherine's undated will, discovered in early 1792 by her secretary Alexander Vasilievich Khrapovitsky among her papers, gave specific instructions should she die: "Lay out my corpse dressed in white, with a golden crown on my head, and on it inscribe my Christian name. Mourning dress is to be worn for six months, and no longer: the shorter the better."<sup>[70]</sup> In the end, the Empress was laid to rest with a gold crown on her head and clothed in a silver brocade dress. On 25 November, the coffin, richly decorated in gold fabric, was placed atop an elevated platform at the Grand Gallery's chamber of mourning, designed and decorated by Antonio Rinaldi.<sup>[71][72]</sup> Catherine was buried at the Peter and Paul Cathedral in Saint Petersburg.

The claim that her death was caused by a sexual incident involving a horse is a myth and has no basis.<sup>[73]</sup>

## Issue

1. Emperor Paul I of Russia (1 October 1754 – 23 March 1801), officially fathered by Catherine's husband, Emperor Peter III of Russia, but claimed by Catherine to be the son of her lover, Count Serge Saltykov
  2. Anna Petrovna (9 December 1757 – 8 March 1758), fathered by Catherine's lover, the future King Stanislaus II of Poland
  3. Elizabeth Alexandrovna Alexeeva (1761–1844), married to Friedrich Maximilian Klinger, fathered by Catherine's lover, Count Grigory Grigoryevich Orlov
  4. Count Alexei Grigorievich Bobrinsky (11 April 1762 – 20 June 1813), also fathered by Orlov
-

## Romanov dynastic issues

### Pretenders and potential pretenders to the throne

- Ivan VI of Russia (born 1740), as a former Tsar (reigned as an infant, 1740–1741), represented a potential focus of dissident support for successive rulers of Russia, who held him in prison. When she became Empress in 1762 Catherine tightened the conditions of his incarceration. His jailers in the prison of Shlisselburg killed Ivan, as per standing instructions, in the course of an attempt to free him in 1764.
- Yemelyan Pugachev (1740/1742–1775) identified himself in 1773 as Tsar Peter III of Russia (Catherine's late husband). His armed rebellion, aiming to seize power and to banish the Empress to a monastery, became a serious menace until crushed in 1774. The authorities had Pugachev executed in Moscow in January 1775.
- Princess Tarakanova (1753–1775) declared herself in Paris in 1774 as Elizabeth's daughter by Alexis Razumovsky and as the sister of Pugachev. The Empress Catherine dispatched Alexey Orlov to Italy, where he captured Tarakanova in Livorno. When brought to Russia in 1775, Tarakanova went to prison in the Peter and Paul Fortress, where she died of tuberculosis in December 1775.<sup>[74][75]</sup> There are rumors that this death was faked and that she was confined to a nunnery in Moscow in 1785, where she died in 1810.<sup>[76]</sup>



Paul I of Russia, Catherine's son and successor.

### The Rise of Pretenders

During the eighteenth century there were no fewer than forty-four pretenders in Russia, twenty-six of which were during Catherine's reign. Pretenders plagued Catherine the Great's reign in a way unmatched by any other period in Russian history. At least seventeen of the twenty-six pretenders during Catherine's reign appeared in one of three clusters; six from 1764–1765, six from 1772–1774, and five from 1782–1786. Pretenders did not plague Catherine's reign because of her sex or nationality since pretenders never threatened other female rulers or rulers of foreign descent in the way that Catherine II was. The rise of pretenders was not related to war or famine as neither appeared consistently with the pretenders. If there tended to be any form of famine during a pretender's rise it was during their claim to power and not inspired by it. Catherine's illegitimate rise to power through the assassination of her husband, Peter III, did not inspire the pretenders since Elizabeth II, who came to power in a similar fashion to Catherine, never had the same problem. Evidence suggests that pretenders plagued Catherine's reign for economic reasons. An important correlation between the three clusters is that the economic standing of serfs was declining. The condition of serfs worsened at the start of Catherine's reign because there was a sharp increase, 47%, in the number of peasants on state land and an establishment of a poll tax. The decline of pretenders illustrates the correlation between the conditions of serfs and the appearance of pretenders in the last third of Catherine's reign because she improved legal and economic conditions for the serfs to deter future pretenders. The serfs were not the only social group that suffered from worsening economic conditions. Leading into Catherine's reign both the *odnodvortsy* and *cossacks* faced a harsh decline in their economic standing. The *odnodvortsy* were particularly upset about the decline in their economic standing because they were descendents of wealthy landowning servicemen. The *odnodvortsy* were



angered even more in some regions of Russia as land lords expanded their property claiming *odnodvortsy* and peasants as serfs. The declining standing of the *odnodvortsy* and cossacks created motivation to become pretenders especially during the 1760s. Even more importantly the *odnodvortsy* and cossacks were vital support for pretenders because of their military experience.<sup>[77]</sup>

At least sixteen pretenders during Catherine's reign claimed that they were the deposed tsar, Peter III. A less common position pretenders claimed during Catherine's reign was that of Ivan VI. Ivan VI was a potential threat to Catherine since he was exiled as an infant and could lay claim to the throne. Peter III was the more popular option for pretenders since there existed legends that he was not actually dead, allowing pretenders to convince discontented Russians they were Peter III. Peter III was also popular among Russians because of his benevolent rule. Pretenders claiming to be Peter III using his popularity among Russians to gain support. Pretenders had to be careful to establish themselves as the ruler they claimed to be without being recognized as a normal mortal and not of royal blood. One popular way to prevent recognition was to claim their right to royalty far from their home as both Emal'Ian Ivanovich Pugachev and the pretender Artem'ev did. Pretenders also had to account for where they had disappeared to for the time since their reported deaths. For example, Pugachev claimed that he spent the eleven years since Peter III's reported death wandering abroad as far as Egypt or Constantinople.<sup>[78]</sup>

### **Pretenders and Royal Marks**

Many Russians believed that tsars and tsarevichs bore special marks on their bodies symbolizing their royal status which became known as royal marks. Four of the pretenders claiming to be Peter III showed royal marks to legitimize their claims. The first fake Peter to have royal marks was Gavril Kremnev who Lev Evdokimov recognized because of a cross on Kremnev's foot. Lev Evdokimov claimed that he had worked as a chorister at the royal palace and had held the real Peter III in his arms as a child therefore giving credibility to Kremnev's claims. Despite Kremnev's marking, he never gained many supporters and was flogged and branded with the words, "deserter and pretender". The next fake Peter III to show a royal mark of some sort was Fedot Kazin-Bogomolov in 1772. He showed a guard where he was imprisoned a cross on his chest and claimed he had two more on his arm and head allowing him to gain many supporters. The government branded Kazin-Bogomolov despite his markings. The third Peter III with royal marks was the most famous of the four and the most successful pretender of the time, Pugachev. In 1773 Pugachev staged a revealing of his royal identity to a cossack, Eremina Kuritsa, leading other cossacks to challenge Pugachev at dinner, which resulted in him showing scars on his chest and head to the cossacks. Pugachev claimed the scars on his chest were caused from the coup against him and that the scars on his forehead were from smallpox. Pugachev's rational reasoning for his markings caused him to continually gain supporters throughout his stand as a pretender. Unlike the first two pretenders to show royal marks, Pugachev's efforts cost him his life since his punishment was execution. The final pretender during Catherine's reign to reveal royal marks was Makar Mosiakin in 1774. Mosiakin entered a peasant hut claiming to be Peter III and then proceeded to show the peasants crosses on his arms which he claimed to represent royal inheritance. According the official report of the Mosiakin he had made the cross marks himself to convince people that he was Peter III and he actually had some success as he managed to gain followers from various villages as he went from house to house.<sup>[79]</sup>

### **Succession to the throne**

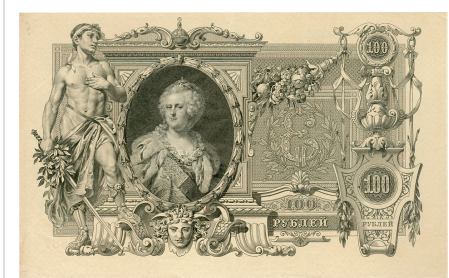
On a date already set for a week after she died, Catherine had intended to formally announce<sup>[66]</sup> that Paul would be excluded from the succession, and that the crown would go to her eldest grandson, Alexander (whom she greatly favored, and who subsequently became the emperor Alexander I in 1801). Her harshness towards Paul probably stemmed as much from political distrust as from what she saw of his character. Keeping Paul in a state of semi-captivity in Gatchina and Pavlovsk, she resolved not to allow her son to dispute or to share in her authority during her lifetime.

## Titles and styles

- **2 May 1729 – 21 August 1745:** *Her Serene Highness* Princess Sophie of Anhalt-Zerbst
- **21 August 1745 – 25 December 1761:** *Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Catherine Alekseiévna of Russia*
- **25 December 1761 – 9 July 1762:** *Her Imperial Majesty* The Empress of All the Russias (as Empress consort)
- **9 July 1762 – 17 November 1796:** *Her Imperial Majesty* The Empress and Autocrat of All the Russias (as Empress regnant)

## In popular culture

- Catherine commissioned "The Bronze Horseman" statue, which stands in Saint Petersburg on the banks of the Neva River. She had the large boulder it stands on transported from several leagues away. Catherine had it inscribed with the Latin phrase "Petro Primo Catharina Secunda MDCCLXXXII," meaning "Catherine the Second to Peter the First, 1782," to gain legitimacy by connecting herself to the "Founder of Modern Russia." This statue later inspired Pushkin's famous poem *The Bronze Horseman* (1833).
- Numerous dramatizations based on the life of Catherine II have appeared:
  - The 1934 film *Catherine the Great* (based on the play *The Czarina* by Lajos Biró and Melchior Lengyel) stars Elisabeth Bergner as Catherine.
  - Also in 1934, the film *The Scarlet Empress* appeared, directed by Josef von Sternberg and starring Marlene Dietrich.
  - In 1944, Mae West's Broadway play *Catherine Was Great* dealt humorously with the many men in the empress's life.<sup>[80]</sup>
  - In 1945 *A Royal Scandal*, directed by Ernst Lubitsch and Otto Preminger, stars Tallulah Bankhead and Charles Coburn.
  - A 1991 TV miniseries *Young Catherine* features Julia Ormond in the role of Catherine.
  - Catherine Zeta-Jones portrayed Catherine in the 1995 television movie *Catherine the Great*.
  - In 2005 Emily Bruni portrayed the empress in the feature length PBS documentary *Catherine the Great*.
- One of Serbia's most famed New Wave bands, Ekatarina Velika (which translates as "Catherine the Great") (1982–94), took its name from Catherine II of Russia.
- Folk rock songwriter Freddy Blohm's "Catherine, You're Great!" relates Catherine's most infamous myth from an equine point of view.
- The Barenaked Ladies song "Go Home" has a line concerning this urban legend as well: "If you think of her as Catherine the Great // Then you should be the horse to help her meet her fate."
- Catherine appears with George Washington, Napoleon Bonaparte, Robert Clive, and other past world leaders in an early 2000s Play Station 2 version of the game RISK.
- The Grateful Dead song "Hell In a Bucket" has the line "Well we know you're the reincarnation of the ravenous Catherine the Great."
- In the 2002 television series *Clone High*, the clone of JFK supposedly has sex with Catherine's clone, complaining when someone disturbs his activities that he's "trying to nail Catherine the Great" – but quickly corrects himself, adding "Or should I say, Catherine the So-So." Catherine's clone appears several times in the series, depicted as having an hourglass figure, blonde curly hair, and speaking with a California Valley Girl accent. She usually wears white pedal pushers and a light blue midriff top.
- German chancellor Angela Merkel reportedly has a picture of Catherine II in her office, and characterises her as a "strong woman."<sup>[81]</sup>



1910 100-ruble banknote

- The Russian slang word for money "babki" (literally: "old women") refers to the image of Catherine II printed on pre-Revolution 100-ruble banknotes.
- In the anime *Le Chevalier D'Eon*, a young Catherine the Great appears under her Russian name of Ekaterina. As in real life, she takes over Russia from Peter (Pyotr). She despises him and has no problems overthrowing him. Jessica Boone voices the character in the English adaptation, and Sachiko Takaguchi in the Japanese version.
- In the computer games *Civilization III*, *Civilization V*, and *Civilization Revolution*, Catherine is the sole option as the leader of the Russian Empire. In *Civilization II*, Catherine is the female leader while Lenin is the male counterpart, while in *Civilization IV*, Catherine is one leader choice; other choices are Peter I, or Stalin with Warlords Expansion. Diplomacy dialogue with Catherine in *Civilization IV* as well as the body language of the animation portray her as promiscuous, in reference to her private life and the legends.
- In *The Big Bang Theory* episode, "*The Skank Reflex*" (22 September 2011), Amy tries to comfort Penny by contrasting her sleeping with Raj, after a night of heavy drinking, to the myth that Catherine the Great once "used an intricate system of pulleys to have intimate relations with a horse," with her point being that "she engaged in interspecies hanky-panky, and people still call her great."<sup>[82]</sup>

## Gallery



Equestrian portrait of Catherine II in the attire of a male officer



Portrait by Albert Albertrandi of Catherine II, circa 1770



Portrait by Mikhail Shibanov of Catherine II in traveling-costume, 1787



Portrait of Catherine II by Dmitry Levitsky, by 1782

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## External links


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- Catherine the Great (<http://www.datesofhistory.com/Catherine-II-the-Great-Russia.biog.html>) @ Chronology World History Database
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  - Briefly about Catherine: The Enlightened Despots (<http://staff.gps.edu/mines/Age of Absol - Enlightend Despots.htm>)
  - (Russian) Family tree of the ancestors of Catherine the Great ([http://russia-today.narod.ru/past/gen\\_app/ekat2.htm](http://russia-today.narod.ru/past/gen_app/ekat2.htm))
  - The Princess Who Become Catherine the Great (<http://members.tripod.com/~Nevermore/CGREAT.HTM>) @ the Ursula's History Web
  - Filmography:
    - The Scarlet Empress (1934): Directed by Josef von Sternberg; starring Marlene Dietrich
    - The Rise of Catherine the Great (1934): Directed by Paul Czinner; starring Elisabeth Bergner
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  - (Russian) Photos Empress Catherine II of Sevastopol ([http://www.gorod-geroy.info/2008/07/01/imperatriza\\_ekaterina\\_ii.html](http://www.gorod-geroy.info/2008/07/01/imperatriza_ekaterina_ii.html))
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# Chandragupta II

Chandragupta II The Great  
(Vikramaditya)

Gupta Emperor



Coin of Chandragupta II the Great, British Museum.

Reign	375–415 CE
Predecessor	Ramagupta
Successor	Kumara Gupta I
Consort	Dhruvswamini
Royal House	Gupta dynasty
Father	Samudra Gupta
Mother	Datta Devi
Religious beliefs	Hinduism

**Chandragupta II The Great**, very often referred to as **Vikramaditya** or **Chandragupta Vikramaditya** in Sanskrit; was one of the most powerful emperors of the Gupta empire in northern India. His rule spanned c. 380–413/415 CE, during which the Gupta Empire achieved its zenith, art, architecture, and sculpture flourished, and the cultural development of ancient India reached its climax.<sup>[1]</sup> The period of prominence of the Gupta dynasty is very often referred to as the *Golden Age* of India. Chandragupta II was the son of the previous ruler, Samudragupta the Great. He attained success by pursuing both a favorable marital alliance and an aggressive expansionist policy in this which his father and grandfather (Chandragupta I) set the precedent. Samudragupta set the stage for the emergence of classical art, which occurred under the rule of Chandragupta II. Chandragupta II gave great support to the arts. Artists were so highly valued under his rule that they were paid for their work — a rare phenomenon in ancient civilizations.<sup>[2]</sup>

From 388 to 409 he subjugated Gujarat, the region north of Mumbai, Saurashtra, in western India, and Malwa, with its capital at Ujjain.<sup>[3]</sup> Culturally, the reign of Chandragupta II marked a *Golden Age*. This is evidenced by later reports of the presence of a circle of poets known as the *Nine Gems* in his court. The greatest among them was Kalidasa, who authored numerous immortal pieces of literature including *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*. The others included Sanskrit grammarian Amara Sinha and the astronomer-mathematician Varahamihira.

## Mentions in literature

Not much is known about the personal details of Chandragupta II. The most widely accepted details have been built upon the plot of the play *Devi-chandraguptam* by Vishakadatta. The play is now lost, but fragments have been preserved in other works (such as *Abhinava-bharati*, *Sringara-prakasha*, *Natya-darpana*, *Nataka-lakshana* *Ratna-kosha*). There even exists an Arabic work, written in Persia near the Indian subcontinent, *Mojmal al-tawarikh* (12th century CE) which tells a similar tale of a king whose name appears to be a corruption of 'Vikramaditya'. The name 'Vikramaditya' holds a semi-mythical status in India. India has many interesting stories about King Vikramaditya, his guru Manva-Patwa and his queens. It is widely believed that the great poet in Sanskrit, Kalidasa was one of the jewels of Vikramaditya's royal court.

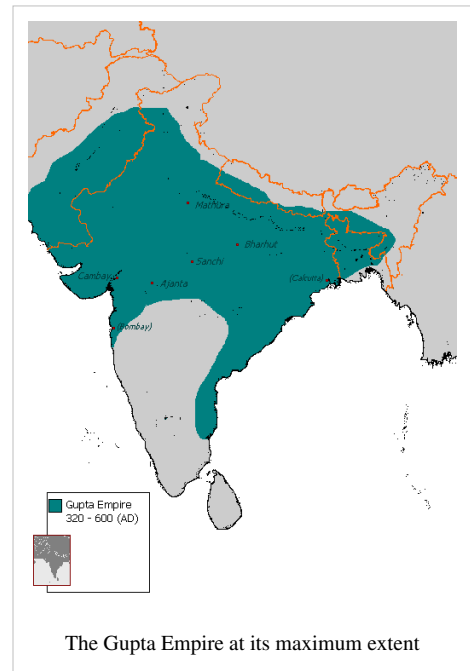
## Biography

### Early life and coronation

Chandragupta II's mother, Datta Devi, was the chief queen of Samudragupta the Great. After Samudragupta's death his elder son, Ramagupta, took over the throne and married Chandragupta II's fiancée Dhruvaswamini by force. The fragment from Vishakadatta's "*Natya-darpana*" mentions the king Ramagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II, deciding to surrender his queen Dhruvaswamini to the Saka ruler of the Western Kshatrapas Rudrasimha III (r. 388 - 395 CE), after a defeat at the Saka ruler's hands. To avoid the ignominy the Guptas decide to send Madhavasena, a courtesan and a beloved of Chandragupta II, disguised as the queen Dhruvaswamini. Chandragupta II changes the plan and himself goes to Rudrasimha III disguised as the queen. He then assassinates Rudrasimha III and later his brother Ramagupta. Dhruvaswamini is then married to Chandragupta II.

Historians still don't know what liberties the author Vishakadatta took with the incidents, but Dhruvadevi was indeed Chandragupta II's Chief Queen as seen in the Vaisali Terracotta Seal that calls her "Mahadevi" (Chief Queen) Dhruvaswamini. The Bilsad Pillar Inscription of their son Kumaragupta I (r. 414–455 CE) also refers to her as "Mahadevi Dhruvadevi". Certain "Ramagupta" too is mentioned in inscriptions on Jain figures in the District Archaeological Museum, Vidisha and some copper coins found at Vidisha.

The fact that Chandragupta II and Dhruvadevi are the protagonists of Vishakadatta's play indicates that marrying his widowed sister-in-law was not given any significance by the playwright. Later Hindus did not view such a marriage with favour and some censure of the act is found in the Sanjan Copper Plate Inscription of Rashtrakuta ruler Amoghavarsha I (r. 814-878 CE) and in the Sangali and Cambay Plates of the Govinda IV (r. 930-936 CE).



## Vakataka-Gupta Age

The Allahabad Pillar Inscription mentions the marriage of Chandragupta II with a Naga princess Kuberanaga. A pillar from Mathura referring to Chandragupta II has recently been dated to 388 CE.<sup>[4]</sup>

Chandragupta II's daughter, Prabhavatigupta, by his Naga queen Kuberanaga was married to the powerful Vakataka dynasty ruler Rudrasena II (r.380-385 CE).

His greatest victory was his victory over the Shaka-Kshatrapa dynasty and annexation of their kingdom in Gujarat, by defeating their last ruler Rudrasimha III.

Chandragupta II's son-in-law, the Vakataka ruler Rudrasena II, died fortuitously after a very short reign in 385 CE, following which Queen Prabhavati Gupta (r. 385-405) ruled the Vakataka kingdom as a regent on behalf of her two sons. During this twenty-year period the Vakataka realm was practically a part of the Gupta empire. The geographical location of the Vakataka kingdom allowed Chandragupta II to take the opportunity to defeat the Western Kshatrapas once for all. Many historians refer to this period as the Vakataka-Gupta Age.



Gold coins of Chandragupta II the Great. The one on the left is the obverse of a so-called "Chhatra" type of Chandragupta II, while the one on the right is the obverse of a so-called "Archer" type of Chandragupta II.

Chandragupta II controlled a vast empire, from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Indus River and from what is now North Pakistan down to the mouth of the Narmada. Pataliputra continued to be the capital of his huge empire but Ujjain too became a sort of second capital. The large number of beautiful gold coins issued by the Gupta dynasty are a testament to the imperial grandeur of that age. Chandragupta II also started producing silver coins in the Saka tradition.

## Visit of Faxian

Faxian (337 – c. 422 CE) was the first of three great Chinese pilgrims who visited India from the fifth to the seventh centuries CE, in search of knowledge, manuscripts and relics. Faxian arrived during the reign of Chandragupta II and gave a general description of North India at that time. Among the other things, he reported about the absence of capital punishment, the lack of a poll-tax and land tax. Most citizens did not consume onions, garlic, meat, and wine.

## Campaigns against foreign tribes

4th century CE Sanskrit poet Kalidasa, credits Chandragupta Vikramaditya with having conquered about twenty one kingdoms, both in and outside India. After finishing his campaign in the East and West India, Vikramaditya (Chandra Gupta II) proceeded northwards, subjugated the Parasikas (Persians), then the Hunas and the Kambojas tribes located in the west and east Oxus valleys respectively. Thereafter, the king proceeds across the Himalaya and reduced the Kinnaras, Kiratas etc. and lands into India proper.<sup>[5]</sup> The *Brihatkathamajari* of the Kashmiri writer Kshemendra states, king Vikramaditya (Chandra Gupta II) had "unburdened the sacred earth of the Barbarians like the



Coin of Vikramaditya Chandragupta II with the name of the king in Brahmi script, 380–415 CE.



Sakas, Mlecchas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Tusharas, Parasikas, Hunas, etc. by annihilating these sinful Mlecchas completely".<sup>[6][7][8]</sup>

## End of Chandragupta II

Chandragupta II was succeeded by his second son Kumaragupta I, born of Mahadevi Dhruvasvamini.<sup>[9]</sup>

## Religion

From Chandragupta II kings of Gupta dynasty are known as *Parama Bhagavatas* or *Bhagavata Vaishnavas*.

The Bhagavata Purana entails the fully developed tenets and philosophy of the Bhagavata tradition wherein Krishna gets fused with Vasudeva and transcends Vedic Vishnu and cosmic Hari to be turned into the ultimate object of bhakti.<sup>[10]</sup>

## Coinage

Chandragupta continued issuing most of the gold coin types introduced by his father Samudragupta, such as the Sceptre type (rare for Chandragupta II), the Archer type, and the Tiger-Slayer type. However, Chandragupta II also introduced several new types, such as the Horseman type and the Lion-slayer type, both of which were used by his son Kumaragupta I.

In addition, Chandragupta II was the first Gupta king to issue silver coins, such as the one illustrated at right. These coins were intended to replace the silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapas after Chandragupta II defeated them, and were modeled on the Kshatrapa coinage. The main difference was to replace the dynastic symbol of the Kshatrapas (the three-arched hill) by the dynastic symbol of the Guptas (the mythic eagle Garuda). Further, Chandragupta also issued lead coins based on Kshatrapa prototypes and rare copper coins probably inspired by the coins of another tribe he defeated, the Nagas.



Silver coin of Chandragupta II the Great, minted in his Western territories, in the style of the Western Satraps. **Obv:** Bust of king, with corrupted Greek legend "OOIHU".<sup>[11][12]</sup> **Rev:** Legend in Brahmi, "Chandragupta Vikramaditya, King of Kings, and a devotee of Vishnu", around Garuda, the mythic eagle and dynastic symbol of the Guptas. 15mm, 2.1 grams. Mitchiner 4821-4823.

## Vikram-Samvat Calender

The next day after the Hindu festival Diwali is called Padwa or Varshapratipada, which marks the coronation of King Vikramaditya. He was a Hindu king who ruled in first century BCE. The title 'Vikramaditya' was later used by Chandragupta II as well. Vikram-Samvat calender starts from 57 BCE. The Hindu Vikram-Samvat calendar is celebrated as New Year's Day in Nepal where Vikram Sambat is the official calendar.

## Iron pillar of Delhi

Close to the Qutub Minar is one of Delhi's most curious structures, an iron pillar, dating back to 4th century CE. The pillar bears an inscription which states that it was erected as a flagstaff in honour of the Hindu god Vishnu, and in the memory of Chandragupta II (A derivation of "*Natya-darpana*" by Vishakadata states that the pillar had been put up by Chandragupta II himself after defeating Vahilakas. And after this great feat, he put up this pillar as a memory of the victory). The pillar also highlights ancient India's achievements in metallurgy. The pillar is made of 98% wrought iron and has stood more than 1,600 years without rusting or decomposing. This iron pillar is similar to the pillars of Asoka.



The iron pillar of Delhi, erected by Chandragupta II the Great

## Notes

- [1] <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/92493/Chandra-Gupta-II>>.
- [2] AUTHOR ushistory.org TITLE OF PAGE The Gupta Period of India TITLE OF PROGRAM Ancient Civilizations Online Textbook URL OF PAGE <http://www.ushistory.org/civ/8e.asp> DATE OF ACCESS Thursday, November 10, 2011 COPYRIGHT 2011
- [3] <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/92493/Chandra-Gupta-II>>.
- [4] Falk, Harry. (2004) "The Kaniṣka era in Gupta Records." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 10. Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies, pp. 167-176.
- [5] Raghu Vamsa v 4.60–75
- [6] ata shrivikramadityo helya nirjitakhilah Mlechchana Kamboja. Yavanan neechan Hunan Sabarbran Tushara. Parsikaanshcha tayakatacharan vishrankhalan hatya bhrubhangamatreyanah bhuvo bharamavarayate (Brahata Katha, 10/1/285-86, Kshemendra).
- [7] Kathasritsagara 18.1.76–78
- [8] Cf: "In the story contained in Kathasarit-sagara, king Vikarmaditya is said to have destroyed all the barbarous tribes such as the Kambojas, Yavanas, Hunas, Tokharas and the Persians" (See: Ref: Reappraising the Gupta History, 1992, p 169, B. C. Chhabra, Sri Ram; Cf also: Vikrama Volume, 1948, p xxv, Vikramāditya Śākāri; cf: Anatomīā i fiziologiā sel'skokhoziā istvennykh zhivotnykh, 1946, p 264, Arthur John Arberry, Louis Renou, B. K. Hindse, A. V. Leontovich, National Council of Teachers of English Committee on Recreational Reading – Sanskrit language.
- [9] Agarwal, Ashvini (1989). Rise and Fall of the Imperial Guptas, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, ISBN 81-208-0592-5, pp.191–200
- [10] Kalyan Kumar Ganguli: (1988). *Śraddhā njali*, *Studies in Ancient Indian History: D.C. Sircar Commemoration: Puranic tradition of Krishna*. Sundeep Prakashan. ISBN 81-85067-10-4.p.36
- [11] "The conquest is indicated by the issue of the new Gupta silver coinage modelled on the previous Saka coinage showing on observe the King's head, Greek script, and dates as on Saka coins" in *Early history of Jammu region: pre-historic to 6th century A.D.* by Raj Kumar p.511 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=pSKNeJsH7QgC&pg=PA511>)
- [12] "Evidence of the conquest of Saurashtra during the reign of Chandragupta II is to be seen in his rare silver coins which are more directly imitated from those of the Western Satraps... they retain some traces of the old inscriptions in Greek characters, while on the reverse, they substitute the Gupta type (a peacock) for the chaitya with crescent and star." in Rapson "A catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum. The Andhras etc...", p.cli. Most people now realize that Rapson was mistaken in identifying the central bird as a peacock; rather, it is the mythic eagle Garuda, the dynastic symbol of the Guptas. For example, A.S. Altekar says: "... the three-arched hill in the centre is replaced by Garuda, which was the imperial insignia of the Guptas. The view of earlier writers ... that the bird is a peacock is clearly untenable." in Altekar: *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, "Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University, 1957, p. 151.


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## External links


- Coins of Chandragupta II (<http://coinindia.com/galleries-chandragupta2.html>)
- Coins of Chandragupta II from the Shivlee Collection (<http://www.shivlee.com/chandraguptaicoins.html>)

# Charlemagne

Charlemagne	
<i>Rex Francorum</i> (King of the Franks) <i>Rex Longobardorum</i> (King of the Lombards) <i>Imperator Romanorum</i> (Emperor of the Romans)	
	
A coin of Charlemagne with the inscription <i>KAROLVS IMP AVG</i> ("Carolus Imperator Augustus")	
<b>Reign</b>	768–814
<b>Coronation</b>	Noyon, 9 October 768 Pavia, 10 July 774 Rome, 25 December 801
<b>Predecessor</b>	Pepin the Short
<b>Successor</b>	Louis the Pious
<b>Father</b>	Pepin the Short
<b>Mother</b>	Bertrada of Laon
<b>Born</b>	2 April 742 (Unsure) Liège
<b>Died</b>	28 January 814 (aged around 71) Aachen
<b>Burial</b>	Aachen Cathedral

Blessed Carolus Magnus	
<div></div> <p>Reliquary of Blessed Charles Augustus</p>	
Honored in	Roman Catholic Church (Germany and France)
Beatified	814, Aachen by a court bishop, later confirmed by Pope Benedict XIV <sup>[1]</sup>
Canonized	1166 by Antipope Paschal III <sup>[1]</sup>
Major shrine	Aachen Cathedral
Feast	28 January (Aachen and Osnabrück)
Attributes	Fleur-de-lis; German Eagle
Patronage	Lovers (both licit and illicit), schoolchildren, the Kings of France and Germany, men on horseback, men on the scaffold, crusaders

Carolingian dynasty
<b>Pippinids</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Pippin the Elder (c. 580–640)</li><li>• Grimoald (616–656)</li><li>• Childebert the Adopted (d. 662)</li></ul>
<b>Arnulfings</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Arnulf of Metz (582–640)</li><li>• Chlodulf of Metz (d. 696 or 697)</li><li>• Ansegisel (c. 602–before 679)</li><li>• Pippin the Middle (c. 635–714)</li><li>• Grimoald II (d. 714)</li><li>• Drogo of Champagne (670–708)</li><li>• Theudoald (d. 714)</li></ul>
<b>Carolingians</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Charles Martel (686–741)</li><li>• Carloman (d. 754)</li><li>• Pepin the Short (714–768)</li><li>• Carloman I (751–771)</li><li>• Charlemagne (d. 814)</li><li>• Louis the Pious (778–840)</li></ul>
<b>After the Treaty of Verdun (843)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Lothair I, Holy Roman Emperor (795–855) (Middle Francia)</li><li>• Charles the Bald (823–877) (Western Francia)</li><li>• Louis the German (804–876) (Eastern Francia)</li></ul>

**Charlemagne** (  /'ʃɑrlɛmɛɪn/ or /'ʃɑrləmeɪn/; French pronunciation: [ʃaʁ.lə.maɲ]; c. 742 – 28 January 814), also known as **Charles the Great** (Latin: *Carolus Magnus* or *Karolus Magnus*), was King of the Franks from 768 and Emperor of the Romans (*Imperator Romanorum*) from 800 to his death in 814. He expanded the Frankish kingdom into an empire that incorporated much of Western and Central Europe. During his reign, he conquered Italy and was crowned *Imperator Augustus* by Pope Leo III on 25 December 800 in Rome.

His rule is also associated with the Carolingian Renaissance, a revival of art, religion, and culture through the medium of the Catholic Church. Through his foreign conquests and internal reforms, Charlemagne helped define both Western Europe and the European Middle Ages. He is numbered as **Charles I** in the regnal lists of Germany, the Holy Roman Empire, and France.

The son of King Pepin the Short and Bertrada of Laon, a Frankish queen, he succeeded his father in 768 and was initially co-ruler with his brother Carloman I. It has often been suggested that the relationship between Charlemagne and Carloman was not good, but it has also been argued that tensions were exaggerated by Carolingian chroniclers.<sup>[2]</sup>

Nevertheless further conflict was prevented by the sudden death of Carloman in 771, in unexplained circumstances. Charlemagne continued the policy of his father towards the papacy and became its protector, removing the Lombards from power in Italy, and leading an incursion into Muslim Spain, to which he was invited by the Muslim governor of Barcelona. Charlemagne was promised several Iberian cities in return for giving military aid to the governor; however, the deal was withdrawn.

Subsequently, Charlemagne's retreating army experienced its worst defeat at the hands of the Basques, at the Battle of Roncevalles (778) (memorialised, although heavily fictionalised, in the *Song of Roland*). He also campaigned against the peoples to his east, especially the Saxons, and after a protracted war subjected them to his rule. By forcibly Christianizing the Saxons and banning on penalty of death their native Germanic paganism, he integrated them into his realm and thus paved the way for the later Ottonian dynasty.

The French and German monarchies descending from the empire ruled by Charlemagne as Holy Roman Emperor cover most of Europe. In his acceptance speech of the Charlemagne Prize Pope John Paul II referred to him as the *Pater Europae* ("father of Europe"):<sup>[3]</sup> his empire united most of Western Europe for the first time since the Romans, and the Carolingian renaissance encouraged the formation of a common European identity.<sup>[4]</sup>

## Political background

By the 6th century, the West Germanic Franks had been Christianised and Francia, ruled by the Merovingians, was the most powerful of the kingdoms that succeeded the Western Roman Empire. But following the Battle of Tertry, the Merovingians declined into a state of powerlessness, for which they have been dubbed the do-nothing kings (*rois fainéants*). Almost all government powers of any consequence were exercised by their chief officer, the mayor of the palace or *major domus*.

In 687, Pippin of Herstal (or Heristal), mayor of the palace of Austrasia, ended the strife between various kings and their mayors with his victory at Tertry and became the sole governor of the entire Frankish kingdom. Pippin himself was the grandson of two of the most important figures of the Austrasian Kingdom, Saint Arnulf of Metz and Pippin of Landen. Pippin the Middle was eventually succeeded by his illegitimate son Charles, later known as Charles Martel (the Hammer).

After 737, Charles governed the Franks without a king on the throne but declined to call himself "king". Charles was succeeded in 741 by his sons Carloman and Pepin the Short, the father of Charlemagne. To curb separatism in the periphery of the realm, in 743 the brothers placed on the throne Childeric III, who was to be the last Merovingian king.

After Carloman resigned office in 746 to enter the church by preference as a monk, Pepin brought the question of the kingship before Pope Zachary, asking whether it was logical for a king to have no royal power. The pope handed down his decision in 749. He decreed (mandavit) that it was better for Pepin, who had the powers of high office as



Mayor, to be called king, so as not to confuse the hierarchy (*ordo*). He therefore ordered him (*iussit*) to become "true king."

In 750, Pepin was elected by an assembly of the Franks, anointed by the archbishop and then raised (*elevatus*) to the office of king. Branding Childeric III as "the false king," the Pope ordered him into a monastery. Thus was the Merovingian dynasty replaced by the Carolingian dynasty, named after Pepin's father, Charles Martel.

In 753 Pope Stephen II fled from Italy to Francia appealing for assistance *pro iustitiis sancti Petri* ("for the rights of St. Peter") to Pepin. He was supported in this appeal by Carloman, Charles' brother. In return the pope could only provide legitimacy, which he did by again anointing and confirming Pepin, this time adding his young sons, Carolus and Carloman, to the royal patrimony, now heirs to the great realm that already covered most of western and central Europe. In 754 Pepin accepted the Pope's invitation to visit Italy on behalf of St. Peter's rights, dealing successfully with the Lombards.<sup>[5]</sup>

Under the Carolingians, the Frankish kingdom spread to encompass an area including most of Western Europe. The division of that kingdom formed France and Germany;<sup>[6]</sup> and the religious, political, and artistic evolutions originating from a centrally positioned Francia made a defining imprint on the whole of Europe.

## Personal background

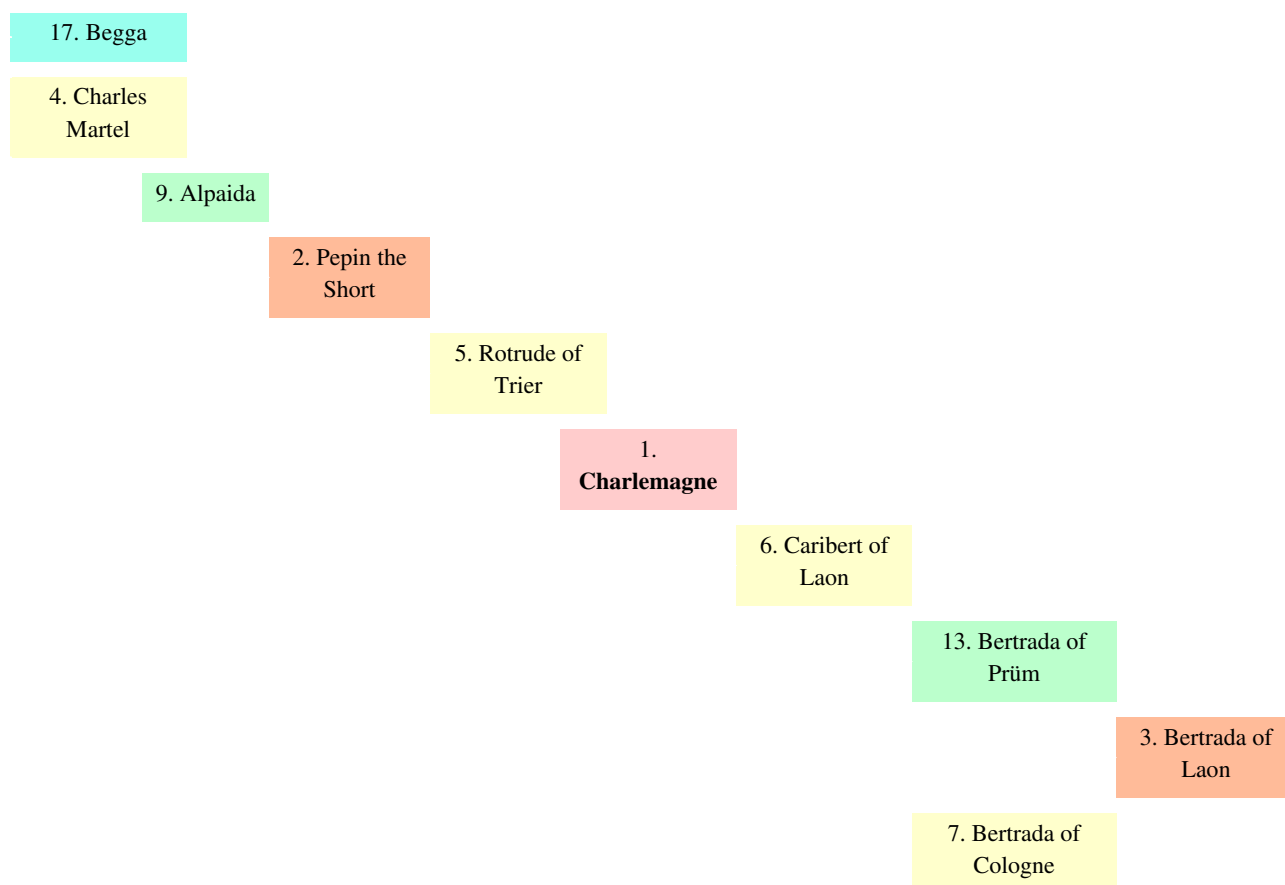
### Ancestry



Charles Martel, sarcophagus

16. Ansegisel

8. Pepin of  
Herstal



Charlemagne was the eldest child of Pepin the Short (714 – 24 September 768, reigned from 751) and his wife Bertrada of Laon (720 – 12 July 783), daughter of Caribert of Laon and Bertrada of Cologne. Records name only Carloman, Gisela, and three short-lived children named Pepin, Chrothais and Adelais as his younger siblings.

### Date of birth

The most likely date of Charlemagne's birth is reconstructed from a number of sources. A date of 742 calculated from Einhard's date of death as January 814 at age 72 suffers from the defect of being two years before his parents' marriage in 744. The year given in the *Annales Petaviani* as 747 would be more likely, except that it contradicts Einhard and a few other sources in making Charlemagne less than a septuagenarian at his death. A month and day of April 2 is established by a calendar from Lorsch Abbey.<sup>[7]</sup>

In 747 that day fell on Easter, a coincidence that would have been remembered but was not. If Easter was being used as the beginning of the calendar year, then 2 April 747 could have been, by modern reckoning, 2 April 748 (not on Easter). The date favored by the preponderance of evidence is 2 April 742, based on the septuagenarian age at death.<sup>[7]</sup> This date would appear to support an initial illegitimacy of birth, which is not, however, mentioned by Einhard.

## Place of birth

Charlemagne was most likely born in Herstal, Wallonia, where his father was born, a town close to Liège in modern day Belgium.<sup>[8]</sup> The Merovingians had a number of hunting villas in the vicinity. Liège is close to the region from where both the Merovingian and Carolingian families originated. He went to live in his father's villa in Jupille when he was around seven, which caused Jupille to be listed as a possible place of birth in almost every history book. Other cities have been suggested, including Aachen, Düren, Gauting, Mürtenbach,<sup>[9]</sup> and Prüm. No definitive evidence as to which is the right candidate exists.

## Name

Dubbed *Charles le Magne*, "Charles the Great," by subsequent Old French historians,<sup>[10]</sup> becoming Charlemagne in English after the Norman conquest of England, he was named Karl (Carolus) after his grandfather, Charles Martel. Carolus Magnus was universal, leading to numerous translations in many languages of Europe: German Karl der Grosse, Dutch Karel de Grote, Danish Karl den Store, Italian Carlo Magno, Hungarian Nagy Károly, Polish Karol Wielki, Czech Karel Veliký, Russian Karl Velikij, and so on.

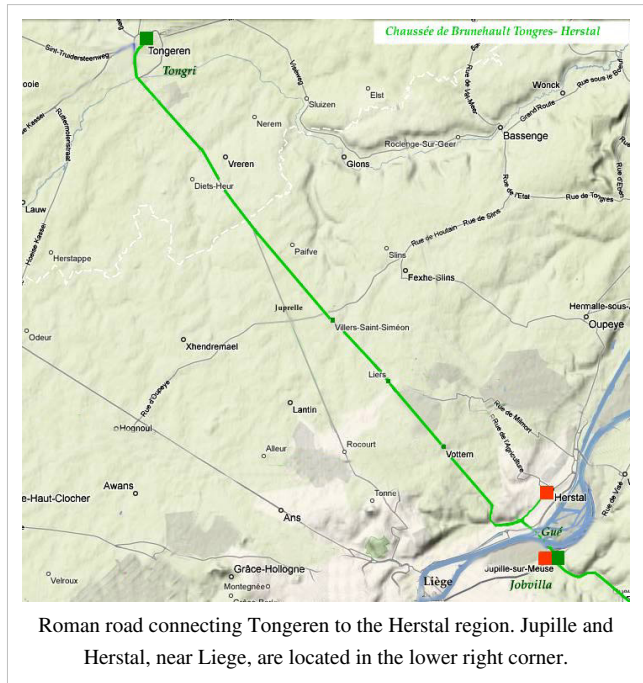
According to Julius Pokorny, the historical linguist and Indo-Europeanist, the root meaning of Karl is "old man", from Indo-European \*ǵer-, where the ǵ is a palatal consonant, meaning "to rub; to be old; grain." An old man has been worn away and is now grey with age.<sup>[11]</sup>

"Old man" descended into words with different senses. In all the reflex languages a husband is "the old man" or in feminine form "the old lady". He can be an "old fool" as in English churl or a "sad case" as in Persian zar, but in the Germanic languages he becomes something more exalted. Old Norse Karl, Old English Ceorl, Old High German karel is a free man, a citizen, not a slave or an alien. As far as the civilizations established in imitation of classical city-states are concerned, such as the Roman, which had its senatus, "the old men," Karl means respected senior, similar to the English vernacular for a commander, "the old man." The common Germanic was \*karilaz, on which the Latin Carolus, English Charles, is based.<sup>[12]</sup>

Regardless of its previously understood meaning, Charles' achievements altered the meaning of the word. In many European languages, the very word for "king" derives from his name; e.g., Polish: *król*, Czech: *král*, Slovak: *kráľ*, Hungarian: *király*, Lithuanian: *karalius*, Latvian: *karalis*, Russian: король, Macedonian: крал, Bulgarian: крал, Serbian: краљ/kralj, Croatian: *kralj*, Turkish: *kral*. This development parallels that of the name of the Caesars in the original Roman Empire, which became Kaiser and Czar, among others.<sup>[13]</sup>

## Language

By Charlemagne's time the French vernacular had already diverged significantly from Latin. This is evidenced by one of the regulations of the Council of Tours (813), which required that the parish priests preach either in the "rusticam Romanam linguam" (Romance) or "Theotiscam" (the Germanic vernacular) rather than in Latin. The goal of this rule was to make the sermons comprehensible to the common people, who must therefore have been either Romance speakers or Germanic speakers.<sup>[14]</sup> Charlemagne himself probably spoke a Rhenish Franconian dialect of Old High German.<sup>[15]</sup>



Roman road connecting Tongeren to the Herstal region. Jupille and Herstal, near Liège, are located in the lower right corner.

Apart from his native language he also spoke Latin "as well as his native tongue" and understood a bit of Greek, according to his biographer Einhard (*Grecam vero melius intellegere quam pronuntiare poterat*, "he could understand Greek better than he could speak it").<sup>[16]</sup> Einhard also writes that Charlemagne started a "grammar of his native language" and "gave the months names in his own tongue".<sup>[17]</sup> All of his daughters received Old High German names.

The largely fictional account of Charlemagne's Iberian campaigns by Pseudo-Turpin, written some three centuries after his death, gave rise to the legend that the king also spoke Arabic.<sup>[18]</sup>

## Appearance

Charlemagne's personal appearance is known from a good description by a personal associate, Einhard, author after his death of the biography *Vita Karoli Magni*. Einhard tells in his twenty-second chapter:<sup>[19]</sup>

"He was heavily built, sturdy, and of considerable stature, although not exceptionally so, since his height was seven times the length of his own foot. He had a round head, large and lively eyes, a slightly larger nose than usual, white but still attractive hair, a bright and cheerful expression, a short and fat neck, and he enjoyed good health, except for the fevers that affected him in the last few years of his life. Toward the end, he dragged one leg. Even then, he stubbornly did what he wanted and refused to listen to doctors, indeed he detested them, because they wanted to persuade him to stop eating roast meat, as was his wont, and to be content with boiled meat."



In the Cathedral of Moulins, France, end of the 15th century

The physical portrait provided by Einhard is confirmed by contemporary depictions of the emperor, such as coins and his 8-inch (**unknown operator: u'strong'** cm) bronze statue kept in the Louvre. In 1861, Charlemagne's tomb was opened by scientists who reconstructed his skeleton and estimated it to be measured 74.9 in (**unknown operator: u'strong'** cm).<sup>[20]</sup> An estimate of his height from an X-ray and CT Scan of his tibia performed in 2010 is 1.84 m (**unknown operator: u'strong'** in). This puts him in the 99th percentile of tall people of his period, given that average male height of his time was 1.69 m (**unknown operator: u'strong'** in). The width of the bone suggested he was gracile but not robust in body build.<sup>[21]</sup>

## Dress

Charlemagne wore the traditional costume of the Frankish people, described by Einhard thus:<sup>[22]</sup>

"He used to wear the national, that is to say, the Frank, dress-next his skin a linen shirt and linen breeches, and above these a tunic fringed with silk; while hose fastened by bands covered his lower limbs, and shoes his feet, and he protected his shoulders and chest in winter by a close-fitting coat of otter or marten skins."

He wore a blue cloak and always carried a sword with him. The typical sword was of a golden or silver hilt. He wore fancy jewelled swords to banquets or ambassadorial receptions. Nevertheless:<sup>[22]</sup>

"He despised foreign costumes, however handsome, and never allowed himself to be robed in them, except twice in Rome, when he donned the Roman tunic, chlamys, and shoes; the first time at the request of Pope Hadrian, the second to gratify Leo, Hadrian's successor."

He could rise to the occasion when necessary. On great feast days, he wore embroidery and jewels on his clothing and shoes. He had a golden buckle for his cloak on such occasions and would appear with his great diadem, but he despised such apparel, according to Einhard, and usually dressed like the common people.<sup>[22]</sup>



In the Bibliothèque Nationale de France

## Rise to power

### Early life

Einhard says of the early life of Charles:<sup>[23]</sup>

"It would be folly, I think, to write a word concerning Charles' birth and infancy, or even his boyhood, for nothing has ever been written on the subject, and there is no one alive now who can give information on it. Accordingly, I determined to pass that by as unknown, and to proceed at once to treat of his character, his deed, and such other facts of his life as are worth telling and setting forth, and shall first give an account of his deed at home and abroad, then of his character and pursuits, and lastly of his administration and death, omitting nothing worth knowing or necessary to know."

### The ambiguous high office

The most powerful officers of the Frankish people, the Mayor of the Palace (Maior Domus) and one or more kings (rex, reges) were appointed by election of the people; that is, no regular elections were held, but they were held as required to elect officers *ad quos summa imperii pertinebat*, "to whom the highest matters of state pertained." Evidently interim decisions could be made by the Pope, which ultimately needed to be ratified by an assembly of the people, which met once a year.<sup>[24]</sup>

Before Pepin the Short, initially a Mayor, was elected king in 750, he held the high office "as though hereditary" (velut hereditario fungebatur). Einhard explains that "the honor" was usually "given by the people" to the distinguished, but Pepin the Great and his brother Carloman the wise received it as though hereditary, as did their father, Charles Martel. There was, however, a certain ambiguity about quasi-inheritance. The office was treated as joint property: one Mayorship held by two brothers jointly.<sup>[25]</sup> Each, however, had his own geographic jurisdiction. When Carloman decided to resign, becoming ultimately a Benedictine at Monte Cassino,<sup>[26]</sup> the question of the



disposition of his quasi-share was settled by the pope. He converted the Mayorship into a Kingship and awarded the joint property to Pepin, who now had the full right to pass it on by inheritance.<sup>[27]</sup>

This decision was not accepted by all members of the family. Carloman had consented to the temporary tenancy of his own share, which he intended to pass on to his own son, Drogo, when the inheritance should be settled at someone's death. By the Pope's decision, in which Pepin had a hand, Drogo was to be disqualified as an heir in favor of his cousin Charles. He took up arms in opposition to the decision and was joined by Grifo, a half-brother of Pepin and Carloman, who had been given a share by Charles Martel, but was stripped of it and held under loose arrest by his half-brothers after an attempt to seize their shares by military action. By 753 all was over. Grifo perished in combat in the Battle of Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne while Drogo was hunted down and taken into custody.<sup>[28]</sup>

On the death of Pepin, September 24, 768, the kingship passed jointly to his sons, "with divine assent" (*divino nutu*).<sup>[27]</sup> According to the *Life*, Pepin died in Paris. The Franks "in general assembly" (*generali conventu*) gave them both the rank of king (*reges*) but "partitioned the whole body of the kingdom equally" (*totum regni corpus ex aequo partirentur*). The *annals*<sup>[29]</sup> tell a slightly different version. The king died at St. Denis, which is, however, still in Paris. The two "lords" (*domni*) were "elevated to kingship" (*elevati sunt in regnum*), Carolus on October 9 in Noyon, Carloman on an unspecified date in Soissons. If born in 742, Carolus was 26 years old, but he had been campaigning at his father's right hand for several years, which may help to account for his military skill and genius. Carloman was 17.

The language in either case suggests that there were not two inheritances, which would have created distinct kings ruling over distinct kingdoms, but a single joint inheritance and a joint kingship tenanted by two equal kings, Charles and his brother Carloman. As before, distinct jurisdictions were awarded. Charles received Pepin's original share as Mayor: the outer parts of the kingdom, bordering on the sea, namely Neustria, western Aquitaine, and the northern parts of Austrasia, while Carloman was awarded his uncle's former share: the inner parts: southern Austrasia, Septimania, eastern Aquitaine, Burgundy, Provence, and Swabia, lands bordering on Italy. The question of whether these jurisdictions were joint shares reverting to the other brother if one brother died or were inherited property passed on to the descendants of the brother who died was never definitely settled by the Frankish people. It came up repeatedly over the succeeding decades until the grandsons of Charlemagne created distinct sovereign kingdoms.

Further information: Mayor of the Palace

## Aquitanian rebellion

An inheritance in the countries formerly under Roman law (*ius* or *iustitia*) represented not only a transmission of the properties and privileges but also the encumbrances and obligations attached to the inheritance. Pepin at his death had been in process of building an empire, a difficult task.<sup>[30]</sup>

"In those times, to build a kingdom from an aggregation of small states was itself no great difficulty .... But to keep the state intact after it had been formed was a colossal task .... Each of the minor states ... had its little sovereign ... who ... gave himself chiefly to ... plotting, pillaging and fighting."

## Formation of a new Aquitania

Aquitania under Rome had been southern Gaul, which was Romanized and spoke a Romance language. Similarly Hispania had been populated by peoples speaking various languages, including Celtic, but was now populated entirely by Romance language speakers. Between Aquitania and Hispania were the Euskaldunak, Latinized to Vascones, or Basques,<sup>[31]</sup> living in Basque country, Vasconia, which extended, according to the distributions of place names attributable to the Basques, most densely in the western Pyrenees but also as far south as the upper Ebro River in Spain and as far north as the Garonne River in France.<sup>[32]</sup> The French name, Gascony, derives from Vasconia. The Romans were never able to entirely subject Vasconia. The parts which they did, in which they placed the region's first cities, were sources of legions in the Roman army valued for their fighting abilities. The border with Aquitania was Toulouse.

The Romans after the fall of their empire were replaced by the Visigoths in Spain and the Franks and Visigoths to the north. Although they had the authority of state, these Germanic tribes were thinly settled at best. They did not keep their languages long but were assimilated to the Romance-speaking prior populations. Romance was still spoken in Toulouse and to the east as well as on the Ebro. These authorities maintained relationships with the Basques that were fully as combative as the previous had been; moreover, the Basques on the whole had the upper hand. They began to raid and pillage to the north and east of their borders into territory then ruled by the Merovingians. They took slaves from the north and sold them to the south. Army after army was sent by the Franks. If the Basques could not win they retreated into the mountains. In 635 a Frankish column under Arnebert was massacred in the Haute Soule, a mountain valley.<sup>[33]</sup>

At about 660 the Duchy of Vasconia united with the Duchy of Aquitania to form a single kingdom under Felix of Aquitaine, governing from Toulouse. This was a joint kingship with a 28-year-old Basque king, Lupus I.<sup>[34]</sup> The kingdom was sovereign and independent. On the one hand Vasconia gave up predation to become a player on the field of European politics. On the other, whatever arrangements Felix had made with the weak Merovingians were null and void. At his death in 770 the joint property of the kingship reverted entirely to Lupus. As the Basques had no law of joint inheritance, but practiced primogeniture, Lupus in effect founded a hereditary dynasty of Basque kings of an expanded Aquitania.<sup>[35]</sup>

### Acquisition of Aquitania by the Carolingians

The Latin chronicles on the end of Visigothic Hispania leave much to be desired: identification of characters, filling in the gaps and reconciliation of the numerous contradictions.<sup>[36]</sup> The Saracen sources, however, present a more coherent view, such as the *Ta'rikh iftitah al-Andalus* ("History of the Conquest of al-Andalus") by Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, "the son of the Gothic woman," meaning by the named woman Sarah, granddaughter of the last king of all Visigothic Spain, who married a Saracen. Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, who had another, much longer name, must have been relying to some degree on family oral tradition.

According to Ibn al-Qūṭīyya<sup>[37]</sup> the last Visigothic king of a united Hispania died before his three sons: Almund, Romulo and Ardabast, reached majority. Their mother was regent at Toledo, but Roderic, army chief of staff, staged a rebellion, capturing Cordova. Of all the possible outcomes he chose to impose a joint rule over distinct jurisdictions on the true heirs. Evidence of a division of some sort can be found in the distribution of coins imprinted with the name of each king and in the king lists.<sup>[38]</sup> Wittiza is succeeded by Roderic, reigning 7.5 years, and a certain Achila (Aquila), reigning 3.5 years. If the reigns of both terminated with the incursion of the Saracens, then Roderic appears to have reigned a few years before the majority of Achila. The latter's kingdom is securely placed to the northeast, while Roderic seems to have taken the rest, notably Portugal.

Achila is undoubtedly Achila II of the coins and chronicles, who is stated by some chronicles to have been the son of Wittiza. How he fits into the Gothic woman's family tree is a problem. A scribal error in the transmission of her son's manuscript has been postulated: w.q.l.h for Waqla becomes r.m.l.h for Rumulu (Arabic like Hebrew writes only the consonants). Ardabast is generally identified with Ardo king of Septimania, 713-720.<sup>[39]</sup> The location of the share of Almun, or Olemundo, has not survived, but that he had one is assured by subsequent events.

In the account, a Christian merchant, Julian, left his daughter in the guardianship of Roderic (her mother had just died) while he conducted some business on Roderic's request in North Africa. Returning to find his daughter had been seduced by Roderic he simulated nonchalance and acceptance of that event, convincing Roderic to send him back on more business. Arriving there, however, he went to Tariq ibn Ziyad and convinced him to invade al-Andalus. En route the prophet Mohammed appeared to Tariq in a dream at the head of an army, telling him to go on. When the Saracens had landed in southern Spain Roderic establishing a base at Cordova reached out to the three sons of Wittiza asking for assistance in the common defense. The three arrived but not even daring to enter Cordova they sent to Tariq stating that Roderic was no better than a dog and offering submission and support in return for keeping their ancestral lands and privileges.<sup>[40]</sup> The offer having been accepted Roderic was defeated at the Battle of

Guadalete. It is not clear whether the royal Goths fought against him or simply withheld troops. "Weighed down with weapons he threw himself into the water and was never found."

The three royals travelled to Damascus to confirm their submissions:<sup>[41]</sup> "Aquila was nominated king of the Goths but in 714 he traveled with his brothers to Damascus and sold the kingdom to Caliph Walid I (705-15) for lands and money." Ardo went on as client-king in Provence. On the death of Almund he appropriated the latter's share of the joint property against the will of the children, who went to Syria to appeal the case. The Saracens moved against Ardo. The boys never recovered the land. One became a Christian bishop. The daughter, Sarah, accepted an arranged marriage with a Saracen, becoming known as "the Gothic woman." She played an important role subsequently in Moorish Spain.

The Saracens crossed the mountains to claim Ardo's Septimania, only to encounter the Basque dynasty of Aquitania, always the allies of the Goths. Odo the Great of Aquitania was at first victorious at the Battle of Bordeaux in 721.<sup>[42]</sup> Saracen troops gradually massed in Septimania and in 732 advanced into Vasconia, and Odo was defeated at the Battle of the River Garonne. They took Bordeaux and were advancing toward Tours when Odo, powerless to stop them, appealed to his arch-enemy, Charles Martel, mayor of the Franks. In one of the first of those lightning marches for which the Carolingian kings became famous, Charles and his army appeared in the path of the Saracens between Tours and Poitiers, and in the Battle of Tours settled the question of the Saracen advance into Europe. The Moors were defeated so conclusively that they retreated across the mountains, never to return, leaving Septimania to become part of Francia. Odo also had to pay the price of incorporation into Charles's kingdom, a decision that was repugnant to him and also to his heirs.

Further information: Umayyad conquest of Hispania

### **Loss and recovery of Aquitania**

After his death his son Hunald allied himself with free Lombardy, a violation of the sovereignty of Francia. However, Odo had left the kingdom ambiguously to his two sons jointly, Hunald and Hatto. The latter, loyal to Francia, now went to war with his brother over full possession. Victorious, Hunald blinded and imprisoned his brother, only to be so stricken by conscience that he resigned and entered the church as a monk to do penance.<sup>[43]</sup> His son Waifer took an early inheritance, becoming duke of Aquitania. Inheriting also the alliance with Lombardy, Waifer decided to honor it, repeating his father's treason, which he justified by arguing that any agreements with Charles Martel became invalid on Martel's death. Since Aquitania was now Pepin's inheritance, the latter and his son, the young Charles, hunted down Waifer, who could only conduct a guerrilla war, and executed him.<sup>[44]</sup>

Among the contingents of the Frankish army were Bavarians under Tassilo III, Duke of Bavaria, an Agilofing, the hereditary Bavarian royal family. Grifo had installed himself as Duke of Bavaria but Pepin replaced him with a member of the royal family yet a child, Tassilo, whose protector he had become after the death of his father. The loyalty of the Agilolfings was perpetually in question but Pepin exacted numerous oaths of loyalty from Tassilo. However, the latter had married Liutperga, a daughter of Desiderius, king of Lombardy. At a critical point in the campaign Tassilo with all his Bavarians left the field. Out of reach of Pepin, he repudiated all loyalty to Francia.<sup>[45]</sup> Pepin had no chance to respond as he grew ill and within a few weeks after the execution of Waifer died himself.

The first event of the brothers' reign was the uprising of the Aquitainians and Gascons, in 769, in that territory split between the two kings. Years before, Pepin had suppressed the revolt of Waifer, Duke of Aquitaine. Now, one Hunald (seemingly other than Hunald the duke) led the Aquitainians as far north as Angoulême. Charles met Carloman, but Carloman refused to participate and returned to Burgundy. Charles went to war, leading an army to Bordeaux, where he set up a fort at Fronsac. Hunald was forced to flee to the court of Duke Lupus II of Gascony. Lupus, fearing Charles, turned Hunald over in exchange for peace. He was put in a monastery. Aquitaine was finally fully subdued by the Franks.

## Union perforce

The brothers maintained lukewarm relations with the assistance of their mother Bertrada, but in 770 Charles signed a treaty with Duke Tassilo III of Bavaria and married a Lombard Princess (commonly known today as Desiderata), the daughter of King Desiderius, to surround Carloman with his own allies. Though Pope Stephen III first opposed the marriage with the Lombard princess, he would soon have little to fear from a Frankish-Lombard alliance.

Less than a year after his marriage, Charlemagne repudiated Desiderata, and quickly remarried to a 13-year-old Swabian named Hildegard. The repudiated Desiderata returned to her father's court at Pavia. The Lombard's wrath was now aroused and he would gladly have allied with Carloman to defeat Charles. But before any open hostilities could be declared, Carloman died on 5 December 771, seemingly of natural causes. Carloman's widow Gerberga fled to Desiderius' court in Lombardy with her sons for protection.

## Italian campaigns

### Conquest of Lombardy



The Frankish king Charlemagne was a devout Catholic and maintained a close relationship with the papacy throughout his life. In 772, when Pope Adrian I was threatened by invaders, the king rushed to Rome to provide assistance. Shown here, the pope asks Charlemagne for help at a meeting near Rome.

At the succession of Pope Adrian I in 772, he demanded the return of certain cities in the former exarchate of Ravenna as in accordance with a promise of Desiderius' succession. Desiderius instead took over certain papal cities and invaded the Pentapolis, heading for Rome. Adrian sent embassies to Charlemagne in autumn requesting he enforce the policies of his father, Pepin. Desiderius sent his own embassies denying the pope's charges. The embassies both met at Thionville and Charlemagne upheld the pope's side. Charlemagne promptly demanded what the pope had demanded and Desiderius promptly swore never to comply. Charlemagne and his uncle Bernard crossed the Alps in 773 and chased the Lombards back to Pavia, which they then besieged. Charlemagne temporarily left the siege to deal with Adelchis, son of Desiderius, who was raising an army at Verona. The young prince was chased to the Adriatic littoral and he fled to Constantinople to plead for assistance from Constantine V, who was waging war with Bulgaria.

The siege lasted until the spring of 774, when Charlemagne visited the pope in Rome. There he confirmed his father's grants of land, with some later chronicles claiming—falsely—that he also expanded them, granting Tuscany, Emilia, Venice, and Corsica. The pope granted him the title *patrician*. He then returned to Pavia, where the Lombards were on the verge of surrendering.

In return for their lives, the Lombards surrendered and opened the gates in early summer. Desiderius was sent to the abbey of Corbie and his son Adelchis died in Constantinople a patrician. Charles, unusually, had himself crowned with the Iron Crown and made the magnates of Lombardy do homage to him at Pavia. Only Duke Arechis II of Benevento refused to submit and proclaimed independence. Charlemagne was then master of Italy as king of the Lombards. He left Italy with a garrison in Pavia and a few Frankish counts in place that very year.

There was still instability, however, in Italy. In 776, Dukes Hrodgaud of Friuli and Hildebrand of Spoleto rebelled. Charlemagne rushed back from Saxony and defeated the duke of Friuli in battle. The duke was slain. The duke of Spoleto signed a treaty. Their co-conspirator, Arechis, was not subdued, and Adelchis, their candidate in Byzantium, never left that city. Northern Italy was now faithfully his.

## Southern Italy

In 787 Charlemagne directed his attention toward Benevento, where Arechis was reigning independently. Charlemagne besieged Salerno, and Arechis submitted to vassalage. However, with his death in 792, Benevento again proclaimed independence under his son Grimoald III. Grimoald was attacked by armies of Charles or his sons many times, but Charlemagne himself never returned to the Mezzogiorno, and Grimoald never was forced to surrender to Frankish suzerainty.

## Charles and his children



Charlemagne (left) and Pippin the Hunchback.  
Tenth-century copy of a lost original from about  
830

During the first peace of any substantial length (780–782), Charles began to appoint his sons to positions of authority within the realm, in the tradition of the kings and mayors of the past. In 781, he made his two younger sons kings, having them crowned by the Pope. The elder of these two, Carloman, was made king of Italy, taking the Iron Crown which his father had first worn in 774, and in the same ceremony was renamed "Pippin." The younger of the two, Louis, became king of Aquitaine. Charlemagne ordered Pippin and Louis to be raised in the customs of their kingdoms, and he gave their regents some control of their subkingdoms, but real power was always in his hands, though he intended his sons to inherit their realms some day. Nor did he tolerate insubordination in his sons: in 792, he banished his eldest, though possibly illegitimate, son, Pippin the Hunchback, to the monastery of Prüm, because the young man had joined a rebellion against him.

Charles was determined to have his children educated, including his daughters, as he himself was not. His children were taught all the arts, and his daughters were learned in the way of being a woman. His sons took archery, horsemanship, and other outdoor activities.

The sons fought many wars on behalf of their father when they came of age. Charles was mostly preoccupied with the Bretons, whose border he shared and who insurrected on at least two occasions and were easily put down, but he was also sent against the Saxons on multiple occasions. In 805 and 806, he was sent into the Böhmerwald (modern Bohemia) to deal with the Slavs living there (Bohemian tribes, ancestors of the modern Czechs). He subjected them to Frankish authority and devastated the valley of the Elbe, forcing a tribute on them. Pippin had to hold the Avar and Beneventan borders but also fought the Slavs to his north. He was uniquely poised to fight the Byzantine Empire when finally that conflict arose after Charlemagne's imperial coronation and a Venetian rebellion. Finally, Louis was in charge of the Spanish March and also went to southern Italy to fight the duke of Benevento on at least one occasion. He took Barcelona in a great siege in the year 797 (see below).



Charlemagne instructing Louis the Pious

Charlemagne's attitude toward his daughters has been the subject of much discussion. He kept them at home with him and refused to allow them to contract sacramental marriages – possibly to prevent the creation of cadet branches



of the family to challenge the main line, as had been the case with Tassilo of Bavaria – yet he tolerated their extramarital relationships, even rewarding their common-law husbands, and treasured the illegitimate grandchildren they produced for him. He also, apparently, refused to believe stories of their wild behavior. After his death the surviving daughters were banished from the court by their brother, the pious Louis, to take up residence in the convents they had been bequeathed by their father. At least one of them, Bertha, had a recognised relationship, if not a marriage, with Angilbert, a member of Charlemagne's court circle.

## **Carolingian expansion to the south**

### **Vasconia and the Pyrenees**

The destructive war led by Pepin in Aquitaine, although brought to a satisfactory conclusion for the Franks, proved the Frankish power structure south of the Loire was feeble and unreliable. After the defeat and death of Waifer of Aquitaine in 768, while Aquitaine submitted again to the Carolingian dynasty, a new rebellion broke out in 769 led by Hunald II, maybe son of Waifer. He took refuge with the ally duke Lupus II of Gascony, but probably out of fear of Charlemagne's reprisal, handed him over to the new King of the Franks besides pledging loyalty to him, which seemed to confirm the peace in the Basque area south of the Garonne.

However, wary of new Basque uprisings, Charlemagne seems to have tried to diminish duke Lupus's power by appointing a certain Seguin as count of Bordeaux (778) and other counts of Frankish background in bordering areas (Toulouse, County of Fézensac), a decision that seriously undermined the authority of the duke of Gascony (Vasconia). The Basque duke in turn seems to have contributed decisively or schemed the Battle of Roncevaux Pass (referred to as "Basque treachery"). The defeat of Charlemagne's army in Roncevaux (778) confirmed him in his determination to rule directly by establishing the Kingdom of Aquitaine (son Louis the Pious proclaimed first king) based on a power base of Frankish officials, distributing lands among colonisers and allocating lands to the Church, which he took as ally.

From 781 (Pallars, Ribagorça) to 806 (Pamplona under Frankish influence), taking the County of Toulouse for a power base, Charlemagne managed to assert Frankish authority on the Pyrenees by establishing vassal counties that were to make up the Marca Hispanica and provide the necessary springboard to attack the Hispanic Muslims (expedition led by William Count of Toulouse and Louis the Pious to capture Barcelona in 801), in a way that Charlemagne had succeeded in expanding the Carolingian rule all around the Pyrenees by 812, although events in the Duchy of Vasconia (rebellion in Pamplona, count overthrown in Aragon, duke Seguin of Bordeaux deposed, uprising of the Basque lords, etc.) were to prove it ephemeral on his death.

### **Roncesvalles campaign**

According to the Muslim historian Ibn al-Athir, the Diet of Paderborn had received the representatives of the Muslim rulers of Saragossa, Girona, Barcelona, and Huesca. Their masters had been cornered in the Iberian peninsula by Abd ar-Rahman I, the Umayyad emir of Cordova. These Moorish or "Saracen" rulers offered their homage to the great king of the Franks in return for military support. Seeing an opportunity to extend Christendom and his own power and believing the Saxons to be a fully conquered nation, Charlemagne agreed to go to Spain.

In 778, he led the Neustrian army across the Western Pyrenees, while the Austrasians, Lombards, and Burgundians passed over the Eastern Pyrenees. The armies met at Saragossa and Charlemagne received the homage of the Muslim rulers, Sulayman al-Arabi and Kasmin ibn Yusuf, but the city did not fall for him. Indeed, Charlemagne was facing the toughest battle of his career where the Muslims had the upper hand and forced him to retreat. He decided to go home, since he could not trust the Basques, whom he had subdued by conquering Pamplona. He turned to leave Iberia, but as he was passing through the Pass of Roncesvalles one of the most famous events of his long reign occurred. The Basques fell on his rearguard and baggage train, utterly destroying it. The Battle of Roncevaux Pass, less a battle than a mere skirmish, left many famous dead: among which were the seneschal Eggihard, the count of

the palace Anselm, and the warden of the Breton March, Roland, inspiring the subsequent creation of the Song of Roland (*La Chanson de Roland*).

## Wars with the Moors



Harun al-Rashid receiving a delegation of Charlemagne in Baghdad, by Julius Köckert

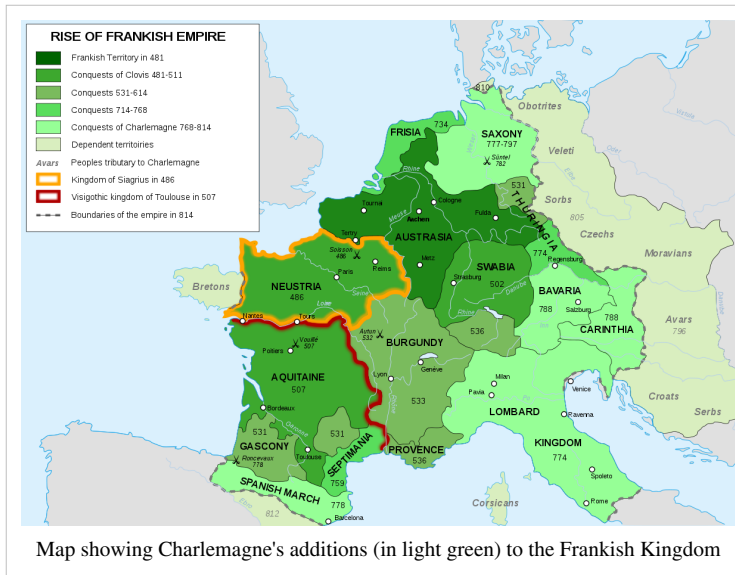
The conquest of Italy brought Charlemagne in contact with the Saracens who, at the time, controlled the Mediterranean. Pippin, his son, was much occupied with Saracens in Italy. Charlemagne conquered Corsica and Sardinia at an unknown date and in 799 the Balearic Islands. The islands were often attacked by Saracen pirates, but the counts of Genoa and Tuscany (Boniface) kept them at bay with large fleets until the end of Charlemagne's reign. Charlemagne even had contact with the caliphal court in Baghdad. In 797 (or possibly 801), the caliph of Baghdad, Harun al-Rashid, presented Charlemagne with an Asian elephant named Abul-Abbas and a clock.<sup>[46]</sup>

In Hispania, the struggle against the Moors continued unabated throughout the latter half of his reign. His son Louis was in charge of the Spanish border. In 785, his men captured Gerona permanently and extended Frankish control into the Catalan littoral for the duration of Charlemagne's reign (and much longer, it remained nominally Frankish until the Treaty of Corbeil in 1258). The Muslim chiefs in the northeast of Islamic Spain were constantly revolting against Cordovan authority, and they often turned to the Franks for help. The Frankish border was slowly extended until 795, when Gerona, Cardona, Ausona, and Urgel were united into the new Spanish March, within the old duchy of Septimania.

In 797 Barcelona, the greatest city of the region, fell to the Franks when Zeid, its governor, rebelled against Cordova and, failing, handed it to them. The Umayyad authority recaptured it in 799. However, Louis of Aquitaine marched the entire army of his kingdom over the Pyrenees and besieged it for two years, wintering there from 800 to 801, when it capitulated. The Franks continued to press forward against the emir. They took Tarragona in 809 and Tortosa in 811. The last conquest brought them to the mouth of the Ebro and gave them raiding access to Valencia, prompting the Emir al-Hakam I to recognize their conquests in 812.

## Eastern campaigns

### Saxon Wars



Charlemagne was engaged in almost constant battle throughout his reign,<sup>[47]</sup> often at the head of his elite *scara* bodyguard squadrons, with his legendary sword Joyeuse in hand. After thirty years of war and eighteen battles—the Saxon Wars—he conquered Saxonia and proceeded to convert the conquered to Christianity.

The Germanic Saxons were divided into four subgroups in four regions. Nearest to Austrasia was Westphalia and furthest away was Eastphalia. In between these two kingdoms was that of Engria and north of these three, at the base of the Jutland

peninsula, was Nordalbingia.

In his first campaign, Charlemagne forced the Engrians in 773 to submit and cut down an Irminsul pillar near Paderborn.<sup>[48]</sup> The campaign was cut short by his first expedition to Italy. He returned in 775, marching through Westphalia and conquered the Saxon fort of Sigiburg. He then crossed Engria, where he defeated the Saxons again. Finally, in Eastphalia, he defeated a Saxon force, and its leader Hessi converted to Christianity. He returned through Westphalia, leaving encampments at Sigiburg and Eresburg, which had, up until then, been important Saxon bastions. All of Saxony but Nordalbingia was under his control, but Saxon resistance had not ended.

Following his campaign in Italy subjugating the dukes of Friuli and Spoleto, Charlemagne returned very rapidly to Saxony in 776, where a rebellion had destroyed his fortress at Eresburg. The Saxons were once again brought to heel, but their main leader, Widukind, managed to escape to Denmark, home of his wife. Charlemagne built a new camp at Karlstadt. In 777, he called a national diet at Paderborn to integrate Saxony fully into the Frankish kingdom. Many Saxons were baptised as Christians.

In the summer of 779, he again invaded Saxony and reconquered Eastphalia, Engria, and Westphalia. At a diet near Lippe, he divided the land into missionary districts and himself assisted in several mass baptisms (780). He then returned to Italy and, for the first time, there was no immediate Saxon revolt. Saxony was peaceful from 780 to 782.

He returned to Saxony in 782 and instituted a code of law and appointed counts, both Saxon and Frank. The laws were draconian on religious issues; for example, the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* prescribed death to Saxon pagans who refused to convert to Christianity. This revived a renewal of the old conflict. That year, in autumn, Widukind returned and led a new revolt. In response, at Verden in Lower Saxony, Charlemagne is recorded as having ordered the execution of 4,500 Saxon prisoners, known as the Massacre of Verden ("Verdener Blutgericht"). The killings triggered three years of renewed bloody warfare (783–785). During this war the Frisians were also finally subdued and a large part of their fleet was burned. The war ended with Widukind accepting baptism.



Charlemagne (742–814) receiving the submission of Widukind at Paderborn in 785, by Ary Scheffer (1795–1858). Versailles

Thereafter, the Saxons maintained the peace for seven years, but in 792 the Westphalians again rose against their conquerors. The Eastphalians and Nordalbingians joined them in 793, but the insurrection did not catch on and was put down by 794. An Engrian rebellion followed in 796, but the presence of Charlemagne, Christian Saxons and

Slavs quickly crushed it. The last insurrection of the independent-minded people occurred in 804, more than thirty years after Charlemagne's first campaign against them. This time, the most restive of them, the Nordalbingians, found themselves effectively disempowered from rebellion for the time being. According to Einhard:

The war that had lasted so many years was at length ended by their acceding to the terms offered by the King; which were renunciation of their national religious customs and the worship of devils, acceptance of the sacraments of the Christian faith and religion, and union with the Franks to form one people.

### **Submission of Bavaria**

In 788, Charlemagne turned his attention to Bavaria. He claimed Tassilo was an unfit ruler, due to his oath-breaking. The charges were exaggerated, but Tassilo was deposed anyway and put in the monastery of Jumièges. In 794, he was made to renounce any claim to Bavaria for himself and his family (the Agilolfings) at the synod of Frankfurt. Bavaria was subdivided into Frankish counties, as had been done with Saxony.

### **Avars campaigns**

In 788, the Avars, a pagan Asian horde which had settled down in what is today Hungary (Einhard called them Huns), invaded Friuli and Bavaria. Charlemagne was preoccupied until 790 with other things, but in that year, he marched down the Danube into their territory and ravaged it to the Győr. Then, a Lombard army under Pippin marched into the Drava valley and ravaged Pannonia. The campaigns would have continued if the Saxons had not revolted again in 792, breaking seven years of peace.

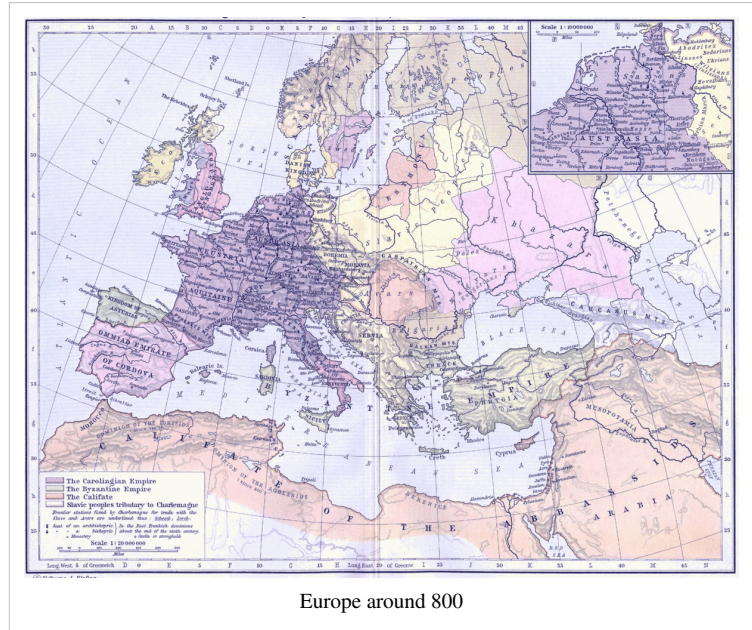
For the next two years, Charlemagne was occupied with the Slavs against the Saxons. Pippin and Duke Eric of Friuli continued, however, to assault the Avars' ring-shaped strongholds. The great Ring of the Avars, their capital fortress, was taken twice. The booty was sent to Charlemagne at his capital, Aachen, and redistributed to all his followers and even to foreign rulers, including King Offa of Mercia. Soon the Avar tuduns had thrown in the towel and travelled to Aachen to subject themselves to Charlemagne as vassals and Christians. Charlemagne accepted their surrender and sent one native chief, baptised Abraham, back to Avaria with the ancient title of khagan. Abraham kept his people in line, but in 800, the Bulgarians under Khan Krum swept the Avar state away. In the 10th century, the Magyars settled the Pannonian plain and presented a new threat to Charlemagne's descendants.

### **Northeast Slav expeditions**

In 789, in recognition of his new pagan neighbours, the Slavs, Charlemagne marched an Austrasian-Saxon army across the Elbe into Obotrite territory. The Slavs immediately submitted under their leader Witzin. Charlemagne then accepted the surrender of the Wiltzes under Dragovit and demanded many hostages and the permission to send, unmolested, missionaries into the pagan region. The army marched to the Baltic before turning around and marching to the Rhine with much booty and no harassment. The tributary Slavs became loyal allies. In 795, when the Saxons broke the peace, the Abotrites and Wiltzes rose in arms with their new master against the Saxons. Witzin died in battle and Charlemagne avenged him by harrying the Eastphalians on the Elbe. Thrasuco, his successor, led his men to conquest over the Nordalbingians and handed their leaders over to Charlemagne, who greatly honoured him. The Abotrites remained loyal until Charles' death and fought later against the Danes.

## Southeast Slav expeditions

When Charlemagne incorporated much of Central Europe, he brought the Frankish state face to face with the Avars and Slavs in the southeast.<sup>[49]</sup> The most southeast Frankish neighbors were Croats, who settled in Pannonian Croatia and Littoral Croatian Duchy. While fighting the Avars, the Franks had called for their support.<sup>[50]</sup> During the 790s, when Charlemagne campaigned against the Avars, he won a major victory in 796.<sup>[51]</sup> Pannonian Croatian duke Vojnomir of Pannonian Croatia aided Charlemagne, and the Franks made themselves overlords over the Croats of northern Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Pannonia.<sup>[51]</sup>



Europe around 800

The Frankish commander Eric of Friuli wanted to extend his dominion by conquering Littoral Croatian Duchy. During that time, Littoral Croatia was ruled by duke Višeslav of Croatia, who was one of the first known Croatian dukes.<sup>[52]</sup> In the Battle of Trsat, the forces of Eric fled their positions and were totally routed by the forces of Višeslav.<sup>[52]</sup> Eric himself was among the killed, and his death and defeat proved a great blow for the Carolingian Empire.<sup>[49][52][53]</sup>

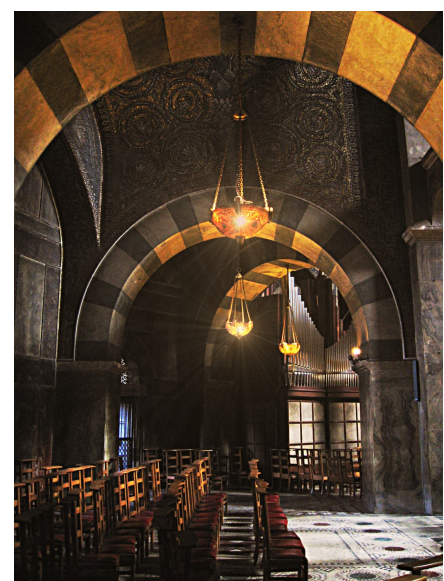
Charlemagne also directed his attention to the Slavs to the west of the Avar khaganate: the Carantanians and Carniolans. These people were subdued by the Lombards and Bavarii, were made tributaries, but were never fully incorporated into the Frankish state.

## Imperium

### Coronation

In 799, Pope Leo III had been mistreated by the Romans, who tried to put out his eyes and tear out his tongue. Leo escaped and fled to Charlemagne at Paderborn, asking him to intervene in Rome and restore him. Charlemagne, advised by Alcuin of York, agreed to travel to Rome, doing so in November 800 and holding a council on 1 December. On 23 December Leo swore an oath of innocence. At Mass, on Christmas Day (25 December), when Charlemagne knelt at the altar to pray, the Pope crowned him *Imperator Romanorum* ("Emperor of the Romans") in Saint Peter's Basilica. In so doing, the Pope was effectively nullifying the legitimacy of Empress Irene of Constantinople:

"When Odoacer compelled the abdication of Romulus Augustulus, he did not abolish the Western Empire as a separate power, but cause it to be reunited with or sink into the Eastern, so that from that time there was a single undivided Roman



Charlemagne's chapel at Aachen Cathedral



Empire... [Pope Leo III and Charlemagne], like their predecessors, held the Roman Empire to be one and indivisible, and proposed by the coronation of [Charlemagne] not to proclaim a severance of the East and West... they were not revolting against a reigning sovereign, but legitimately filling up the place of the deposed Constantine VI... [Charlemagne] was held to be the legitimate successor, not of Romulus Augustulus, but of Constantine VI..."<sup>[54]</sup>

Charlemagne's coronation as Emperor, though intended to represent the continuation of the unbroken line of Emperors from Augustus to Constantine VI, had the effect of setting up two separate (and often opposing) Empires and two separate claims to imperial authority. For centuries to come, the Emperors in the West would claim sovereignty over both West and East with the Emperors in the East claiming the same.

Einhard says that Charlemagne was ignorant of the Pope's intent and did not want any such coronation:

[H]e at first had such an aversion that he declared that he would not have set foot in the Church the day that they [the imperial titles] were conferred, although it was a great feast-day, if he could have foreseen the design of the Pope.

Many modern scholars, however,<sup>[55]</sup> suggest that Charlemagne was indeed aware of the coronation; certainly he cannot have missed the bejeweled crown waiting on the altar when he came to pray.

In any event, Charlemagne used these circumstances to claim that he was the renewer of the Roman Empire, which had apparently fallen into degradation under the Byzantines. In his official charters, Charles preferred the style *Karolus serenissimus Augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium*<sup>[56]</sup> ("Charles, most serene Augustus crowned by God, the great, peaceful emperor ruling the Roman empire") to a more direct *Imperator Romanorum* ("Emperor of the Romans").

## Imperial Diplomacy

The iconoclasm of the Byzantine Isaurian Dynasty was endorsed by the Franks.<sup>[57]</sup> When the Second Council of Nicaea reintroduced the veneration of icons under Empress Irene, the council was not recognized by Charlemagne since no Frankish emissaries had been invited although Charlemagne was ruling more than three provinces of the old Roman empire and was considered equal in rank to the Byzantine emperor. And although the Pope supported the reintroduction of the iconic veneration he thus politically digressed from Byzantium.<sup>[57]</sup> He also most certainly desired to increase the influence of the papacy, honour his saviour Charlemagne, and solve the constitutional issues then most troubling to European jurists in an era when Rome was not in the hands of an emperor. Thus, Charlemagne's assumption of the imperial title was not a usurpation in the eyes of the Franks or Italians. It was, however, seen as such in Byzantium, where it was protested by Irene and her successor Nicephorus I — neither of whom had any great effect in enforcing their protests.

The Byzantines, however, still held several territories in Italy: Venice (what was left of the Exarchate of Ravenna), Reggio (in Calabria), Brindisi (in Apulia), and Naples (the *Ducatus Neapolitanus*). These regions remained outside of Frankish hands until 804, when the Venetians, torn by infighting, transferred their allegiance to the Iron Crown of Pippin, Charles' son. The *Pax Nicephori* ended. Nicephorus ravaged the coasts with a fleet, and the only instance of war between the Byzantines and the Franks, as it was, began. It lasted until 810, when the pro-Byzantine party in Venice gave their city back to the Byzantine Emperor, and the two emperors of Europe made peace: Charlemagne received the Istrian peninsula and in 812 the emperor Michael I Rhangabes recognised his status as Emperor,<sup>[58]</sup> although not necessarily as "Emperor of the Romans".<sup>[59]</sup>

## Danish attacks

After the conquest of Nordalbingia, the Frankish frontier was brought into contact with Scandinavia. The pagan Danes, "a race almost unknown to his ancestors, but destined to be only too well known to his sons" as Charles Oman described them, inhabiting the Jutland peninsula, had heard many stories from Widukind and his allies who had taken refuge with them about the dangers of the Franks and the fury which their Christian king could direct against pagan neighbours.

In 808, the king of the Danes, Godfred, built the vast Danevirke across the isthmus of Schleswig. This defence, last employed in the Danish-Prussian War of 1864, was at its beginning a 30 km (**unknown operator: u'strong' mi**) long earthenwork rampart. The Danevirke protected Danish land and gave Godfred the opportunity to harass Frisia and Flanders with pirate raids. He also subdued the Frank-allied Wiltzes and fought the Abotrites.

Godfred invaded Frisia, joked of visiting Aachen, but was murdered before he could do any more, either by a Frankish assassin or by one of his own men. Godfred was succeeded by his nephew Hemming, who concluded the Treaty of Heiligen with Charlemagne in late 811.

## Death



Persephone sarcophagus of Charlemagne

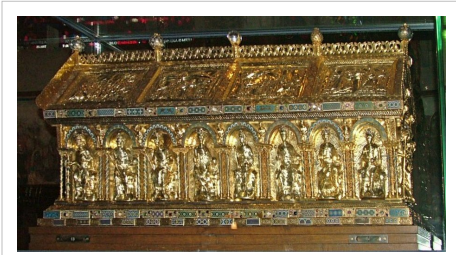
In 813, Charlemagne called Louis the Pious, king of Aquitaine, his only surviving legitimate son, to his court. There Charlemagne crowned his son with his own hands as co-emperor and sent him back to Aquitaine. He then spent the autumn hunting before returning to Aachen on 1 November. In January, he fell ill with pleurisy.<sup>[60]</sup> In deep depression (mostly because many of his plans were not yet realized), he took to his bed on 21 January and as Einhard tells it:

He died January twenty-eighth, the seventh day from the time that he took to his bed, at nine o'clock in the morning, after partaking of the Holy Communion, in the seventy-second year of his age and the forty-seventh of his reign.



Portion of the 814 death shroud of Charlemagne.  
It represents a quadriga and was manufactured in Constantinople.

He was buried the same day as his death, in Aachen Cathedral, although the cold weather and the nature of his illness made such a hurried burial unnecessary. The earliest surviving *planctus*, the *Planctus de obitu Karoli*, was composed by a monk of Bobbio, which he had patronised.<sup>[61]</sup> A later story, told by Otho of Lomello, Count of the Palace at Aachen in the time of Otto III, would claim that he and Emperor Otto had discovered Charlemagne's tomb: the emperor, they claimed, was seated upon a throne, wearing a crown and holding a sceptre, his flesh almost entirely incorrupt. In 1165, Frederick I re-opened the tomb again and placed the emperor in a sarcophagus beneath the floor of the cathedral.<sup>[62]</sup> In 1215 Frederick II re-interred him in a casket made of gold and silver.



Frederick II's gold and silver casket for Charlemagne

Charlemagne's death greatly affected many of his subjects, particularly those of the literary clique who had surrounded him at Aachen. An anonymous monk of Bobbio lamented:<sup>[63]</sup>

From the lands where the sun rises to western shores, People are crying and wailing...the Franks, the Romans, all Christians, are stung with mourning and great worry...the young and old, glorious nobles, all lament the loss of their Caesar...the world laments the death of Charles...O Christ, you who govern the heavenly host, grant a peaceful place to Charles in your kingdom. Alas for miserable me.

He was succeeded by his surviving son, Louis, who had been crowned the previous year. His empire lasted only another generation in its entirety; its division, according to custom, between Louis's own sons after their father's death laid the foundation for the modern state of Germany.<sup>[64]</sup>

## Administration

As an administrator, Charlemagne stands out for his many reforms: monetary, governmental, military, cultural, and ecclesiastical. He is the main protagonist of the "Carolingian Renaissance."

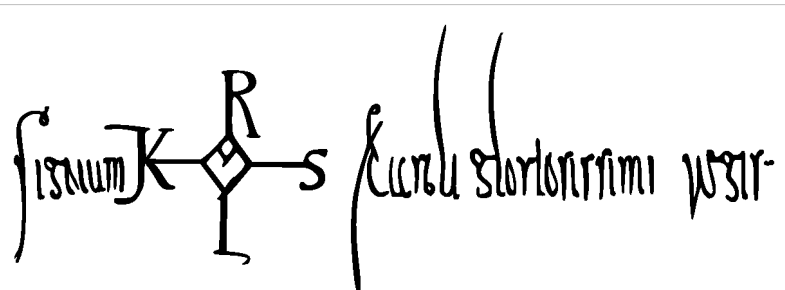
## Military

It has long been held that the dominance of Charlemagne's military was based on a "cavalry revolution" led by Charles Martel in 730s. However, the stirrup, which made the "shock cavalry" lance charge possible, was not introduced to the Frankish kingdom until the late eighth century.<sup>[65]</sup> Instead, Charlemagne's success rested primarily on novel siege technologies and excellent logistics.<sup>[66]</sup>

However, large numbers of horses were used by the Frankish military during the age of Charlemagne. This was because horses provided a quick, long-distance method of transporting troops, which was critical to building and maintaining such a large empire.<sup>[65]</sup>

## Economic and monetary reforms

Charlemagne had an important role in determining the immediate economic future of Europe. Pursuing his father's reforms, Charlemagne abolished the monetary system based on the gold *sou*, and he and the Anglo-Saxon King Offa of Mercia took up the system set in place by Pippin. There were strong pragmatic reasons for this abandonment of a gold standard, notably a shortage of gold itself.



Monogram of Charlemagne, from the subscription of a royal diploma: "Signum (monogr.: KAROLVS) Karoli gloriosissimi regis"

The gold shortage was a direct consequence of the conclusion of peace with Byzantium, which resulted in the ceding of Venice and Sicily and the loss of their trade routes to Africa and to the East. This standardisation also had the effect of economically harmonising and unifying the complex array of currencies which had been in use at the commencement of his reign, thus simplifying trade and commerce.

He established a new standard, the *livre carolinienne* (from the Latin *libra*, the modern pound), which was based upon a pound of silver—a unit of both money and weight—which was worth 20 sous (from the Latin *solidus* [which was primarily an accounting device and never actually minted], the modern shilling) or 240 *deniers* (from the Latin *denarius*, the modern penny). During this period, the *livre* and the *sou* were counting units; only the *denier* was a coin of the realm.

Charlemagne instituted principles for accounting practice by means of the *Capitulare de villis* of 802, which laid down strict rules for the way in which incomes and expenses were to be recorded.

The lending of money for interest was prohibited and then strengthened in 814, when Charlemagne introduced the *Capitulary for the Jews*, a draconian prohibition on Jews engaging in money-lending.



Charlemagne, denier, Tours, 793–812

In addition to this macro-oriented reform of the economy of his empire, Charlemagne also performed a significant number of microeconomic reforms, such as direct control of prices and levies on certain goods and commodities.

Charlemagne applied the system to much of the European continent, and Offa's standard was voluntarily adopted by much of England. After Charlemagne's death, continental coinage degraded, and most of Europe resorted to using the continued high-quality English coin until about 1100.

## Education reforms

A part of Charlemagne's success as warrior and administrator can be traced to his admiration for learning. His reign and the era it ushered in are often referred to as the Carolingian Renaissance because of the flowering of scholarship, literature, art, and architecture which characterize it. Charlemagne, brought into contact with the culture and learning of other countries (especially Visigothic Spain, Anglo-Saxon England, and Lombard Italy) due to his vast conquests, greatly increased the provision of monastic schools and scriptoria (centres for book-copying) in Francia.

Most of the presently surviving works of classical Latin were copied and preserved by Carolingian scholars. Indeed, the earliest manuscripts available for many ancient texts are Carolingian. It is almost certain that a text which survived to the Carolingian age survives still.

The pan-European nature of Charlemagne's influence is indicated by the origins of many of the men who worked for him: Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon from York; Theodulf, a Visigoth, probably from Septimania; Paul the Deacon, Lombard; Peter of Pisa and Paulinus of Aquileia, Italians; and Angilbert, Angilram, Einhard, and Waldo of Reichenau, Franks.

Charlemagne took a serious interest in scholarship, promoting the liberal arts at the court, ordering that his children and grandchildren be well-educated, and even studying himself (in a time when even leaders who promoted education did not take time to learn themselves) under the tutelage of Paul the Deacon, from whom he learned grammar; Alcuin, with whom he studied rhetoric, dialectic (logic), and astronomy (he was particularly interested in the movements of the stars); and Einhard, who assisted him in his studies of arithmetic.<sup>[67]</sup>

His great scholarly failure, as Einhard relates, was his inability to write: when in his old age he began attempts to learn—practicing the formation of letters in his bed during his free time on books and wax tablets he hid under his pillow—"his effort came too late in life and achieved little success", and his ability to read – which Einhard is silent about, and which no contemporary source supports—has also been called into question.<sup>[67]</sup>

In 800, Charlemagne enlarged the hostel at the Muristan in Jerusalem and added a library to it. He certainly had not been personally in Jerusalem.<sup>[68][69]</sup>

## Writing reforms

During Charles' reign, the Roman half uncial script and its cursive version, which had given rise to various continental minuscule scripts, were combined with features from the insular scripts that were being used in Irish and English monasteries. Carolingian minuscule was created partly under the patronage of Charlemagne. Alcuin of York, who ran the palace school and scriptorium at Aachen, was probably a chief influence in this.

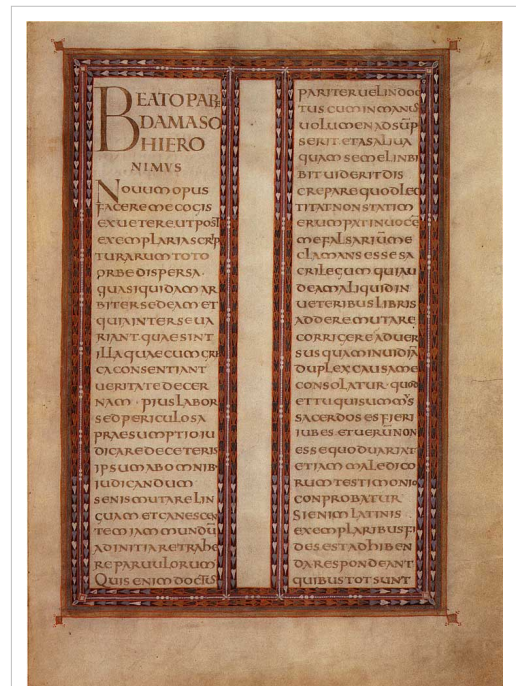
The revolutionary character of the Carolingian reform, however, can be over-emphasised; efforts at taming the crabbed Merovingian and Germanic hands had been underway before Alcuin arrived at Aachen. The new minuscule was disseminated first from Aachen and later from the influential scriptorium at Tours, where Alcuin retired as an abbot.

## Political reforms

Charlemagne engaged in many reforms of Frankish governance, but he continued also in many traditional practices, such as the division of the kingdom among sons.

## Organization

The Carolingian king exercised the *bannum*, the right to rule and command. He had supreme jurisdiction in judicial matters, made legislation, led the army, and protected both the Church and the poor. His administration was an attempt to organize the kingdom, church, and nobility around him. However, the effort was heavily dependent upon the efficiency, loyalty, and support of his subjects.



Page from the Lorsch Gospels of Charlemagne's reign



### Imperial coronation

Historians have debated for centuries whether Charlemagne was aware of the Pope's intent to crown him Emperor prior to the coronation (Charlemagne declared that he would not have entered Saint Peter's had he known), but that debate has often obscured the more significant question of *why* the Pope granted the title and why Charlemagne chose to accept it once he did.<sup>[70]</sup>

Roger Collins points out "[t]hat the motivation behind the acceptance of the imperial title was a romantic and antiquarian interest in reviving the Roman empire is highly unlikely."<sup>[71]</sup> For one thing, such romance would not have appealed either to Franks or Roman Catholics at the turn of the ninth century, both of whom viewed the Classical heritage of the Roman Empire with distrust. The Franks took pride in having "fought against and thrown from their shoulders the heavy yoke of the Romans" and "from the knowledge gained in baptism, clothed in gold and precious stones the bodies of the holy martyrs whom the Romans had killed by fire, by the sword and by wild animals", as Pippin III described it in a law of 763 or 764.<sup>[72]</sup>

Furthermore, the new title—carrying with it the risk that the new emperor would "make drastic changes to the traditional styles and procedures of government" or "concentrate his attentions on Italy or on Mediterranean concerns more generally"—risked alienating the Frankish leadership.<sup>[73]</sup>

For both the Pope and Charlemagne, the Roman Empire remained a significant power in European politics at this time, and continued to hold a substantial portion of Italy, with borders not very far south of the city of Rome itself—this is the empire historiography has labelled the Byzantine Empire, for its capital was Constantinople (ancient Byzantium) and its people and rulers were Greek; it was a thoroughly Hellenic state. Indeed, Charlemagne was usurping the prerogatives of the Roman Emperor in Constantinople simply by sitting in judgement over the Pope in the first place:

By whom, however, could he [the Pope] be tried? Who, in other words, was qualified to pass judgement on the Vicar of Christ? In normal circumstances the only conceivable answer to that question would have been the Emperor at Constantinople; but the imperial throne was at this moment occupied by Irene. That the Empress was notorious for having blinded and murdered her own son was, in the minds of both Leo and Charles, almost immaterial: it was enough that she was a woman. The female sex was known to be incapable of governing, and by the old Salic tradition was debarred from doing so. As far as Western Europe was concerned, the Throne of the Emperors was vacant: Irene's claim to it was merely an additional proof, if any were needed, of the degradation into which the so-called Roman Empire had fallen.

—John Julius Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, pg. 378



Throne of Charlemagne and the subsequent German Kings in Aachen Cathedral

For the Pope, then, there was "no living Emperor at the that time"<sup>[74]</sup> though Henri Pirenne<sup>[75]</sup> disputes this saying that the coronation "was not in any sense explained by the fact that at this moment a woman was reigning in Constantinople." Nonetheless, the Pope took the extraordinary step of creating one. The papacy had since 727 been in conflict with Irene's predecessors in Constantinople over a number of issues, chiefly the continued Byzantine adherence to the doctrine of iconoclasm, the destruction of Christian images; while from 750, the secular power of the Byzantine Empire in central Italy had been nullified.

By bestowing the Imperial crown upon Charlemagne, the Pope arrogated to himself "the right to appoint ... the Emperor of the Romans, ... establishing the imperial crown as his own personal gift but simultaneously granting himself implicit superiority over the Emperor whom he had created." And "because the Byzantines had proved so unsatisfactory from every point of view—political, military and doctrinal—he would select a westerner: the one man who by his wisdom and statesmanship and the vastness of his dominions ... stood out head and shoulders above his contemporaries."

With Charlemagne's coronation, therefore, "the Roman Empire remained, so far as either of them [Charlemagne and Leo] were concerned, one and indivisible, with Charles as its Emperor", though there can have been "little doubt that the coronation, with all that it implied, would be furiously contested in Constantinople."<sup>[76]</sup>

How realistic either Charlemagne or the Pope felt it to be that the people of Constantinople would ever accept the King of the Franks as their Emperor, we cannot know; Alcuin speaks hopefully in his letters of an *Imperium Christianum* ("Christian Empire"), wherein, "just as the inhabitants of the [Roman Empire] had been united by a common Roman citizenship", presumably this new empire would be united by a common Christian faith,<sup>[72]</sup> certainly this is the view of Pirenne when he says "Charles was the Emperor of the *ecclesia* as the Pope conceived it, of the Roman Church, regarded as the universal Church".<sup>[77]</sup>

What is known, from the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes,<sup>[78]</sup> is that Charlemagne's reaction to his coronation was to take the initial steps toward securing the Constantinopolitan throne by sending envoys of marriage to Irene, and that Irene reacted somewhat favorably to them.

Only when the people of Constantinople reacted to Irene's failure to immediately rebuff the proposal by deposing her and replacing her with one of her ministers, Nicephorus I, did Charlemagne drop any ambitions toward the Byzantine throne and begin minimising his new Imperial title, and instead return to describing himself primarily as *rex Francorum et Langobardum*.

The title of emperor remained in his family for years to come, however, as brothers fought over who had the supremacy in the Frankish state. The papacy itself never forgot the title nor abandoned the right to bestow it. When the family of Charles ceased to produce worthy heirs, the pope gladly crowned whichever Italian magnate could best



Coronation of an idealised king, depicted in the Sacramentary of Charles the Bald (about 870)



Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne, by Friedrich Kaulbach, 1861

protect him from his local enemies.

This devolution led, as could have been expected, to the dormancy of the title for almost forty years (924–962). Finally, in 962, in a radically different Europe from Charlemagne's, a new Roman Emperor was crowned in Rome by a grateful pope. This emperor, Otto the Great, brought the title into the hands of the kings of Germany for almost a millennium, for it was to become the Holy Roman Empire, a true imperial successor to that of Charles, if not Augustus.

**Divisio regnorum**

In 806, Charlemagne first made provision for the traditional division of the empire on his death. For Charles the Younger he designated Austrasia and Neustria, Saxony, Burgundy, and Thuringia. To Pippin he gave Italy, Bavaria, and Swabia. Louis received Aquitaine, the Spanish March, and Provence. There was no mention of the imperial title however, which has led to the suggestion that, at that particular time, Charlemagne regarded the title as an honorary achievement which held no hereditary significance.

This division might have worked, but it was never to be tested. Pippin died in 810 and Charles in 811. Charlemagne then reconsidered the matter, and in 813, crowned his youngest son, Louis, co-emperor and co-King of the Franks, granting him a half-share of the empire and the rest upon Charlemagne's own death.

The only part of the Empire which Louis was not promised was Italy, which Charlemagne specifically bestowed upon Pippin's illegitimate son Bernard.



**Marriages and heirs**

Charlemagne had eighteen children over the course of his life with eight of his ten known wives or concubines.<sup>[79]</sup> Nonetheless, he only had four legitimate grandsons, the four sons of his fourth son, Louis. In addition, he had a grandson (Bernard of Italy, the only son of his third son, Pippin of Italy), who was born illegitimate but included in the line of inheritance. So, despite eighteen children, the claimants to his inheritance were few.

Start date	Marriages and heirs	Concubinages and illegitimate children
ca.768	His first relationship was with Himiltrude. The nature of this relationship is variously described as concubinage, a legal marriage, or a Friedelehe. <sup>[80]</sup> (Charlemagne put her aside when he married Desiderata.) The union with Himiltrude produced two children: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Amaudru, a daughter<sup>[81]</sup></li><li>Pippin the Hunchback (ca. 769–811)</li></ul>	
ca. 770	After her, his first wife was Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards; married in 770, annulled in 771.	

ca. 771	<p>His second wife was Hildegard (757 or 758–783), married 771, died 783. By her he had nine children:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charles the Younger (ca. 772–4 December 811), Duke of Maine, and crowned King of the Franks on 25 December 800</li> <li>• Carloman, renamed Pippin (April 777–8 July 810), King of Italy</li> <li>• Adalhaid (774), who was born whilst her parents were on campaign in Italy. She was sent back to Francia, but died before reaching Lyons</li> <li>• Rotrude (or Hruodrud) (775–6 June 810)</li> <li>• Louis (778–20 June 840), twin of Lothair, King of Aquitaine since 781, crowned King of the Franks/co-emperor in 813, senior Emperor from 814</li> <li>• Lothair (778–6 February 779/780), twin of Louis, he died in infancy<sup>[82]</sup></li> <li>• Bertha (779–826)</li> <li>• Gisela (781–808)</li> <li>• Hildegard (782–783)</li> </ul>	
ca. 773		<p>His first known concubine was Gersuinda. By her he had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adaltrude (b.774)</li> </ul>
ca. 774		<p>His second known concubine was Madelgard. By her he had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ruodhaid (775–810), abbess of Faremoutiers</li> </ul>
ca. 784	<p>His third wife was Fastrada, married 784, died 794. By her he had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theodrada (b.784), abbess of Argenteuil</li> <li>• Hiltrude (b.787)</li> </ul>	
ca. 794	<p>His fourth wife was Luitgard, married 794, died childless.</p>	<p>His third known concubine was Amaltrud of Vienne. By her he had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alpaida (b.794)</li> </ul>
ca. 800		<p>His fourth known concubine was Regina. By her he had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drogo (801–855), Bishop of Metz from 823 and abbot of Luxeuil Abbey</li> <li>• Hugh (802–844), archchancellor of the Empire</li> </ul>
ca. 804		<p>His fifth known concubine was Ethelind. By her he had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Richbod (805–844), Abbott of Saint-Riquier</li> <li>• Theodoric (b. 807)</li> </ul>

Further information: Carolingian dynasty



## Cultural uses

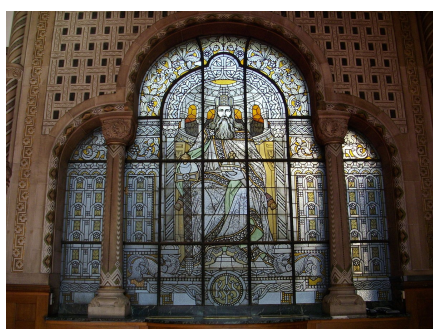
Charlemagne had an immediate afterlife. The author of the *Visio Karoli Magni* written around 865 uses facts gathered apparently from Einhard and his own observations on the decline of Charlemagne's family after the dissensions war (840–43) as the basis for a visionary tale of Charles' meeting with a prophetic spectre in a dream.

Charlemagne, being a model knight as one of the Nine Worthies, enjoyed an important afterlife in European culture. One of the great medieval literary cycles, the Charlemagne cycle or the *Matter of France*, centres on the deeds of Charlemagne—the Emperor with the Flowing Beard of *Roland* fame—and his historical commander of the border with Brittany, Roland, and the paladins who are analogous to the knights of the Round Table or King Arthur's court. Their tales constitute the first *chansons de geste*.

Charlemagne himself was accorded sainthood inside the Holy Roman Empire after the twelfth century. His canonisation by Antipope Paschal III, to gain the favour of Frederick Barbarossa in 1165, was never recognised by the Holy See, which annulled all of Paschal's ordinances at the Third Lateran Council in 1179. His name does not appear among the 28 saints named Charles who are listed in the Roman Martyrology.<sup>[83]</sup> However, his beatification has been acknowledged as *cultus confirmed* and is celebrated on 28 January. In the Divine Comedy the spirit of Charlemagne appears to Dante in the Heaven of Mars, among the other "warriors of the faith."



Statue of Charlemagne by Agostino Cornacchini (1725), St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican, Italy



Stained-glass of Charlemagne sitting on his throne in the railway station of Metz, representing the imperial protection over Metz during the German annexation of the city

In 809-810, Charlemagne called together a church council in Aachen, which confirmed the unanimous belief in the West that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (*ex Patre Filioque*) and sanctioned inclusion in the Nicene Creed of the phrase *Filioque* (and the Son). For this Charlemagne sought the approval of Pope Leo III. However, the Pope, while affirming the doctrine and approving its use in teaching, opposed its inclusion in the text of the Creed as adopted in the 381 First Council of Constantinople. This spoke of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, without adding phrases such as "and the Son", "through the Son", or "alone". Stressing his opposition, the Pope had the original text inscribed in Greek and Latin on two heavy shields, which were displayed in Saint Peter's Basilica.<sup>[84][85][86]</sup>

The city of Aachen has, since 1949, awarded an international prize (called the *Karlspreis der Stadt Aachen*) in honour of Charlemagne. It is awarded annually to "personages of merit who have promoted the idea of western unity by their political, economic and literary endeavours."<sup>[87]</sup> Winners of the prize include Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the founder of the pan-European movement, Alcide De Gasperi, and Winston Churchill.

In its national anthem, *El Gran Carlemany*, the nation of Andorra credits Charlemagne with its independence.

Charlemagne is quoted by Dr Henry Jones Sr. (played by Sean Connery) in *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade*. After using his umbrella to induce a flock of seagulls to smash through the glass cockpit of a pursuing German fighter plane, Henry Jones remarks, "I suddenly remembered my Charlemagne: 'Let my armies be the rocks and the trees and the birds in the sky'." Despite the quote's popularity since the movie, there is no evidence that Charlemagne actually said this.<sup>[88]</sup>

*The Economist*, the weekly news and international affairs newspaper, features a one-page article every week entitled "Charlemagne", focusing generally on European affairs and, more usually and specifically, on the European Union and its politics.



There is a play named "Carelman Charitham" in the Indian art-form Chavittu Nadakam which is based on the life of Charlemagne.

Christopher Lee's 2011 Symphonic Metal album, Charlemagne: By the Sword and the Cross features the events of Charlemagne's life narrated by Christopher Lee as Charlemagne.

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### Footnotes

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- [30] Russell 1930.
- [31] Collins 1987, p. 32.
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# Chulalongkorn

Chulalongkorn the Great	
King Rama V	
	
King of Siam	
Reign	1 October 1868 – 23 October 1910
Coronation	11 November 1868 (1st time) 16 November 1873 (2nd time)
Predecessor	Mongkut (Rama IV)
Successor	Vajiravudh (Rama VI)
Regent	<i>Si Suriyawongse (1868–1873)</i> <i>Saovabha Bongsri (1897)</i> <i>Vajiravudh (1907)</i>
Vice King	Bovorn Vichaichan (1868–1885)
Spouse	Queen Sunandha Kumariratana Queen Sukumalmarsri Queen Savang Vadhana Queen Saovabha Bongsri and 92 other consorts and concubines
Issue	
33 sons and 44 daughters	
House	Chakri Dynasty
Father	Mongkut
Mother	Debsirindra
Born	20 September 1853 Bangkok, Siam
Died	23 October 1910 (aged 57) Bangkok, Siam
Religion	Theravada Buddhism

**Phra Bat Somdet Phra Poramintharamaha Chulalongkorn Phra Chunla Chom Klao Chao Yu Hua** (Thai: พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาจุฬาลงกรณ์ฯ พระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว), or **Rama V** (20 September 1853 – 23 October 1910) was the fifth monarch of Siam under the House of Chakri. He was known to the Siamese of his time as *Phra Phuttha Chao Luang* (พระพุทธเจ้าหลวง – The Royal Buddha). He is considered one of the greatest kings of Siam. His reign was characterized by the modernization of Siam, immense government and social reforms, and



territorial cessions to the British Empire and French Indochina. As Siam was threatened by Western expansionism, Chulalongkorn, through his policies and acts, managed to save Siam from being colonized.<sup>[1]</sup> All his reforms were dedicated to Siam's insurance of survival in the midst of Western colonialism, so that Chulalongkorn earned the epithet *Phra Piya Maharat* (พระปิยมหาราช – The Great Beloved King).

## Early life



King Mongkut with Prince Chulalongkorn, both in Naval uniforms.

King Chulalongkorn was born on 20 September 1853 to King Mongkut and Queen Debsirindra and given the name Chulalongkorn. In 1861, he was designated *Krommameun Pikanesuarn Surasangkat*. His father gave him a broad education, including instruction from European tutors such as Anna Leonowens. In 1866, he became a novice monk for six months in Wat Bawonniwet according to royal tradition.<sup>[2]</sup> Upon his return to his secular life in 1867, he was designated *Krommakhun Pinit Prachanat* (กรมขุนพินิตประชานาถ.)

In 1867, King Mongkut led an expedition to the Malay Peninsula south of Hua Hin,<sup>[3]</sup> to verify his calculations of the Solar eclipse of 18 August 1868. Both father and son fell ill of malaria and Mongkut died on 1 Oct. 1868. Supposing the 15-year-old Chulalongkorn also to be dying, King Mongkut on his deathbed had written, "My brother, my son, my grandson, whoever you all the senior officials think will be able to save our country will succeed my throne, choose at your own will." Si Suriyawongse, the most powerful government official of the day,

managed the succession of Chulalongkorn to the throne, and his own appointment as regent. The coronation was held on 11 November 1868. Chulalongkorn's health improved, and he was tutored in public affairs, traveled to India (then under the British Raj) and Java (then under Dutch colonial rule) to observe modern administration. He was crowned king in his own right as Rama V on 16 Nov. 1873.<sup>[1]</sup>

Si Suriyawongse then arranged the title of *Front Palace* of King Pinklao (who was his uncle) to be succeeded by King Pinklao's son, Prince Yingyot (who was then Chulalongkorn's cousin).

The young Chulalongkorn was an enthusiastic king craving for reforms. He visited Singapore and Java in 1870 and British India during 1870–1872 to see the administration of British colonies. He toured the administrative centres of Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay and back to Calcutta in early 1872. This journey was later the source of his ideas and methodology of the modernization of Siam.

As a regent, Si Suriyawongse wielded a great influence. Si Suriyawongse continued the works of King Mongkut. He supervised the digging of several important khlongs, such as Padung Krungkasem and Damneun Saduak, and the paving of roads such as Chareon Krung and Silom. He was also the patron of Thai literature and performing arts.

## The Young King

In 1873, the king became a monk again and returned. The second coronation was held in the same year to celebrate the king's maturity.

At the end of his regency, Si Suriyawongse was raised to Somdet Chao Phraya, the highest title the nobility could attain. Si Suriyawongse himself was the most powerful noble of the 19th century. His family, Bunnag, was a powerful one of a Persian descent dominating the Siamese politics since the reign of Rama I. Chulalongkorn then married four of his half-sisters. They were all the daughters of Mongkut – Savang Vadhana, Saovabha, and Sunandha with Concubine Piam and Sukumalmarsri with Concubine Samli.

In the same year, Chulalongkorn's first reform was to establish the *Auditory Office* (Th: หอรัษฎากรพิพัฒน์) – to replace the corrupted tax collectors as the only institution that collects taxes. As the tax collectors were under the patronage of various nobles and also provided the financial support to the patron, this caused a great disruption among the nobility, especially the Front Palace. Since the time of King Mongkut, the title of Front Palace had been as powerful as the “second king”, with one-third of national revenue devoted to it. Moreover, Prince Yingyot of the Front Palace was known to be acquainted with many British men, in a time when the British Empire was considered the enemy of Siam.



Photograph of the young King.

In 1874, Chulalongkorn chartered the Council of State – as a legislative body – and Privy Council – as his personal counsel based on the British privy council. The members of the councils were appointed by the monarch.

## Front Palace crisis

In 1874, the Grand Palace was bombed and a fire raged through it. The Front Palace gave no help in extinguishing the fire. This raised suspicions. Prince Yingyot hid himself in the British consulate so that Chulalongkorn could do him no harm. However, the king was waiting, ready to strike, and the tensions continued, until the retired Si Suriyawongse returned from Ratchaburi to calm the conflicts.

The "Front Palace Crisis" incident indicated how much power was wielded by the aristocrats and royal relatives, leaving the king little power. This would become one of his main motives to reform the feudal Siam politics, reducing the power held by the nobility.

When Prince Yingyot died in 1885, Chulalongkorn took that opportunity to abolish the titular Front Palace and created the title of "Crown Prince of Siam" in accordance with the Western style. Chulalongkorn's son, Prince Vajirunhis, was appointed the first Crown Prince of Siam, though he never reigned. In 1895, the Prince died of typhoid at age 17, he was succeeded by his half-brother Vajiravudh, who was then at boarding school in England.

After that, Sri Suriyawongse withdrew from politics, as did the Bunnak family.

## Heo insurgency

In the northern Laotian lands bordering China, the insurgents of the Taiping rebellion had taken refuge since the reign of King Mongkut. These Chinese were called *The Heos* and became bandits pillaging the villages. In 1875, Chulalongkorn sent troops from Bangkok to crush the Heos as they ravaged as far as Vientiane. However, they met strong Chinese resistance and retreated to Isan in 1885. New, modernized forces were sent again and were divided into two groups approaching the Heos from Chiang Kam and Pichai. The Heos scattered and some fled to Vietnam. The Siamese armies proceeded to eliminate the remaining Heos. The city of Nong Khai maintains memorials for the Siamese dead.

## Military and Political Reforms

Freed from the Front Palace and Chinese rebellions, Chulalongkorn initiated his reforms. He established the Royal Military Academy in 1887 to train the troops in Western fashion. The modernized forces provided the king much more power to centralize the country.

The government of Siam had remained rather unchanged since the fifteenth century. The central government was headed by the *Samuha Nayok* (i.e. Prime Minister), who controlled the northern parts of Siam, and the *Samuha Kalahom* (i.e. Grand Commander), who controlled the southern Siam in both civil and military affairs. The Samuha Nayok presided over the *Chatu Sadombh* (i.e. Four Pillars). The responsibilities of each pillar were rather overlapping and uncertain. In 1888, Chulalongkorn tried the new ministerial government. The ministers were, in the beginning, the members of royal family. The official establishment of ministries was promulgated in 1892, with all ministries in equal status.

The Council of State proved unable to veto the legal drafts or to give Chulalongkorn advices because the members still respected Chulalongkorn as an absolutist monarch. Chulalongkorn then dissolved the Council altogether and transferred the duty to give advices to the cabinet in 1894.

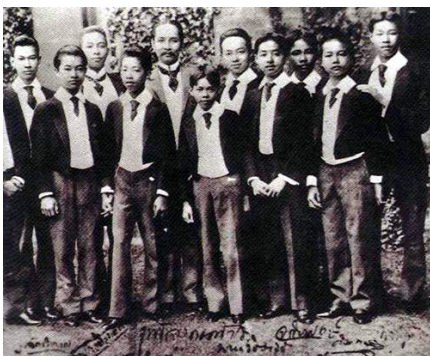
Chulalongkorn also abolished the traditional Nakorn Bala methods of tortures in judiciary process, which was seen as inhumane and barbaric by Western and Modern views, and introduced the Western code. His Belgian advisor, Rolin-Jaequemyns, played a great role in the development of modern Siamese law and judicial system.

## Call for democracy

Chulalongkorn was the first Siamese king to send the royal princes to Europe to be educated. In nineteenth century Europe, nationalism flourished and there was a call for liberty. The princes, of course, had been influenced by the liberal ideas of democracy and elections. They encountered republics like France and constitutional monarchies like the United Kingdom.

In 1884 (103 of Rattakosin Era), Siamese officials in London and Paris arranged a request to Chulalongkorn, citing the threats from European colonialism were coming and Siam should be reformed like Meiji Japan and Siam should become a constitutional monarchy. However, Chulalongkorn stated that it was not yet time and he himself was urging reforms.

Throughout Chulalongkorn's reign, writers with radical ideas had their works published for the first time. The most notable ones included Tianwan, who had been imprisoned for 17 years and from prison he produced many works criticizing the old Siamese society.



Photograph of the King with his sons in England in 1897. The King during his lifetime had 92 consorts who, among them, would produce 77 children.



The King had many buildings constructed during his long reign including the Ananda Samakhom Throne Hall in 1908...



..and the Vimanmek Palace in 1900.



Chulalongkorn (Above left) with contemporary monarchs

In 1863, King Norodom of Cambodia was forced to put his own country under the French Protectorate. The cession of Cambodia was officially formulated in 1867. However, Inner Cambodia (as called in Siam) consisting of Battambang, Siemreap, and Srisopon, remained a Siamese possession. This was the first of many territorial cessions.

In 1887, French Indochina was formed from Vietnam and Cambodia. In 1888, French troops invaded Northern Laos to subjugate the *Heo* insurgents. However, the French troops never left, and the French demanded more Laotian lands. In 1893 Auguste Pavie, the French vice-consul of Luang Prabang, requested the cession of all Laotian lands east of the Mekong River. Siam resented the demand, leading to the Franco-Siamese War of 1893.

The French gunboat *Le Lutin* entered the Chao Phraya and anchored near the French consulate ready to attack. Fighting was observed in Laos. *Inconstant* and *Comete* were attacked in Chao Phraya, and the French sent an ultimatum: an indemnity of three million francs, as well as the cession of and withdrawal from

Laos. Siam did not accept the ultimatum. French troops then blockaded the Gulf of Siam and occupied Chantaburi and Trat. Chulalongkorn sent Rolin-Jacquemyns to negotiate. The issue was eventually settled with the cession of Laos in 1893, but the French troops in Chantaburi and Trat refused to leave.

The cession of vast Laotian lands had a major impact on Chulalongkorn's spirit. Prince Vajirunhis died in 1894. Prince Vajiravudh was created crown prince to replace him. Chulalongkorn realised the importance of maintaining the navy and established the Royal Thai Naval Academy in 1898.

Despite Siamese concessions, French armies continued the occupation of Chantaburi and Trat for another 10 years. An agreement was reached in 1903 that French troops would leave Chantaburi but hold the coast land from Trat to Koh Kong. In 1906, the final agreement was reached. Trat was returned to Siam but the French kept Koh Kong and received Inner Cambodia.

Seeing the seriousness of foreign affairs, Chulalongkorn visited Europe in 1897; he was the first Siamese monarch to do so, and he desired European recognition of Siam as a fully independent and honorable power. He appointed his queen, Saovabha, as regent in Siam during his travel to Europe.



## Reforms

Siam had been composed of the network of cities according to the Mandala system codified by King Trailokanat in 1454, with local rulers owing tribute to Bangkok. Each city retained a substantial degree of autonomy, as Siam wasn't a "state" but a "network" of city-states. With the rise of European colonialism, the Western concept of state and territorial division was introduced. It had to define explicitly which lands were "Siamese" and which lands were "foreign". The conflict with the French in 1893 was an example.

## Monthon system

With his experiences during the travel to British colonies and the suggestion of Prince Damrong, Chulalongkorn instigated the hierarchical system of Monthons in 1897, composing of Province, City, *Amphoe*, *Tambon*, and *Mhu Ban* (village) in the descending order. (Though a whole monthon – the Eastern Province – e.g. Inner Cambodia – was given off to the French in 1906) Each monthon was overseen by an intendant of the Ministry of Interior. This had a major impact, ending the power of all local dynasties. The central authority now spread all over the country through the administration of intendants. For example, the Lanna states in the north (including the Kingdom of Chiangmai, Principalities of Lampang, Lampoon, Nan, and Prae) owing tributaries to Bangkok, were made into two monthons, neglecting the existence of the Lanna kings.

Local rulers did not give up easily, as three rebellions sprang up in 1901 – the Ngeaw rebellion in Prae, the Phi Buns in Isan, and the Rebellion of Seven Sultans in the south. All these insurgents were crushed in 1902 with the city rulers were stripped off their power, and imprisoned.

## Abolition of Corvée and Slavery



Photograph of the King.

Ayutthaya King Ramathibodi II established a system of corvée in 1581 after which the lives of Siamese commoners and slaves were closely regulated by the government. All Siamese common men (*phrai* ไพร) were subject to the Siamese corvée system. Each man at the time of his majority had to register with a government bureau, department or leading member of the royalty called *krom* (กรม) as a *Phrai Luang* (ไพร่หลวง) or under a nobleman's master (*Moon Nai* or *Chao Khun Moon Nai* มุลนาย หรือเจ้าขุนมูลนาย) as a *Phrai Som* (ไพร่สม). *Phrai* owed service to sovereign or master for three months of the year. *Phrai Suay* (ไพร่ส่วย) were those who could make payment in kind (cattle) in lieu of service. Those conscripted into military service were called *Phrai Tahan* (ไพร่ทหาร).

The corvée system declined after the Bowring Treaty, which gave rise to a new class of employed labourers not regulated by the government, while many noblemen continued to hold sway over large numbers of *Phrai Som*. Chulalongkorn needed more effective control of manpower to undo the power of nobility. After the establishment of a provincial system, Chulalongkorn began the census to get the statistics of all men available to the government. The *Employment Act* of 1900 required that all workers be paid, not forced to work. The *Conscription Act* of 1905 established military conscription in Siam, thus



King Chulalongkorn with Tsar Nicholas II in Saint Petersburg, during the King's first Grand Tour in 1897.



ending the traditional corvée system.

Chulalongkorn was best known for his abolition of Siamese slavery (ทาส.) He associated the abolition of slavery in the United States with the bloodshed of the American Civil War. Chulalongkorn, to prevent such a bloodbath in Siam, provided several steps towards the abolition of slavery, not an extreme turning point from servitude to total freedom. Those who found themselves unable to live on their own sold themselves into slavery by rich noblemen. Likewise, when a debt was defaulted, the borrower would become a slave of the lender. If the debt was redeemed, the slave regained freedom.

However, those whose parents were household slaves (ทาสในเรือนเบี้ย), were bound to be slaves forever because their redemption price was extremely high.










Because of economic conditions, people sold themselves into slavery in great numbers and in turn they produced a large number of household slaves. In 1867 they accounted for one-third of Siamese population. In 1874, Chulalongkorn enacted a law that lowered the redemption price of household slaves born in 1867 (his ascension year) and freed all of them when they had reached 21.

The newly freed slaves would have time to settle themselves as farmers or merchants so they would not become unemployed. In 1905, the *Slave Abolition Act* ended Siamese slavery in all forms. The reverse of 100-baht notes in circulation since the 2005 centennial depict Chulalongkorn in navy uniform abolishing the slave tradition.

## Constructions

The construction of railways in Siam had a political basis: to connect all the country to have an eye on every part of Siam. In 1901, the first railway was opened from Bangkok to Korat. In the same year, the first power plant of Siam gave off its energy. Electric lights were turned on along the roads.

## Relations with British Empire

Monarchs of the Chakri Dynasty	
	Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke (King Rama I)
	Buddha Loetla Nabhalai (King Rama II)
	Jessadabodindra (King Rama III)
	Mongkut (King Rama IV)
	Chulalongkorn (King Rama V)
	Vajiravudh (King Rama VI)
	Prajadhipok (King Rama VII)
	Ananda Mahidol (King Rama VIII)
	Bhumibol Adulyadej (King Rama IX)

Siamese authorities had exercised a substantial control over Malay sultanates since Ayutthaya times. The sultans sought British support to counterweight Siamese influence. In 1909, the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909 was formulated. Four sultanates (namely Kedah, Kelantan, Terengganu, and Perlis) were brought under British influence in exchange for Siamese legal rights and a loan to construct railways in southern Siam.

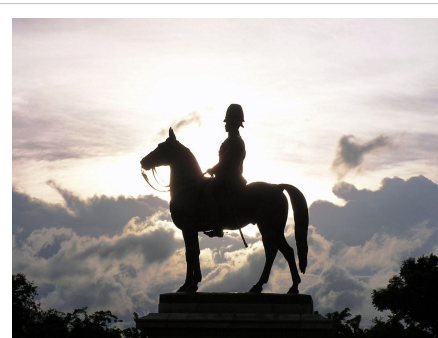
## Death and legacy

The Royal Equestrian Statue of Chulalongkorn was finished in 1908 to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the king's reign. It was cast in bronze by a Parisian metallurgist, and then placed on the marble. Chulalongkorn had visited Europe two times in 1897 and 1907; the latter time was to cure his kidney disease. His last accomplishment was the establishment of a plumbing system in 1908. He died on 23 October 1910 of his kidney disease in Dusit Palace, and was succeeded by his son Vajiravudh.

Chulalongkorn University, founded in 1917 as the first university in Thailand, was named in his honour.

In 1997 a memorial pavilion was raised in honor of King Chulalongkorn in Ragunda, Sweden. This was done to commemorate King Chulalongkorn's visit to Sweden in 1897 where he visited the World Fair. During the time when Swedish-Norwegian king Oscar II travelled to Norway for a council, Chulalongkorn went up north to study forestry. Beginning in Härnösand and travelling via Sollefteå and Ragunda he mounted a boat in the small village of Utanede in order to take him back through Sundsvall to Stockholm. His passage through Utanede left a mark on the village as one street was named after the king. The pavilion is erected right next to that road.

In 2003, the Thai baht 100-baht note was revised to depict King Chulalongkorn in navy uniform and, in the background, abolishing the slave tradition.



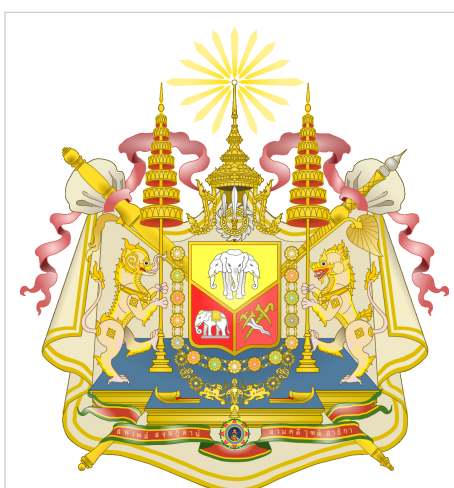
Statue of the King in the Royal Plaza (Thailand), Dusit, Bangkok.

## Titles and styles

- **1853–1866:** His Royal Highness Prince Chulalongorn, the Prince Biganeshavara Surasankas (Krom Muen Biganeshavara Surasankas)
- **1866–1868:** His Royal Highness Prince Chulalongorn, the Prince Binit Prajanart (Krom Khun Binit Prajanart)
- **1868–1910:** His Majesty King Chulalongkorn (King Chula Chomklao)

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## External links

- King Chulalongkorn Day (<http://chiangmaibest.com/chiang-mai-events-thailand-holidays/king-chulalongkorn-day/>) at Chiang Mai Best
- A clip of King Chulalongkorn's 1897 visit to Sweden (<http://www.filmarkivet.se/sv/Film/?movieid=1&returnurl=http://www.filmarkivet.se/sv/Sok/?q=+>)
- Investiture of His Majesty Somdetch Pra Paramindr Maha Chulalongkorn, King of Siam, with the Ensigns of a Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (<http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/24667/pages/105>)
- Biography of His Majesty King Chulalongkorn Rama V (<http://www.watflorida.org/pages/RamaV.htm>)

## Chlothar II

**Chlothar II** (or *Chlotar*, *Clothar*, *Clotaire*, *Chlotochar*, or *Hlothar*, giving rise to Lothair; 584–629), called **the Great** (*le Grand*) or **the Young** (*le Jeune*), King of Neustria, and, from 613 to 629, King of all the Franks, was not yet born when his father, King Chilperic I died in 584. His mother, Fredegund, was regent until her death in 597, at which time the thirteen-year-old Chlothar began to rule for himself. As king, he continued his mother's feud with Brunhilda, queen of Austrasia, with equal viciousness and bloodshed.

## Biography

In 599, he made war with his nephews, Theuderic II of Burgundy and Theudebert II of Austrasia, who defeated him at Dormelles (near Montereau). At this point, however, the two brothers took up arms against each other. In 605, he invaded Theuderic's kingdom, but did not subdue it. He remained often at war with Theuderic until the latter died in Metz in late 613 while preparing a campaign against him. At that time, Warnachar, mayor of the palace of Austrasia, and Rado, mayor of the palace of Burgundy, abandoned the cause of Brunhilda and her great-grandson, Sigebert II, and the entire realm was delivered into Chlothar's hands. Brunhilda and Sigebert met Chlothar's army on the Aisne, but the Patrician Aletheus, Duke Rocco, and Duke Sigvald deserted the host and the grand old woman and her king had to flee. They got as far as the Orbe, but Chlothar's minions caught up with them by the lake Neuchâtel. Both of them and Sigebert's younger brother Corbo were executed by Chlothar's orders.

In that year, Chlothar II became the first king of all the Franks since his grandfather Chlothar I died in 561 by ordering the murder of the infant Sigebert II (son of Theuderic), whom the aging Brunhilda had attempted to set on the thrones of Austrasia and Burgundy, causing a rebellion among the nobility. This



Coin of Chlothar II.



The kingdom of Chlothar at the start of his reign (yellow). By 613 he had inherited or conquered all of the coloured portions of the map.

led to the delivery of Brunhilda into Chlothar's hands, his thirst for vengeance leading to his formidable old aunt enduring the agony of the rack for three whole days, before suffering a horrific death, dragged to death by an unbroken horse.

In 614/615, Chlothar II promulgated the Edict of Paris, a sort of Frankish Magna Carta that reserved many rights to the Frankish nobles while it excluded Jews from all civil employment for the Crown.<sup>[1][2]</sup> The ban effectively placed all literacy in the Merovingian monarchy squarely under ecclesiastical control and also greatly pleased the nobles, from whose ranks the bishops were ordinarily exclusively drawn. Chlothar was induced by Warnachar and Rado to make the mayoralty of the palace a lifetime appointment at Bonneuil-sur-Marne, near Paris, in 617. By these actions, Chlothar lost his own legislative abilities and the great number of laws enacted in his reign are probably the result of the nobles' petitions, which the king had no authority not to heed.



In 623, he gave the kingdom of Austrasia to his young son Dagobert I. This was a political move as repayment for the support of Bishop Arnulf of Metz and Pepin I, mayor of the palace of Austrasia, the two leading Austrasian nobles, who were effectively granted semi-autonomy.

Chlothar II died in 629 after 45 years on the throne, longer than any other Merovingian dynast save for his grandfather Chlotar I, who ruled from 511 to 561. He left the crown greatly reduced in power and prepared the way for the rise of the mayors and the *rois fainéants*.

## Family

The first spouse of Chlothar II was Haldetrude (ca. 575–604). She was the mother of Dagobert I. Chlothar's second spouse was Bertrada. His third spouse was Sichilde, who bore him Charibert II and a daughter, Oda.


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# Conrad, Margrave of Meissen

Conrad the Great	
	
Conrad the Great in the Fürstenzug in Dresden	
Margrave of Meissen	
Reign	1123–1156
Predecessor	Wiprecht
Successor	Otto II
Margrave of Lusatia	
Reign	1123–1156
Predecessor	Henry III
Successor	Dietrich I
Spouse	Luitgard of Elchingen-Ravenstein
Issue	Otto II, Margrave of Meissen Theodoric I, Margrave of Lusatia Dedo III, Margrave of Lusatia Henry I, Count of Wettin Frederick I of Brehna Adela, Queen of Denmark Agnes II, Princess-Abbess of Quedlinburg
House	House of Wettin
Father	Thimo of Wettin
Mother	Ida of Nordheim
Born	1097
Died	5 February 1157 Monastery of St Peter auf dem Lauterberg
Burial	Monastery of St Peter auf dem Lauterberg

**Conrad the Great** (ca. 1097 – 5 February 1157) was the Margrave of Meissen from 1123 until his retirement in 1156. He was the son of Thimo, Count of Brehna, of the House of Wettin and Ida, daughter of Otto of Nordheim. He was also Count of Wettin, Brehna, and Camburg from before 1116.

In 1123, he became Count of Eilenburg. That same year, Lothair of Supplinburg, Duke of Saxony, appointed him Margrave of Meissen in opposition to Wiprecht von Groitzsch, the appointee of the Emperor Henry V. Lothair also named Albert the Bear Margrave of Lusatia, while Henry named Wiprecht to that march also. Wiprecht was unable



to hold his own against his two opponents and in 1124 Conrad was securely in power in Meissen. In 1136, Lothair, then emperor, appointed him to Lusatia as well. Thereafter, Upper Lusatia remained a part of Meissen and the march of Lusatia was reduced to Lower Lusatia alone.

In 1143, Conrad became Count of Groitzsch and Rochlitz and Vogt of Chemnitz and Naumburg. In 1147, while Conrad III of Germany was away on the Second Crusade, Conrad the Great joined Henry the Lion, Adalbert of Salzwedel, Albert the Bear, and the Archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen to organise a Crusade against the Obodrites and Wagri. In August, Conrad and Albert, with the bishops of Magdeburg, Havelburg, and Brandenburg, massed their forces at Magdeburg. The Obodrite prince Niklot and his fortress of Dubin and Dimin were besieged. Both he and Pribislav, another Obodrite prince, were forced to accept Christianity and make peace.

In the following years, he founded the monastery of St Peter auf dem Lauterberg (Petersberg), to which he retired on 30 November 1156. He died and was buried there next to his wife, Luitgard (Lucarda) von Elchingen-Ravenstein, daughter of Adalbert, Count of Elchingen-Ravenstein and Bertha of Hohenstaufen, daughter of Frederick I, Duke of Swabia and Agnes of Germany.

## Marriage and issue


Luitgard of Elchingen-Ravenstein, whom he had married before 1119, had blessed him with many children. His eldest surviving son, Otto II, Margrave of Meissen, succeeded him in Meissen, while his second surviving son, Dietrich I, succeeded in Lusatia. His son Henry I, Count of Wettin married Sophia of Sommerschenburg, Countess Palatine of Saxony, daughter of Count Fredrick II of Sommerschenburg and Countess Liutgard of Stade, queen dowager of Denmark.

- Heinrich (i.e. Henry; died young)
- Otto II
- Dietrich I
- Dedo V. der Feiste
- Henry I, Count of Wettin, married (1) Sophia of Sommerschenburg (d. 1189 or 1190), daughter of Count Fredrick II of Sommerschenburg, Count Palatine of Saxony and his wife Countess Liutgard of Stade (later queen of Denmark).
- Friedrich I von Brehna
- Oda
- Adela, Queen consort of Denmark
- Bertha
- Sophie
- Gertrud
- Agnes II, Princess-Abbess of Quedlinburg

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# Constantine the Great

Constantine I	
57th Emperor of the Roman Empire	
<div></div> <p>Head of Constantine's colossal statue at the Capitoline Museums. The original statue of marble was acrolithic with the torso consisting of a cuirass in bronze.<sup>[1]</sup></p>	
Reign	25 July 306 AD – 29 October 312 AD <sup>[2]</sup> 29 October 312 – 19 September 324 <sup>[3]</sup> 19 September 324 – 22 May 337 <sup>[4]</sup>
Full name	Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus
Born	27 February <i>ca.</i> 272 <sup>[5]</sup>
Birthplace	Naissus, Moesia
Died	22 May 337 (aged 65)
Place of death	Nicomedia
Predecessor	Constantius I
Successor	Constantine II Constantius II Constans I
Consort	Minervina, died or divorced before 307 Fausta
Offspring	Constantina Helena Crispus Constantine II Constantius II Constans
Dynasty	Constantinian dynasty
Father	Constantius Chlorus
Mother	Helena

**Constantine the Great** (Latin: *Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus*;<sup>[6]</sup> c. 27 February 272<sup>[5]</sup> – 22 May 337), also known as **Constantine I** or **Saint Constantine**,<sup>[7]</sup> was Roman Emperor from 306 to 337. Well known for being the first Roman emperor to convert to Christianity,<sup>[8]</sup> Constantine and co-Emperor Licinius issued the Edict of Milan in 313, which proclaimed religious tolerance of all religions throughout the empire.

The foremost general of his time, Constantine defeated the emperors Maxentius and Licinius during civil wars. He also fought successfully against the Franks, Alamanni, Visigoths, and Sarmatians during his reign—even resettling parts of Dacia which had been abandoned during the previous century. Constantine built a new imperial residence in place of Byzantium, naming it New Rome. However, in Constantine's honour, people called it Constantinople, which would later be the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire for over one thousand years. Because of this, he is thought of as the founder of the Eastern Roman Empire.

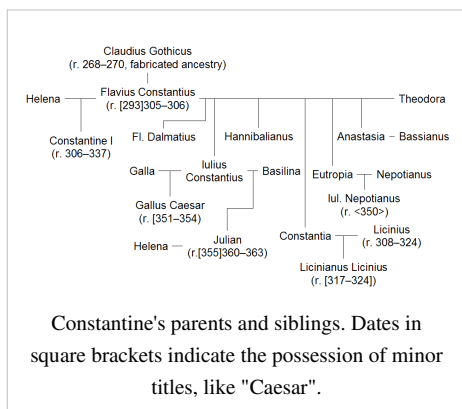
## Sources

Constantine was a ruler of major historical importance, but he has always been a controversial figure.<sup>[9]</sup> The fluctuations in Constantine's reputation reflect the nature of the ancient sources for his reign. These are abundant and detailed,<sup>[10]</sup> but have been strongly influenced by the official propaganda of the period,<sup>[11]</sup> and are often one-sided.<sup>[12]</sup> There are no surviving histories or biographies dealing with Constantine's life and rule.<sup>[13]</sup> The nearest replacement is Eusebius of Caesarea's *Vita Constantini*, a work that is a mixture of eulogy and hagiography.<sup>[14]</sup> Written between 335 and circa 339,<sup>[15]</sup> the *Vita* extols Constantine's moral and religious virtues.<sup>[16]</sup> The *Vita* creates a contentiously positive image of Constantine,<sup>[17]</sup> and modern historians have frequently challenged its reliability.<sup>[18]</sup> The fullest secular life of Constantine is the anonymous *Origo Constantini*.<sup>[19]</sup> A work of uncertain date,<sup>[20]</sup> the *Origo* focuses on military and political events, to the neglect of cultural and religious matters.<sup>[21]</sup>

Lactantius' *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, a political Christian pamphlet on the reigns of Diocletian and the Tetrarchy, provides valuable but tendentious detail on Constantine's predecessors and early life.<sup>[22]</sup> The ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret describe the ecclesiastic disputes of Constantine's later reign.<sup>[23]</sup> Written during the reign of Theodosius II (408–50), a century after Constantine's reign, these ecclesiastical historians obscure the events and theologies of the Constantinian period through misdirection, misrepresentation and deliberate obscurity.<sup>[24]</sup> The contemporary writings of the orthodox Christian Athanasius and the ecclesiastical history of the Arian Philostorgius also survive, though their biases are no less firm.<sup>[25]</sup>

The epitomes of Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus*), Eutropius (*Breviarium*), Festus (*Breviarium*), and the anonymous author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* offer compressed secular political and military histories of the period. Although not Christian, the epitomes paint a favorable image of Constantine, but omit reference to Constantine's religious policies.<sup>[26]</sup> The *Panegyrici Latini*, a collection of panegyrics from the late third and early fourth centuries, provide valuable information on the politics and ideology of the tetrarchic period and the early life of Constantine.<sup>[27]</sup> Contemporary architecture, like the Arch of Constantine in Rome and palaces in Gamzigrad and Córdoba,<sup>[28]</sup> epigraphic remains, and the coinage of the era complement the literary sources.<sup>[29]</sup>

## Early life



The remains of luxurious residence palace of Mediana, which was erected by Constantine I near his birth town of Naissus.

Flavius Valerius Constantinus, as he was originally named, was born in the city of Naissus, Moesia, in present-day Niš, Serbia, on 27 February of an uncertain year,<sup>[30]</sup> probably near 272.<sup>[31]</sup> His father was Flavius Constantius, a native of Moesia (later Dacia Ripensis).<sup>[32]</sup> Constantius was a tolerant and politically skilled man.<sup>[33]</sup> Constantine probably spent little time with his father.<sup>[34]</sup> Constantius was an officer in the Roman army in 272, part of the Emperor Aurelian's imperial bodyguard. Constantius advanced through the ranks, earning the governorship of Dalmatia from Emperor Diocletian, another of Aurelian's companions from Illyricum, in 284 or 285.<sup>[32]</sup> Constantine's mother was Helena (a Bithynian Greek), It is uncertain whether she was legally married to Constantius or merely his concubine.<sup>[35]</sup>

In July 285, Diocletian declared Maximian, another colleague from Illyricum, his co-emperor. Each emperor would have his own court, his own military and administrative faculties, and each would rule with a separate praetorian prefect as chief lieutenant.<sup>[36]</sup> Maximian ruled in the West, from his capitals at Mediolanum (Milan, Italy) or Augusta Treverorum (Trier, Germany), while Diocletian ruled in the East, from Nicomedia (İzmit, Turkey). The division was merely pragmatic: the Empire was called "indivisible" in official panegyric,<sup>[37]</sup> and both emperors could move freely throughout the Empire.<sup>[38]</sup> In 288, Maximian appointed Constantius to serve as his praetorian prefect

in Gaul. Constantius left Helena to marry Maximian's stepdaughter Theodora in 288 or 289.<sup>[39]</sup>

Diocletian divided the Empire again in 293, appointing two Caesars (junior emperors) to rule over further subdivisions of East and West. Each would be subordinate to their respective Augustus (senior emperor) but would act with supreme authority in his assigned lands. This system would later be called the Tetrarchy. Diocletian's first appointee for the office of Caesar was Constantius; his second was Galerius, a native of Felix Romuliana. According to Lactantius, Galerius was a brutal, animalistic man. Although he shared the paganism of Rome's aristocracy, he seemed to them an alien figure, a semi-barbarian.<sup>[40]</sup> On 1 March, Constantius was promoted to the office of Caesar, and dispatched to Gaul to fight the rebels Carausius and Allectus.<sup>[41]</sup> In spite of meritocratic overtones, the Tetrarchy retained vestiges of hereditary privilege,<sup>[42]</sup> and Constantine became the prime candidate for future appointment as Caesar as soon as his father took the position. Constantine went to the court of Diocletian, where he lived as his father's heir presumptive.<sup>[43]</sup>

## In the East

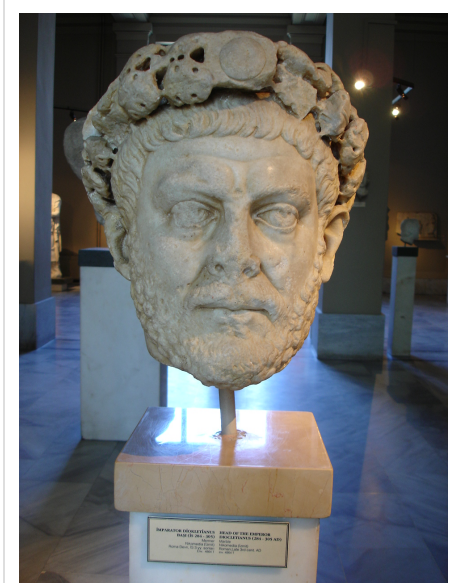
Constantine received a formal education at Diocletian's court, where he learned Latin literature, Greek, and philosophy.<sup>[44]</sup> The cultural environment in Nicomedia was open, fluid and socially mobile, and Constantine could mix with intellectuals both pagan and Christian. He may have attended the lectures of Lactantius, a Christian scholar of Latin in the city.<sup>[45]</sup> Because Diocletian did not completely trust Constantius — none of the Tetrarchs fully trusted their colleagues — Constantine was held as something of a hostage, a tool to ensure Constantius' best behaviour. Constantine was nonetheless a prominent member of the court: he fought for Diocletian and Galerius in Asia, and served in a variety of tribunates; he campaigned against barbarians on the Danube in 296, and fought the Persians

under Diocletian in Syria (297) and under Galerius in Mesopotamia (298–99).<sup>[46]</sup> By late 305, he had become a tribune of the first order, a *tribunus ordinis primi*.<sup>[47]</sup>

Constantine had returned to Nicomedia from the eastern front by the spring of 303, in time to witness the beginnings of Diocletian's "Great Persecution", the most severe persecution of Christians in Roman history.<sup>[48]</sup> In late 302, Diocletian and Galerius sent a messenger to the oracle of Apollo at Didyma with an inquiry about Christians.<sup>[49]</sup> Constantine could recall his presence at the palace when the messenger returned, when Diocletian accepted his court's demands for universal persecution.<sup>[50]</sup> On 23 February 303, Diocletian ordered the destruction of Nicomedia's new church, condemned its scriptures to the flame, and had its treasures seized. In the months that followed, churches and scriptures were destroyed, Christians were deprived of official ranks, and priests were imprisoned.<sup>[51]</sup>

It is unlikely that Constantine played any role in the persecution.<sup>[52]</sup> In his later writings he would attempt to present himself as an opponent of Diocletian's "sanguinary edicts" against the "worshippers of God",<sup>[53]</sup> but nothing indicates that he opposed it effectively at the time.<sup>[54]</sup> Although no contemporary Christian challenged Constantine for his inaction during the persecutions, it remained a political liability throughout his life.<sup>[55]</sup>

On 1 May 305, Diocletian, as a result of a debilitating sickness taken in the winter of 304–5, announced his resignation. In a parallel ceremony in Milan, Maximian did the same.<sup>[56]</sup> Lactantius states that Galerius manipulated the weakened Diocletian into resigning, and forced him to accept Galerius' allies in the imperial succession. According to Lactantius, the crowd listening to Diocletian's resignation speech believed, until the very last moment, that Diocletian would choose Constantine and Maxentius (Maximian's son) as his successors.<sup>[57]</sup> It was not to be: Constantius and Galerius were promoted to Augusti, while Severus and Maximin were appointed their Caesars respectively. Constantine and Maxentius were ignored.<sup>[58]</sup>



Head from a statue of Diocletian, Augustus of the East

Some of the ancient sources detail plots that Galerius made on Constantine's life in the months following Diocletian's abdication. They assert that Galerius assigned Constantine to lead an advance unit in a cavalry charge through a swamp on the middle Danube, made him enter into single combat with a lion, and attempted to kill him in hunts and wars. Constantine always emerged victorious: the lion emerged from the contest in a poorer condition than Constantine; Constantine returned to Nicomedia from the Danube with a Sarmatian captive to drop at Galerius' feet.<sup>[59]</sup> It is uncertain how much these tales can be trusted.<sup>[60]</sup>

## In the West

Constantine recognized the implicit danger in remaining at Galerius' court, where he was held as a virtual hostage. His career depended on being rescued by his father in the west. Constantius was quick to intervene.<sup>[61]</sup> In the late spring or early summer of 305, Constantius requested leave for his son, to help him campaign in Britain. After a long evening of drinking, Galerius granted the request. Constantine's later propaganda describes how Constantine fled the court in the night, before Galerius could change his mind. He rode from post-house to post-house at high speed, hamstringing every horse in his wake.<sup>[62]</sup> By the time Galerius awoke the following morning, Constantine had fled too far to be caught.<sup>[63]</sup> Constantine joined his father in Gaul, at Bononia (Boulogne) before the summer of 305.<sup>[64]</sup>



From Bononia they crossed the Channel to Britain and made their way to Eboracum (York), capital of the province of Britannia Secunda and home to a large military base. Constantine was able to spend a year in northern Britain at his father's side, campaigning against the Picts beyond Hadrian's Wall in the summer and autumn.<sup>[65]</sup> Constantius's campaign, like that of Septimius Severus before it, probably advanced far into the north without achieving great success.<sup>[66]</sup> Constantius had become severely sick over the course of his reign, and died on 25 July 306 in Eboracum (York). Before dying, he declared his support for raising Constantine to the rank of full Augustus. The Alamannic king Chrocus, a barbarian taken into service under Constantius, then proclaimed Constantine as Augustus. The troops loyal to Constantius' memory followed him in acclamation. Gaul and Britain quickly accepted his rule;<sup>[67]</sup> Iberia, which had been in his father's domain for less than a year, rejected it.<sup>[68]</sup>



Bronze statue of Constantine I in York, England, near the spot where he was proclaimed Augustus in 306

Constantine sent Galerius an official notice of Constantius's death and his own acclamation. Along with the notice, he included a portrait of himself in the robes of an Augustus.<sup>[69]</sup> The portrait was wreathed in bay.<sup>[70]</sup> He requested recognition as heir to his father's throne, and passed off responsibility for his unlawful ascension on his army, claiming they had "forced it upon him".<sup>[71]</sup> Galerius was put into a fury by the message; he almost set the portrait on fire. His advisers calmed him, and argued that outright denial of Constantine's claims would mean certain war.<sup>[72]</sup> Galerius was compelled to compromise: he granted Constantine the title "Caesar" rather than "Augustus" (The latter office went to Severus instead).<sup>[73]</sup> Wishing to make it clear that he alone gave Constantine legitimacy, Galerius personally sent Constantine the emperor's traditional purple robes.<sup>[74]</sup> Constantine accepted the decision,<sup>[73]</sup> knowing that it would remove doubts as to his legitimacy.<sup>[75]</sup>

## Early rule



The portrait of Gaius Flavius Valerius Constantinus on Roman coin, the inscription around the portrait is "Constantinus Aug[ustus]".

Constantine's share of the Empire consisted of Britain, Gaul, and Spain. He therefore commanded one of the largest Roman armies, stationed along the important Rhine frontier.<sup>[76]</sup> After his promotion to emperor, Constantine remained in Britain, and secured his control in the northwestern dioceses. He completed the reconstruction of military bases begun under his father's rule, and ordered the repair of the region's roadways.<sup>[77]</sup> He soon left for Augusta Treverorum (Trier) in Gaul, the Tetrarchic capital of the northwestern Roman Empire.<sup>[78]</sup> The Franks, after learning of Constantine's acclamation, invaded Gaul across the lower Rhine over the winter of 306–7.<sup>[79]</sup> Constantine drove them back beyond the Rhine and captured two of their kings, Ascaric and Merogaisus. The kings and their soldiers were fed to the beasts of Trier's amphitheater in the *adventus* (arrival) celebrations that followed.<sup>[80]</sup>

Constantine began a major expansion of Trier. He strengthened the circuit wall around the city with military towers and fortified gates, and began building a palace complex in the northeastern part of the city. To the south of his palace, he ordered the construction of a large formal audience hall, and a massive imperial bathhouse. Constantine sponsored many building projects across Gaul during his tenure as emperor of the West, especially in Augustodunum (Autun) and Arelate (Arles).<sup>[82]</sup> According to Lactantius, Constantine followed his father in following a tolerant policy towards Christianity. Although not yet a Christian, he probably judged it a more sensible policy than open persecution,<sup>[83]</sup> and a way to distinguish himself from the "great persecutor", Galerius.<sup>[84]</sup> Constantine decreed a formal end to persecution, and returned to Christians all they had lost during the persecutions.<sup>[85]</sup>



Public baths (*thermae*) built in Trier by Constantine. More than 100 metres (**unknown operator: u'strong'** ft) wide by 200 metres (**unknown operator: u'strong'** ft) long, and capable of serving several thousands at a time, the baths were built to rival those of Rome.<sup>[81]</sup>

Because Constantine was still largely untried and had a hint of illegitimacy about him, he relied on his father's reputation in his early propaganda: the earliest panegyrics to Constantine give as much coverage to his father's deeds as to those of Constantine himself.<sup>[86]</sup> Constantine's military skill and building projects soon gave the panegyrist the opportunity to comment favorably on the similarities between father and son, and Eusebius remarked that Constantine was a "renewal, as it were, in his own person, of his father's life and reign".<sup>[87]</sup> Constantinian coinage, sculpture and oratory also shows a new tendency for disdain towards the "barbarians" beyond the frontiers. After Constantine's victory over the Alemanni, he minted a coin issue depicting weeping and begging Alemannic tribesmen—"The Alemanni conquered"—beneath the phrase "Romans' rejoicing".<sup>[88]</sup> There was little sympathy for these enemies. As his panegyrist declared: "It is a stupid clemency that spares the conquered foe."<sup>[89]</sup>

## Maxentius' rebellion

Following Galerius' recognition of Constantine as emperor, Constantine's portrait was brought to Rome, as was customary. Maxentius mocked the portrait's subject as the son of a harlot, and lamented his own powerlessness.<sup>[90]</sup> Maxentius, jealous of Constantine's authority,<sup>[91]</sup> seized the title of emperor on 28 October 306. Galerius refused to recognize him, but failed to unseat him. Galerius sent Severus against Maxentius, but during the campaign, Severus' armies, previously under command of Maxentius' father Maximian, defected, and Severus was seized and imprisoned.<sup>[92]</sup> Maximian, brought out of retirement by his son's rebellion, left for Gaul to confer with Constantine in late 307. He offered to marry his daughter Fausta to Constantine, and elevate him to Augustan rank. In return, Constantine would reaffirm the old family alliance between Maximian and Constantius, and offer support to Maxentius' cause in Italy. Constantine accepted, and married Fausta in Trier in late summer 307. Constantine now gave Maxentius his meagre support, offering Maxentius political recognition.<sup>[93]</sup>



Dresden bust of Maxentius

Constantine remained aloof from the Italian conflict, however. Over the spring and summer of 307, he had left Gaul for Britain to avoid any involvement in the Italian turmoil;<sup>[94]</sup> now, instead of giving Maxentius military aid, he sent his troops against Germanic tribes along the Rhine. In 308, he raided the territory of the Bructeri, and made a bridge across the Rhine at Colonia Agrippinensium (Cologne). In 310, he marched to the northern Rhine and fought the Franks. When not campaigning, he toured his lands advertising his benevolence, and supporting the economy and the arts. His refusal to participate in the war increased his popularity among his people, and strengthened his power base in the West.<sup>[95]</sup> Maximian returned to Rome in the winter of 307–8, but soon fell out with his son. In early 309, after a failed attempt to usurp Maxentius' title, Maximian returned to Constantine's court.<sup>[96]</sup>

On 11 November 308, Galerius called a general council at the military city of Carnuntum (Petronell-Carnuntum, Austria) to resolve the instability in the western provinces. In attendance were Diocletian, briefly returned from retirement, Galerius, and Maximian. Maximian was forced to abdicate again and Constantine was again demoted to Caesar. Licinius, one of Galerius' old military companions, was appointed Augustus of the west. The new system did not last long: Constantine refused to accept the demotion, and continued to style himself as Augustus on his coinage, even as other members of the Tetrarchy referred to him as a Caesar on theirs. Maximinus Daia was frustrated that he had been passed over for promotion while the newcomer Licinius had been raised to the office of Augustus, and demanded that Galerius promote him. Galerius offered to call both Maximinus and Constantine "sons of the Augusti",<sup>[97]</sup> but neither accepted the new title. By the spring of 310, Galerius was referring to both men as Augusti.<sup>[98]</sup>

## Maximian's rebellion

In 310, a dispossessed and power-hungry Maximian rebelled against Constantine while Constantine was away campaigning against the Franks. Maximian had been sent south to Arles with a contingent of Constantine's army, in preparation for any attacks by Maxentius in southern Gaul. He announced that Constantine was dead, and took up the imperial purple. In spite of a large donative pledge to any who would support him as emperor, most of Constantine's army remained loyal to their emperor, and Maximian was soon compelled to leave. Constantine soon heard of the rebellion, abandoned his campaign against the Franks, and marched his army up the Rhine.<sup>[100]</sup> At Cabillunum (Chalon-sur-Saône), he moved his troops onto waiting boats to row down the slow waters of the Saône to the quicker waters of the Rhone. He disembarked at Lugdunum (Lyon).<sup>[101]</sup> Maximian fled to Massilia (Marseille), a town better able to withstand a long siege than Arles. It made little difference, however, as loyal citizens opened the rear gates to Constantine. Maximian was captured and reproved for his crimes. Constantine granted some clemency, but strongly encouraged his suicide. In July 310, Maximian hanged himself.<sup>[100]</sup>



A gold multiple of "Unconquered Constantine" with Sol Invictus, struck in 313. The use of Sol's image appealed to both the educated citizens of Gaul, who would recognize in it Apollo's patronage of Augustus and the arts; and to Christians, who found solar monotheism less objectionable than the traditional pagan pantheon.<sup>[99]</sup>

In spite of the earlier rupture in their relations, Maxentius was eager to present himself as his father's devoted son after his death.<sup>[102]</sup> He began minting coins with his father's deified image, proclaiming his desire to avenge

Maximian's death.<sup>[103]</sup> Constantine initially presented the suicide as an unfortunate family tragedy. By 311, however, he was spreading another version. According to this, after Constantine had pardoned him, Maximian planned to murder Constantine in his sleep. Fausta learned of the plot and warned Constantine, who put a eunuch in his own place in bed. Maximian was apprehended when he killed the eunuch and was offered suicide, which he accepted.<sup>[104]</sup> Along with using propaganda, Constantine instituted a *damnatio memoriae* on Maximian, destroying all inscriptions referring to him and eliminating any public work bearing his image.<sup>[105]</sup>

The death of Maximian required a shift in Constantine's public image. He could no longer rely on his connection to the elder emperor Maximian, and needed a new source of legitimacy.<sup>[106]</sup> In a speech delivered in Gaul on 25 July 310, the anonymous orator reveals a previously unknown dynastic connection to Claudius II, a third-century emperor famed for defeating the Goths and restoring order to the empire. Breaking away from tetrarchic models, the speech emphasizes Constantine's ancestral prerogative to rule, rather than principles of imperial equality. The new ideology expressed in the speech made Galerius and Maximian irrelevant to Constantine's right to rule.<sup>[107]</sup> Indeed, the orator emphasizes ancestry to the exclusion of all other factors: "No chance agreement of men, nor some unexpected consequence of favor, made you emperor," the orator declares to Constantine.<sup>[108]</sup>

The oration also moves away from the religious ideology of the Tetrarchy, with its focus on twin dynasties of Jupiter and Hercules. Instead, the orator proclaims that Constantine experienced a divine vision of Apollo and Victory granting him laurel wreaths of health and a long reign. In the likeness of Apollo Constantine recognized himself as the saving figure to whom would be granted "rule of the whole world",<sup>[109]</sup> as the poet Virgil had once foretold.<sup>[110]</sup> The oration's religious shift is paralleled by a similar shift in Constantine's coinage. In his early reign, the coinage of Constantine advertised Mars as his patron. From 310 on, Mars was replaced by Sol Invictus, a god conventionally identified with Apollo.<sup>[111]</sup> There is little reason to believe that either the dynastic connection or the divine vision are anything other than fiction, but their proclamation strengthened Constantine's claims to legitimacy and increased his popularity among the citizens of Gaul.<sup>[112]</sup>

## Civil wars

### War against Maxentius

By the middle of 310, Galerius had become too ill to involve himself in imperial politics.<sup>[113]</sup> His final act survives: a letter to the provincials posted in Nicomedia on 30 April 311, proclaiming an end to the persecutions, and the resumption of religious toleration.<sup>[114]</sup> He died soon after the edict's proclamation,<sup>[115]</sup> destroying what little remained of the tetrarchy.<sup>[116]</sup> Maximin mobilized against Licinius, and seized Asia Minor. A hasty peace was signed on a boat in the middle of the Bosphorus.<sup>[117]</sup> While Constantine toured Britain and Gaul, Maxentius prepared for war.<sup>[118]</sup> He fortified northern Italy, and strengthened his support in the Christian community by allowing it to elect a new Bishop of Rome, Eusebius.<sup>[119]</sup>

Maxentius' rule was nevertheless insecure. His early support dissolved in the wake of heightened tax rates and depressed trade; riots broke out in Rome and Carthage;<sup>[120]</sup> and Domitius Alexander was able to briefly usurp his authority in Africa.<sup>[121]</sup> By 312, he was a man barely tolerated, not one actively supported,<sup>[122]</sup> even among Christian Italians.<sup>[123]</sup> In the summer of 311, Maxentius mobilized against Constantine while Licinius was occupied with affairs in the East. He declared war on Constantine, vowing to avenge his father's "murder".<sup>[124]</sup> To prevent Maxentius from forming an alliance against him with Licinius,<sup>[125]</sup> Constantine forged his own alliance with Licinius over the winter of 311–12, and offered him his sister Constantia in marriage. Maximin considered Constantine's arrangement with Licinius an affront to his authority. In response, he sent ambassadors to Rome, offering political recognition to Maxentius in exchange for a military support. Maxentius accepted.<sup>[126]</sup> According to Eusebius, inter-regional travel became impossible, and there was military buildup everywhere. There was "not a place where people were not expecting the onset of hostilities every day".<sup>[127]</sup>



Constantine's advisers and generals cautioned against preemptive attack on Maxentius;<sup>[128]</sup> even his soothsayers recommended against it, stating that the sacrifices had produced unfavorable omens.<sup>[129]</sup> Constantine, with a spirit that left a deep impression on his followers, inspiring some to believe that he had some form of supernatural guidance,<sup>[130]</sup> ignored all these cautions.<sup>[131]</sup> Early in the spring of 312,<sup>[132]</sup> Constantine crossed the Cottian Alps with a quarter of his army, a force numbering about 40,000.<sup>[133]</sup> The first town his army encountered was Segusium (Susa, Italy), a heavily fortified town that shut its gates to him. Constantine ordered his men to set fire to its gates and scale its walls. He took the town quickly. Constantine ordered his troops not to loot the town, and advanced with them into northern Italy.<sup>[132]</sup>

At the approach to the west of the important city of Augusta Taurinorum (Turin, Italy), Constantine met a large force of heavily armed Maxentian cavalry.<sup>[134]</sup> In the ensuing battle Constantine's army encircled Maxentius' cavalry, flanked them with his own cavalry, and dismounted them with blows from his soldiers' iron-tipped clubs. Constantine's armies emerged victorious.<sup>[135]</sup> Turin refused to give refuge to Maxentius' retreating forces, opening its gates to Constantine instead.<sup>[136]</sup> Other cities of the north Italian plain sent Constantine embassies of congratulation for his victory. He moved on to Milan, where he was met with open gates and jubilant rejoicing. Constantine rested his army in Milan until mid-summer 312, when he moved on to Brixia (Brescia).<sup>[137]</sup>

Brescia's army was easily dispersed,<sup>[138]</sup> and Constantine quickly advanced to Verona, where a large Maxentian force was camped.<sup>[139]</sup> Ruricius Pompeianus, general of the Veronese forces and Maxentius' praetorian prefect,<sup>[140]</sup> was in a strong defensive position, since the town was surrounded on three sides by the Adige. Constantine sent a small force north of the town in an attempt to cross the river unnoticed. Ruricius sent a large detachment to counter Constantine's expeditionary force, but was defeated. Constantine's forces successfully surrounded the town and laid siege.<sup>[141]</sup> Ruricius gave Constantine the slip and returned with a larger force to oppose Constantine. Constantine refused to let up on the siege, and sent only a small force to oppose him. In the desperately fought encounter that followed, Ruricius was killed and his army destroyed.<sup>[142]</sup> Verona surrendered soon afterwards, followed by Aquileia,<sup>[143]</sup> Mutina (Modena),<sup>[144]</sup> and Ravenna.<sup>[145]</sup> The road to Rome was now wide open to Constantine.<sup>[146]</sup>

Maxentius prepared for the same type of war he had waged against Severus and Galerius: he sat in Rome and prepared for a siege.<sup>[147]</sup> He still controlled Rome's praetorian guards, was well-stocked with African grain, and was surrounded on all sides by the seemingly impregnable Aurelian Walls. He ordered all bridges across the Tiber cut, reportedly on the counsel of the gods,<sup>[148]</sup> and left the rest of central Italy undefended; Constantine secured that region's support without challenge.<sup>[149]</sup> Constantine progressed slowly<sup>[150]</sup> along the *Via Flaminia*,<sup>[151]</sup> allowing the weakness of Maxentius to draw his regime further into turmoil.<sup>[150]</sup> Maxentius' support continued to weaken: at chariot races on 27 October, the crowd openly taunted Maxentius, shouting that Constantine was invincible.<sup>[152]</sup> Maxentius, no longer certain that he would emerge from a siege victorious, built a temporary boat bridge across the Tiber in preparation for a field battle against Constantine.<sup>[153]</sup> On 28 October 312, the sixth anniversary of his reign, he approached the keepers of the Sibylline Books for guidance. The keepers prophesied that, on that very day, "the enemy of the Romans" would die. Maxentius advanced north to meet Constantine in battle.<sup>[154]</sup>

Maxentius organized his forces—still twice the size of Constantine's—in long lines facing the battle plain, with their backs to the river.<sup>[155]</sup> Constantine's army arrived at the field bearing unfamiliar symbols on either its standards or its soldiers' shields.<sup>[156]</sup> According to Lactantius, Constantine was visited by a dream the night before the battle, wherein he was advised "to mark the heavenly sign of God on the shields of his soldiers...by means of a slanted letter X with the top of its head bent round, he marked Christ on their shields."<sup>[157]</sup> Eusebius describes another version, where, while marching at midday, "he saw with his own eyes in the heavens a trophy of the cross arising from the



The Milvian Bridge (Ponte Milvio) over the Tiber, north of Rome, where Constantine and Maxentius fought in the Battle of the Milvian Bridge



light of the sun, carrying the message, *In Hoc Signo Vinces* or "In this sign, you will conquer";<sup>[158]</sup> in Eusebius's account, Constantine had a dream the following night, in which Christ appeared with the same heavenly sign, and told him to make a standard, the *labarum*, for his army in that form.<sup>[159]</sup> Eusebius is vague about when and where these events took place,<sup>[160]</sup> but it enters his narrative before the war against Maxentius begins.<sup>[161]</sup> Eusebius describes the sign as Chi (X) traversed by Rho (P):  $\chi\rho$ , a symbol representing the first two letters of the Greek spelling of the word *Christos* or Christ.<sup>[162]</sup> The Eusebian description of the vision has been explained as a type of solar halo called a "sun dog", a meteorological phenomenon which can produce similar effects.<sup>[163]</sup> In 315 a medallion was issued at Ticinum showing Constantine wearing a helmet emblazoned with the *Chi Rho*,<sup>[164]</sup> and coins issued at Siscia in 317/18 repeat the image.<sup>[165]</sup> The figure was otherwise rare, however, and is uncommon in imperial iconography and propaganda before the 320s.<sup>[166]</sup>

Constantine deployed his own forces along the whole length of Maxentius' line. He ordered his cavalry to charge, and they broke Maxentius' cavalry. He then sent his infantry against Maxentius' infantry, pushing many into the Tiber where they were slaughtered and drowned.<sup>[155]</sup> The battle was brief:<sup>[167]</sup> Maxentius' troops were broken before the first charge.<sup>[168]</sup> Maxentius' horse guards and praetorians initially held their position, but broke under the force of a Constantinian cavalry charge; they also broke ranks and fled to the river. Maxentius rode with them, and attempted to cross the bridge of boats, but he was pushed by the mass of his fleeing soldiers into the Tiber, and drowned.<sup>[169]</sup>

## In Rome

Constantine entered Rome on 29 October.<sup>[170]</sup> He staged a grand *adventus* in the city, and was met with popular jubilation.<sup>[171]</sup> Maxentius' body was fished out of the Tiber and decapitated. His head was paraded through the streets for all to see.<sup>[172]</sup> After the ceremonies, Maxentius' disembodied head was sent to Carthage; at this Carthage would offer no further resistance.<sup>[173]</sup> Unlike his predecessors, Constantine neglected to make the trip to the Capitoline Hill and perform customary sacrifices at the Temple of Jupiter.<sup>[174]</sup> He did, however, choose to honor the Senatorial Curia with a visit,<sup>[175]</sup> where he promised to restore its ancestral privileges and give it a secure role in his reformed government: there would be no revenge against Maxentius' supporters.<sup>[176]</sup> In response, the Senate decreed him "title of the first name", which meant his name would be listed first in all official documents,<sup>[177]</sup> and acclaimed him as "the greatest Augustus".<sup>[178]</sup> He issued decrees returning property lost under Maxentius, recalling political exiles, and releasing Maxentius' imprisoned opponents.<sup>[179]</sup>

An extensive propaganda campaign followed, during which Maxentius' image was systematically purged from all public places. Maxentius was written up as a "tyrant", and set against an idealized image of the "liberator", Constantine. Eusebius, in his later works, is the best representative of this strand of Constantinian propaganda.<sup>[180]</sup> Maxentius' rescripts were declared invalid, and the honors Maxentius had granted to leaders of the Senate were invalidated.<sup>[181]</sup> Constantine also attempted to remove Maxentius' influence on Rome's urban landscape. All structures built by Maxentius were re-dedicated to Constantine, including the Temple of Romulus and the Basilica of Maxentius.<sup>[182]</sup> At the focal point of the basilica, a stone statue of Constantine holding the Christian *labarum* in its hand was erected. Its inscription bore the message the statue had already made clear: By this sign Constantine had freed Rome from the yoke of the tyrant.<sup>[183]</sup>



*The Battle of the Milvian Bridge* by Giulio Romano



Colossal head of Constantine, from a seated statue: a youthful, classicising, other-worldly official image (Metropolitan Museum of Art)<sup>[184]</sup>

Where he did not overwrite Maxentius' achievements, Constantine upstaged them: the Circus Maximus was redeveloped so that its total seating capacity was twenty-five times larger than that of Maxentius' racing complex on the Via Appia.<sup>[185]</sup> Maxentius' strongest supporters in the military were neutralized when the Praetorian Guard and Imperial Horse Guard (*equites singulares*) were disbanded.<sup>[186]</sup> Their tombstones were ground up and put to use in a basilica on the Via Labicana.<sup>[187]</sup> On 9 November 312, barely two weeks after Constantine captured the city, the former base of the Imperial Horse Guard was chosen for redevelopment into the Lateran Basilica.<sup>[188]</sup> The Legio II Parthica was removed from Alba (Albano Laziale),<sup>[181]</sup> and the remainder of Maxentius' armies were sent to do frontier duty on the Rhine.<sup>[189]</sup>

### Wars against Licinius

In the following years, Constantine gradually consolidated his military superiority over his rivals in the crumbling Tetrarchy. In 313, he met Licinius in Milan to secure their alliance by the marriage of Licinius and Constantine's half-sister Constantia. During this meeting, the emperors agreed on the so-called Edict of Milan,<sup>[190]</sup> officially granting full tolerance to Christianity and all religions in the Empire.<sup>[191]</sup> The document had special benefits for Christians, legalizing their religion and granting them restoration for all property seized during Diocletian's persecution. It repudiates past methods of religious coercion and used only general terms to refer to the divine sphere — "Divinity" and "Supreme Divinity", *summa divinitas*.<sup>[192]</sup> The conference was cut short, however, when news reached Licinius that his rival Maximin had crossed the Bosphorus and invaded European territory. Licinius departed and eventually defeated Maximin, gaining control over the entire eastern half of the Roman Empire. Relations between the two remaining emperors deteriorated, as Constantine suffered an assassination attempt at the hands of a character that Licinius wanted elevated to the rank of Caesar;<sup>[193]</sup> in either 314 or 316 the two Augusti fought against one another at the Battle of Cibalae, with Constantine being victorious. They clashed again at the Battle of Mardia in 317, and agreed to a settlement in which Constantine's sons Crispus and Constantine II, and Licinius' son Licinianus were made *caesars*.<sup>[194]</sup> After this arrangement, Constantine ruled the dioceses of Pannonia and Macedonia and took residence at Sirmium, from whence he could wage war on the Goths and Sarmatians in 322, and on the Goths in 323.<sup>[193]</sup>

In the year 320, Licinius reneged on the religious freedom promised by the Edict of Milan in 313 and began to oppress Christians anew,<sup>[195]</sup> generally without bloodshed, but resorting to confiscations and sacking of Christian office-holders.<sup>[196]</sup> That became a challenge to Constantine in the West, climaxing in the great civil war of 324. Licinius, aided by Goth mercenaries, represented the past and the ancient Pagan faiths. Constantine and his Franks marched under the standard of the *labarum*, and both sides saw the battle in religious terms. Outnumbered, but fired by their zeal, Constantine's army emerged victorious in the Battle of Adrianople. Licinius fled across the Bosphorus and appointed Martius Martinianus, the commander of his bodyguard, as Caesar, but Constantine next won the Battle of the Hellespont, and finally the Battle of Chrysopolis on 18 September 324.<sup>[197]</sup> Licinius and Martinianus surrendered to Constantine at Nicomedia on the promise their lives would be spared: they were sent to live as private citizens in Thessalonica and Cappadocia respectively, but in 325 Constantine accused Licinius of plotting against him and had them both arrested and hanged; Licinius's son (the son of Constantine's half-sister) was also eradicated.<sup>[198]</sup> Thus Constantine became the sole emperor of the Roman Empire.<sup>[199]</sup>

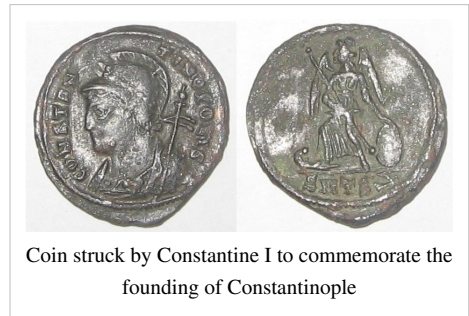
## Later rule

### Foundation of Constantinople

Licinius' defeat came to represent the defeat of a rival center of Pagan and Greek-speaking political activity in the East, as opposed to the Christian and Latin-speaking Rome, and it was proposed that a new Eastern capital should represent the integration of the East into the Roman Empire as a whole, as a center of learning, prosperity, and cultural preservation for the whole of the Eastern Roman Empire.<sup>[200]</sup>

Among the various locations proposed to this alternate capital, Constantine appears to have toyed earlier with Serdica (present-day Sofia), as he was reported saying that "*Serdica is my Rome*".<sup>[201]</sup>

Sirmium and Thessalonica were also considered.<sup>[202]</sup> Eventually, however, Constantine decided to work on the Greek city of Byzantium, which offered the advantage of having already been extensively rebuilt on Roman patterns of urbanism, during the preceding century, by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, who had already acknowledged its strategical importance.<sup>[203]</sup> The city was then renamed *Constantinopolis* ("Constantine's City" or Constantinople in English), and issued special commemorative coins in 330 to honor the event. The new city was protected by the relics of the True Cross, the Rod of Moses and other holy relics, though a cameo now at the Hermitage Museum also represented Constantine crowned by the tyche of the new city.<sup>[204]</sup> The figures of old gods were either replaced or assimilated into a framework of Christian symbolism. Constantine built the new Church of the Holy Apostles on the site of a temple to Aphrodite. Generations later there was the story that a Divine vision led Constantine to this spot, and an angel no one else could see, led him on a circuit of the new walls. The capital would often be compared to the 'old' Rome as *Nova Roma Constantinopolitana*, the "New Rome of Constantinople".<sup>[199][205]</sup>



Coin struck by Constantine I to commemorate the founding of Constantinople

### Religious policy

Further information: Constantine I and Christianity and Constantine the Great and Judaism

Constantine is perhaps best known for being the first Christian Roman emperor; his reign was certainly a turning point for the Church. In February 313, Constantine met with Licinius in Milan, where they developed the Edict of Milan. The edict stated that Christians should be allowed to follow the faith without oppression.<sup>[206]</sup> This removed penalties for professing Christianity (under which many had been martyred in persecutions of Christians) and returned confiscated Church property. The edict protected from religious persecution not only Christians but all religions, allowing anyone to worship whichever deity they chose. A similar edict had been issued in 311 by Galerius, then senior emperor of the Tetrarchy; Galerius' edict granted Christians the right to practice their religion but did not restore any property to them.<sup>[207]</sup> The Edict of Milan included several clauses which stated that all confiscated churches would be returned as well as other provisions for previously persecuted Christians.

Scholars debate whether Constantine adopted his mother St. Helena's Christianity in his youth, or whether he adopted it gradually over the course of his life.<sup>[208]</sup> Constantine would retain the title of *pontifex maximus* until his death, a title emperors bore as heads of the pagan priesthood, as would his Christian successors on to Gratian (r. 375–83). According to Christian



Constantine the Great, mosaic in Hagia Sophia, c. 1000



writers, Constantine was over 40 when he finally declared himself a Christian, writing to Christians to make clear that he believed he owed his successes to the protection of the Christian High God alone.<sup>[209]</sup> Throughout his rule, Constantine supported the Church financially, built basilicas, granted privileges to clergy (e.g. exemption from certain taxes), promoted Christians to high office, and returned property confiscated during the Diocletianic persecution.<sup>[210]</sup> His most famous building projects include the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and Old Saint Peter's Basilica.

Constantine did not patronize Christianity alone, however. After gaining victory in the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (312), a triumphal arch—the Arch of Constantine—was built (315) to celebrate it; the arch is decorated with images of Victoria and sacrifices to gods like Apollo, Diana, and Hercules, but contains no Christian symbolism.

In 321, Constantine instructed that Christians and non-Christians should be united in observing the **venerable day of the sun**, referencing the esoteric eastern sun-worship which Aurelian had helped introduce, and his coinage still carried the symbols of the sun cult until 324. Even after the pagan gods had disappeared from the coinage, Christian symbols appeared only as Constantine's *personal* attributes: the chi rho between his hands or on his labarum, but never on the coin itself.<sup>[211]</sup> Even when Constantine dedicated the new capital of Constantinople, which became the seat of Byzantine Christianity for a millennium, he did so wearing the Apollonian sun-rayed Diadem.

The reign of Constantine established a precedent for the position of the emperor as having some influence within the religious discussions going on within the Catholic Church of that time, e.g., the dispute over Arianism. Constantine himself disliked the risks to societal stability that religious disputes and controversies brought with them, preferring where possible to establish an orthodoxy.<sup>[212]</sup> The emperor saw it as his duty to ensure that God was properly worshipped in his empire, and that what proper worship consisted would be determined by the Church.<sup>[213]</sup> From 313–316 bishops in North Africa struggled with non-orthodox bishops who had been ordained by Donatus in opposition to Caecilian, the orthodox bishop. The African bishops could not come to terms and the Donatists asked Constantine to act as a judge in the dispute. Three regional Church councils and another trial before Constantine all ruled against Donatus and the Donatism movement in North Africa. In 317 Constantine's patience had been exhausted—he issued an edict to confiscate Donatist church property and to send Donatist clergy into exile.<sup>[214]</sup> More significantly, in 325 he summoned the Council of Nicaea, effectively the first Ecumenical Council (unless the Council of Jerusalem is so classified). The Council of Nicaea is most known for its dealing with Arianism, which from then on became officially regarded as a heresy, and for instituting the Nicene Creed. Constantine also enforced the prohibition of the First Council of Nicaea against celebrating the Lord's Supper on the day before the Jewish Passover (14 *Nisan*) (see Quartodecimanism and Easter controversy). This marked a definite break of Christianity from the Judaic tradition. From then on the Roman Julian Calendar, a solar calendar, was given precedence over the lunar Hebrew Calendar among the Christian churches of the Roman Empire.<sup>[215]</sup>

Constantine made new laws regarding the Jews. They were forbidden to own Christian slaves or to circumcise their slaves.



Constantine burning Arian books

## Administrative reforms

Beginning in the mid-3rd century the emperors began to favor members of the equestrian order over senators, who had had a monopoly on the most important offices of state. Senators were stripped of the command of legions and most provincial governorships (as it was felt that they lacked the specialized military upbringing needed in an age of acute defense needs<sup>[216]</sup>), such posts being given to equestrians by Diocletian and his colleagues—following a practice enforced piecemeal by their predecessors. The emperors however, still needed the talents and the help of the very rich, who were relied on to maintain social order and cohesion by means of a web of powerful influence and contacts at all levels. Exclusion of the old senatorial aristocracy threatened this arrangement.

In 326, Constantine reversed this pro-equestrian trend, raising many administrative positions to senatorial rank and thus opening these offices to the old aristocracy, and at the same time elevating the rank of already existing equestrians office-holders to senator, eventually wiping out the equestrian order—at least as a bureaucratic rank<sup>[217]</sup>—in the process. One could become a senator, either by being elected praetor or (in most cases) by fulfilling a function of senatorial rank:<sup>[218]</sup> from then on, holding of actual power and social status were melded together into a joint imperial hierarchy. At the same time, Constantine gained with this the support of the old nobility,<sup>[219]</sup> as the Senate was allowed itself to elect praetors and quaestors, in place of the usual practice of the emperors directly creating new magistrates (*adlectio*). In one inscription in honor of city prefect (336–37) Ceionius Rufus Albinus, it was written that Constantine had restored the Senate "the *auctoritas* it had lost at Caesar's time".<sup>[220]</sup>

The Senate as a body remained devoid of any significant power; nevertheless, the senators, who had been marginalized as potential holders of imperial functions during the 3rd century, could now dispute such positions alongside more upstart bureaucrats.<sup>[221]</sup> Some modern historians see in those administrative reforms an attempt by Constantine at reintegrating the senatorial order into the imperial administrative elite to counter the possibility of alienating pagan senators from a Christianized imperial rule;<sup>[222]</sup> however, such an interpretation remains conjectural, given the fact that we do not have the precise numbers about pre-Constantine conversions to Christianity in the old senatorial milieu—some historians suggesting that early conversions among the old aristocracy were more numerous than previously supposed.<sup>[223]</sup>

Constantine's reforms had to do only with the civilian administration: the military chiefs, who since the Crisis of the Third Century had risen from the ranks,<sup>[224]</sup> remained outside the senate, in which they were included only by Constantine's children.<sup>[225]</sup>

## Monetary reforms

After the runaway inflation of the third century, associated with the production of fiat money to pay for public expenses, Diocletian had tried unsuccessfully to reestablish trustworthy minting of silver and billon coins. The failure of the various Diocletianic attempts at the restoration of a functioning silver coin resided in the fact that the silver currency was overvalued in terms of its actual metal content, and therefore could only circulate at much discounted rates. Minting of the Diocletianic "pure" silver *argenteus* ceased, therefore, soon after 305, while the billon currency continued to be used until the 360s. From then on, Constantine forsook any attempts at restoring the silver currency, preferring instead to concentrate on minting large quantities of good standard gold pieces—the solidus, 72 of which made a pound of gold. Billon minting being stopped, *de jure*, in 367, a new and highly debased silver piece was eventually continued by various denominations of bronze coins, the most important being the *centenionalis*.<sup>[226]</sup> These bronze pieces continued to be devalued, assuring the possibility of keeping fiduciary minting alongside a gold standard. The anonymous author of the possibly contemporary treatise on military affairs *De Rebus Bellicis* held that, as a consequence of this monetary policy, the rift between classes widened: the rich benefited from the stability in purchasing power of the gold piece, while the poor had to cope with ever-degrading bronze pieces.<sup>[227]</sup> Later emperors like Julian the Apostate tried to present themselves as advocates of the *humiles* by insisting on trustworthy mintings of the bronze currency.<sup>[228]</sup>



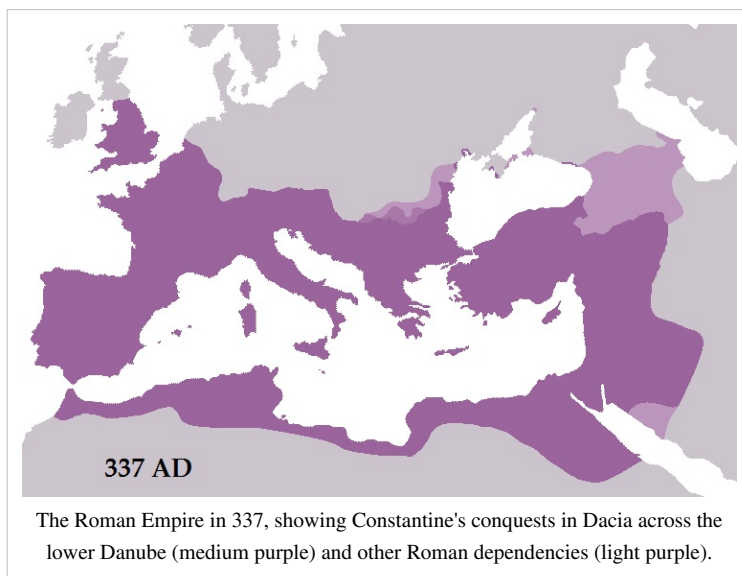
Constantine's monetary policy were closely associated with his religious ones, in that increased minting was associated with measures of confiscation—taken since 331 and closed in 336—of all gold, silver and bronze statues from pagan temples, who were declared as imperial property and, as such, as monetary assets. Two imperial commissioners for each province had the task of getting hold of the statues and having them melted for immediate minting—with the exception of a number of bronze statues who were used as public monuments for the beautification of the new capital in Constantinople<sup>[229]</sup>

### Executions of Crispus and Fausta

On some date between 15 May and 17 June 326, Constantine had his eldest son Crispus, by Minervina, seized and put to death by "cold poison" at Pola (Pula, Croatia).<sup>[230]</sup> In July, Constantine had his wife, the Empress Fausta, killed at the behest of his mother, Helena. Fausta was left to die in an over-heated bath.<sup>[231]</sup> Their names were wiped from the face of many inscriptions, references to their lives in the literary record were erased, and the memory of both was condemned. Eusebius, for example, edited praise of Crispus out of later copies of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and his *Vita Constantini* contains no mention of Fausta or Crispus at all.<sup>[232]</sup> Few ancient sources are willing to discuss possible motives for the events; those few that do offer unconvincing rationales, are of later provenance, and are generally unreliable. At the time of the executions, it was commonly believed that the Empress Fausta was either in an illicit relationship with Crispus, or was spreading rumors to that effect. A popular myth arose, modified to allude to Hippolytus–Phaedra legend, with the suggestion that Constantine killed Crispus and Fausta for their immoralities.<sup>[233]</sup> One source, the largely fictional *Passion of Artemius*, probably penned in the eighth century by John of Damascus, makes the legendary connection explicit.<sup>[234]</sup> As an interpretation of the executions, the myth rests on only "the slimmest of evidence": sources that allude to the relationship between Crispus and Fausta are late and unreliable, and the modern suggestion that Constantine's "godly" edicts of 326 and the irregularities of Crispus are somehow connected rests on no evidence at all.<sup>[233]</sup>

Although Constantine created his apparent heirs "Caesars", following a pattern established by Diocletian, he gave his creations an hereditary character, alien to the tetrarchic system: Constantine's Caesars were to be kept in the hope of ascending to Empire, and entirely subordinated to their Augustus, as long as he was alive.<sup>[235]</sup> Therefore, an alternative explanation for the execution of Crispus was, perhaps, Constantine's desire to keep a firm grip on his prospective heirs, this—and Fausta's desire for having her sons inheriting instead of their stepbrother—being reason enough for killing Crispus; the subsequent execution of Fausta, however, was probably meant as a reminder to her children that Constantine would not hesitate in "killing his own relatives when he felt this was necessary".<sup>[236]</sup>

## Later campaigns



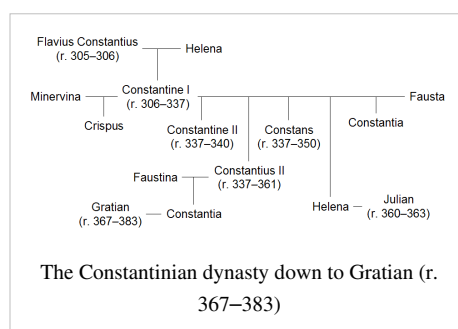
Constantine considered Constantinople as his capital and permanent residence. He lived there for a good portion of his later life. He rebuilt Trajan's bridge across the Danube, in hopes of reconquering Dacia, a province that had been abandoned under Aurelian. In the late winter of 332, Constantine campaigned with the Sarmatians against the Goths. The weather and a lack of food did the Goths in; nearly one hundred thousand died before they submitted to Roman lordship. In 334, after Sarmatian commoners had overthrown their leaders, Constantine led a campaign against the tribe. He won a victory in the war and

extended his control over the region, as remains of camps and fortifications in the region indicate.<sup>[237]</sup> Constantine resettled some Sarmatian exiles as farmers in Illyrian and Roman districts, and conscripted the rest into the army. Constantine took the title *Dacicus maximus* in 336.<sup>[238]</sup>

In the last years of his life Constantine made plans for a campaign against Persia. In a letter written to the king of Persia, Shapur, Constantine had asserted his patronage over Persia's Christian subjects and urged Shapur to treat them well.<sup>[239]</sup> The letter is undatable. In response to border raids, Constantine sent Constantius to guard the eastern frontier in 335. In 336, prince Narseh invaded Armenia (a Christian kingdom since 301) and installed a Persian client on the throne. Constantine then resolved to campaign against Persia himself. He treated the war as a Christian crusade, calling for bishops to accompany the army and commissioning a tent in the shape of a church to follow him everywhere. Constantine planned to be baptized in the Jordan River before crossing into Persia. Persian diplomats came to Constantinople over the winter of 336–7, seeking peace, but Constantine turned them away. The campaign was called off however, when Constantine fell sick in the spring of 337.<sup>[240]</sup>

## Sickness and death

Constantine had known death would soon come. Within the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantine had secretly prepared a final resting-place for himself.<sup>[241]</sup> It came sooner than he had expected. Soon after the Feast of Easter 337, Constantine fell seriously ill.<sup>[242]</sup> He left Constantinople for the hot baths near his mother's city of Helenopolis (Altinova), on the southern shores of the Gulf of İzmit. There, in a church his mother built in honor of Lucian the Apostle, he prayed, and there he realized that he was dying. Seeking purification, he became a catechumen, and attempted a return to Constantinople, making it only as far as a suburb of Nicomedia.<sup>[243]</sup> He summoned the bishops, and told them of his hope to be baptized in the River Jordan, where Christ was written to have been baptized. He requested the baptism right away, promising to live a more Christian life should he live through his illness. The bishops, Eusebius records, "performed the sacred ceremonies according to custom".<sup>[244]</sup> He chose the Arianizing bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, bishop of the city where he lay dying, as his baptizer.<sup>[245]</sup> In postponing his baptism, he followed one custom at the time which



postponed baptism until after infancy.<sup>[246]</sup> It has been thought that Constantine put off baptism as long as he did so as to be absolved from as much of his sin as possible.<sup>[247]</sup> Constantine died soon after at a suburban villa called Achyron, on the last day of the fifty-day festival of Pentecost directly following Easter, on 22 May 337.<sup>[248]</sup>



*The Baptism of Constantine*, as imagined by students of Raphael

Although Constantine's death follows the conclusion of the Persian campaign in Eusebius's account, most other sources report his death as occurring in its middle. Emperor Julian, writing in the mid-350s, observes that the Sassanians escaped punishment for their ill-deeds, because Constantine died "in the middle of his preparations for war".<sup>[249]</sup> Similar accounts are given in the *Origo Constantini*, an anonymous document composed while Constantine was still living, and which has Constantine dying in Nicomedia;<sup>[250]</sup> the *Historiae abbreviatae* of Sextus Aurelius Victor, written in 361, which has Constantine dying at an estate near Nicomedia called Achyronea while

marching against the Persians;<sup>[251]</sup> and the *Breviarium* of Eutropius, a handbook compiled in 369 for the Emperor Valens, which has Constantine dying in a nameless state villa in Nicomedia.<sup>[252]</sup> From these and other accounts, some have concluded that Eusebius's *Vita* was edited to defend Constantine's reputation against what Eusebius saw as a less congenial version of the campaign.<sup>[253]</sup>

Following his death, his body was transferred to Constantinople and buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles there.<sup>[254]</sup> He was succeeded by his three sons born of Fausta, Constantine II, Constantius II and Constans. A number of relatives were killed by followers of Constantius, notably Constantine's nephews Dalmatius (who held the rank of Caesar) and Hannibalianus, presumably to eliminate possible contenders to an already complicated succession. He also had two daughters, Constantina and Helena, wife of Emperor Julian.<sup>[255]</sup>

## Legacy

Although he earned his honorific of "The Great" ("Μέγας") from Christian historians long after he had died, it is thought that he could have claimed the title on his military achievements and victories alone. Besides reuniting the Empire under one emperor, Constantine won major victories over the Franks and Alamanni in 306–8, the Franks again in 313–14, the Visigoths in 332 and the Sarmatians in 334. By 336, Constantine had reoccupied most of the long-lost province of Dacia, which Aurelian had been forced to abandon in 271. At the time of his death, he was planning a great expedition to end raids on the eastern provinces from the Persian Empire.<sup>[256]</sup>

In the cultural sphere Constantine contributed to the revival of the clean shaven face fashion of the Roman emperors from Augustus to Trajan, which was originally introduced among the Romans by Scipio Africanus. This new Roman imperial fashion lasted until the reign of Phocas.<sup>[257][258]</sup>

The Byzantine Empire considered Constantine its founder and the Holy Roman Empire reckoned him among the venerable figures of its tradition. In the later Byzantine state, it had become a great honor for an emperor to be hailed as a "new Constantine". Ten emperors, including the last emperor of Byzantium, carried the name.<sup>[259]</sup> Monumental Constantinian forms were used at the court of Charlemagne to suggest that he was Constantine's successor and equal. Constantine acquired a mythic role as a warrior against "heathens". The motif of the Romanesque equestrian, the



Bronze head of Constantine, from a colossal statue (4th century).

mounted figure in the posture of a triumphant Roman emperor, became a visual metaphor in statuary in praise of local benefactors. The name "Constantine" itself enjoyed renewed popularity in western France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>[260]</sup> Most Eastern Christian churches consider Constantine a saint (Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος, Saint Constantine).<sup>[261]</sup> In the Byzantine Church he was called *isapostolos* (Ισαπόστολος Κωνσταντίνος) —an equal of the Apostles.<sup>[262]</sup> Niš airport is named Constantine the Great in honor of his birth in Naissus.

## Historiography

During his life and those of his sons, Constantine was presented as a paragon of virtue. Even pagans like Praxagoras of Athens and Libanius showered him with praise. When the last of his sons died in 361, however, his nephew Julian the Apostate wrote the satire *Symposium, or the Saturnalia*, which denigrated Constantine, calling him inferior to the great pagan emperors, and given over to luxury and greed.<sup>[263]</sup> Following Julian, Eunapius began—and Zosimus continued—a historiographic tradition that blamed Constantine for weakening the Empire through his indulgence to the Christians.<sup>[264]</sup>

In medieval times, when the Roman Catholic Church was dominant, Catholic historians presented Constantine as an ideal ruler, the standard against which any king or emperor could be measured.<sup>[265]</sup> The Renaissance rediscovery of anti-Constantinian sources prompted a re-evaluation of Constantine's career. The German humanist Johann Löwenklau, discoverer of Zosimus' writings, published a Latin translation thereof in 1576. In its preface, he argued that Zosimus' picture of Constantine was superior to that offered by Eusebius and the Church historians, and damned Constantine as a tyrant.<sup>[266]</sup> Cardinal Caesar Baronius, a man of the Counter-Reformation, criticized Zosimus, favoring Eusebius' account of the Constantinian era. Baronius' *Life of Constantine* (1588) presents Constantine as the model of a Christian prince.<sup>[267]</sup> For his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–89), Edward Gibbon, aiming to unite the two extremes of Constantinian scholarship, offered a portrait of Constantine built on the contrasted narratives of Eusebius and Zosimus.<sup>[268]</sup> In a form that parallels his account of the empire's decline, Gibbon presents a noble war hero corrupted by Christian influences, who transforms into an Oriental despot in his old age: "a hero...degenerating into a cruel and dissolute monarch".<sup>[269]</sup>

Modern interpretations of Constantine's rule begin with Jacob Burckhardt's *The Age of Constantine the Great* (1853, rev. 1880). Burckhardt's Constantine is a scheming secularist, a politician who manipulates all parties in a quest to secure his own power.<sup>[270]</sup> Henri Grégoire, writing in the 1930s, followed Burckhardt's evaluation of Constantine. For Grégoire, Constantine developed an interest in Christianity only after witnessing its political usefulness. Grégoire was skeptical of the authenticity of Eusebius' *Vita*, and postulated a pseudo-Eusebius to assume responsibility for the vision and conversion narratives of that work.<sup>[271]</sup> Otto Seeck, in *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* (1920–23), and André Piganiol, in *L'empereur Constantin* (1932), wrote against this historiographic tradition. Seeck presented Constantine as a sincere war hero, whose ambiguities were the product of his own naïve inconsistency.<sup>[272]</sup> Piganiol's Constantine is a philosophical monotheist, a child of his era's religious syncretism.<sup>[273]</sup> Related histories by A.H.M. Jones (*Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (1949)) and Ramsay MacMullen (*Constantine* (1969)) gave portraits of a less visionary, and more impulsive, Constantine.<sup>[274]</sup>

These later accounts were more willing to present Constantine as a genuine convert to Christianity. Beginning with Norman H. Baynes' *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church* (1929) and reinforced by Andreas Alföldi's *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (1948), a historiographic tradition developed which presented Constantine as a committed Christian. T. D. Barnes's seminal *Constantine and Eusebius* (1981) represents the culmination of this trend. Barnes' Constantine experienced a radical conversion, which drove him on a personal crusade to convert his empire.<sup>[275]</sup> Charles Matson Odahl's recent *Constantine and the Christian Empire* (2004) takes much the same tack.<sup>[276]</sup> In spite of Barnes' work, arguments over the strength and depth of Constantine's religious conversion continue.<sup>[277]</sup> Certain themes in this school reached new extremes in T.G. Elliott's *The Christianity of Constantine the Great* (1996), which presented Constantine as a committed Christian from early childhood.<sup>[278]</sup> A similar view of Constantine is held in Paul Veyne's recent (2007) work, *Quand notre monde est devenu chrétien*,

which does not speculate on the origins of Constantine's Christian motivation, but presents him, in his role as Emperor, as a religious revolutionary who fervently believed himself meant "to play a providential role in the millenary economy of the salvation of humanity".<sup>[279]</sup>

### Donation of Constantine

Latin Rite Catholics considered it inappropriate that Constantine was baptized only on his death-bed and by an unorthodox bishop, as it undermined the authority of the Papacy. Hence, by the early fourth century, a legend had emerged that Pope Sylvester I (314–35) had cured the pagan emperor from leprosy. According to this legend, Constantine was soon baptized, and began the construction of a church in the Lateran Palace.<sup>[280]</sup> In the eighth century, most likely during the pontificate of Stephen II (752–7), a document called the Donation of Constantine first appeared, in which the freshly converted Constantine hands the temporal rule over "the city of Rome and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy and the Western regions" to Sylvester and his successors.<sup>[281]</sup> In the High Middle Ages, this document was used and accepted as the basis for the Pope's temporal power, though it was denounced as a forgery by Emperor Otto III<sup>[282]</sup> and lamented as the root of papal worldliness by the poet Dante Alighieri.<sup>[283]</sup> The 15th century philologist Lorenzo Valla proved the document was indeed a forgery.<sup>[284]</sup>

### Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*

Because of his fame and his being proclaimed Emperor in the territory of Roman Britain, later Britons regarded Constantine as a king of their own people. In the 12th century Henry of Huntingdon included a passage in his *Historia Anglorum* that Constantine's mother Helena was a Briton, the daughter of King Cole of Colchester.<sup>[285]</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth expanded this story in his highly fictionalized *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and account of the supposed Kings of Britain from their Trojan origins to the Anglo-Saxon invasion.<sup>[286]</sup> According to Geoffrey, Cole was King of the Britons when Constantius, here a senator, came to Britain. Afraid of the Romans, Cole submitted to Roman law so long as he retained his kingship. However, he died only a month later, and Constantius took the throne himself, marrying Cole's daughter Helena. They had their son Constantine, who succeeded his father as King of Britain before becoming Roman Emperor.

Historically, this series of events is extremely improbable. Constantius had already left Helena by the time he left for Britain.<sup>[39]</sup> Additionally, no earlier source mentions that Helena was born in Britain, let alone that she was a princess. Henry's source for the story is unknown, though it may have been a lost hagiography of Helena.<sup>[286]</sup>

### Constantine in popular culture

Constantine was played by Cornel Wilde in the 1962 film *Constantine and the Cross*.

He is also slated to be portrayed by Robert Vincent Jones in the upcoming film *Nicholas of Myra*.

*Constantine: The Miracle of the Flaming Cross* is a romanticised, novelised account of Constantine's life written by American author Frank G. Slaughter and published in 1965. It largely drew on Edward Gibbon's history of the Roman Empire as well as Eusebius of Caesarea's contemporary account, as indicated in the afterword of the original edition.<sup>[287]</sup>

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## Notes

- [1] Jás Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*, 64, fig.32
- [2] Caesar in the west; self-proclaimed Augustus from 309; recognized as such in the east in April 310.
- [3] Undisputed Augustus in the west, senior Augustus in the empire.
- [4] As emperor of whole empire.
- [5] Birth dates vary but most modern historians use c. 272". Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 59.
- [6] In Classical Latin, Constantine's official imperial title was IMPERATOR CAESAR FLAVIVS CONSTANTINVS PIVS FELIX INVICTVS AVGVSTVS, *Imperator Caesar Flavius Constantine Augustus, the pious, the fortunate, the undefeated*. After 312, he added MAXIMVS ("the greatest"), and after 325 replaced ("undefeated") with VICTOR, as *invictus* reminded many of Sol Invictus, the Sun God.
- [7] Among Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic Christians. The Byzantine liturgical calendar, observed by the Eastern Orthodox Church and Eastern Catholic Churches of Byzantine rite, lists both Constantine and his mother Helena as saints. Although he is not included in the Latin Church's list of saints, which does recognise several other Constantines as saints, he is revered under the title "The Great" for his contributions to Christianity.
- [8] With the possible exception of Philip the Arab (r. 244–49). See Philip the Arab and Christianity. I. Shahīd, *Rome and the Arabs* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 65–93; H. A. Pohlsander, "Philip the Arab and Christianity", *Historia* 29:4 (1980): 463–73.
- [9] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 272.
- [10] Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 14; Cameron, 90–91; Lenski, "Introduction" (CC), 2–3.
- [11] Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 23–25; Cameron, 90–91; Southern, 169.
- [12] Cameron, 90; Southern, 169.
- [13] Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 14; Corcoran, *Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 1; Lenski, "Introduction" (CC), 2–3.
- [14] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 265–68.
- [15] Drake, "What Eusebius Knew," 21.
- [16] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.11; Odahl, 3.
- [17] Lenski, "Introduction" (CC), 5; Storch, 145–55.
- [18] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 265–71; Cameron, 90–92; Cameron and Hall, 4–6; Elliott, "Eusebian Frauds in the "Vita Constantini"", 162–71.
- [19] Lieu and Montserrat, 39; Odahl, 3.
- [20] Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 26; Lieu and Montserrat, 40; Odahl, 3.
- [21] Lieu and Montserrat, 40; Odahl, 3.
- [22] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 12–14; Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 24; Mackay, 207; Odahl, 9–10.
- [23] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 225; Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 28–29; Odahl, 4–6.
- [24] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 225; Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 26–29; Odahl, 5–6.
- [25] Odahl, 6, 10.
- [26] Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 27–28; Lieu and Montserrat, 2–6; Odahl, 6–7; Warmington, 166–67.
- [27] Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 24; Odahl, 8.
- [28] Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 20–21; Johnson, "Architecture of Empire" (CC), 288–91; Odahl, 11–12.
- [29] Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine" (CC), 17–21; Odahl, 11–14.
- [30] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 3, 39–42; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 17; Odahl, 15; Pohlsander, "Constantine I"; Southern, 169, 341.
- [31] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 3; Barnes, *New Empire*, 39–42; Elliott, "Constantine's Conversion," 425–6; Elliott, "Eusebian Frauds," 163; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 17; Jones, 13–14; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 59; Odahl, 16; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 14; Rodgers, 238; Wright, 495, 507.
- [32] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 3; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 59–60; Odahl, 16–17.
- [33] *Panegyrici Latini* 8(5), 9(4); Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 8.7; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.13.3; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 13, 290.
- [34] MacMullen, *Constantine*, 21.
- [35] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 3; Barnes, *New Empire*, 39–40; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 17; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 59, 83; Odahl, 16; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 14.
- [36] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 8–14; Corcoran, "Before Constantine" (CC), 41–54; Odahl, 46–50; Treadgold, 14–15.
- [37] Bowman, 70; Potter, 283; Williams, 49, 65.
- [38] Potter, 283; Williams, 49, 65.

- [39] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 3; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 20; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 59–60; Odahl, 47, 299; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 14.
- [40] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 7.1; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 13, 290.
- [41] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 3, 8; Corcoran, "Before Constantine" (CC), 40–41; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 20; Odahl, 46–47; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 8–9, 14; Treadgold, 17.
- [42] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 8–9; Corcoran, "Before Constantine" (CC), 42–43, 54.
- [43] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 3; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 59–60; Odahl, 56–7.
- [44] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 73–74; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 60; Odahl, 72, 301.
- [45] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 47, 73–74; Fowden, "Between Pagans and Christians," 175–76.
- [46] Constantine, *Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum*, 16.2; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 29–30; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 60; Odahl, 72–73.
- [47] Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 29; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 61; Odahl, 72–74, 306; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 15. Contra: J. Moreau, *Lactance: "De la mort des persécuteurs"*, *Sources Chrétiennes* 39 (1954): 313; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 297.
- [48] Constantine, *Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum* 25; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 30; Odahl, 73.
- [49] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 10.6–11; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 21; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 35–36; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 24; Odahl, 67; Potter, 338.
- [50] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 2.49–52; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 21; Odahl, 67, 73, 304; Potter, 338.
- [51] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 22–25; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 24–30; Odahl, 67–69; Potter, 337.
- [52] MacMullen, *Constantine*, 24–25.
- [53] *Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum* 25; Odahl, 73.
- [54] Drake, "The Impact of Constantine on Christianity" (CC), 126; Elliott, "Constantine's Conversion," 425–26.
- [55] Drake, "The Impact of Constantine on Christianity" (CC), 126.
- [56] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 25–27; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 60; Odahl, 69–72; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 15; Potter, 341–42.
- [57] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 19.2–6; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 26; Potter, 342.
- [58] Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 60–61; Odahl, 72–74; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 15.
- [59] *Origo* 4; Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 24.3–9; Praxagoras fr. 1.2; Aurelius Victor 40.2–3; *Epitome de Caesaribus* 41.2; Zosimus 2.8.3; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.21; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 61; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 32; Odahl, 73.
- [60] Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 61.
- [61] Odahl, 75–76.
- [62] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 27; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 39–40; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 61; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 32; Odahl, 77; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 15–16; Potter, 344–5; Southern, 169–70, 341.
- [63] MacMullen, *Constantine*, 32.
- [64] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 27; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 39–40; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 61; Odahl, 77; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 15–16; Potter, 344–45; Southern, 169–70, 341.
- [65] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 27, 298; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 39; Odahl, 77–78, 309; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 15–16.
- [66] Mattingly, 233–34; Southern, 170, 341.
- [67] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 27–28; Jones, 59; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 61–62; Odahl, 78–79.
- [68] Jones, 59.
- [69] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 28–29; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 62; Odahl, 79–80.
- [70] Jones, 59; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 39.
- [71] Treadgold, 28.
- [72] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 28–29; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 62; Odahl, 79–80; Rees, 160.
- [73] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 29; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 41; Jones, 59; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 39; Odahl, 79–80.
- [74] Odahl, 79–80.
- [75] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 29.
- [76] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 16–17.
- [77] Odahl, 80–81.
- [78] Odahl, 81.
- [79] MacMullen, *Constantine*, 39; Odahl, 81–82.
- [80] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 29; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 41; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 63; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 39–40; Odahl, 81–83.
- [81] Odahl, 82–83.
- [82] Odahl, 82–83. See also: William E. Gwatkin, Jr. Roman Trier ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/journals/CJ/29/1/Roman\\_Trier\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/journals/CJ/29/1/Roman_Trier*.html)). "The Classical Journal 29 (1933): 3–12.
- [83] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 24.9; Barnes, "Lactantius and Constantine", 43–46; Odahl, 85, 310–11.
- [84] Odahl, 86.
- [85] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 28.

- [86] Rodgers, 236.
- [87] *Panegyrici Latini* 7(6)3.4; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.22, qtd. and tr. Odahl, 83; Rodgers, 238.
- [88] MacMullen, *Constantine*, 40.
- [89] Qtd. in MacMullen, *Constantine*, 40.
- [90] Zosimus, 2.9.2; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 62; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 39.
- [91] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 29; Odahl, 86; Potter, 346.
- [92] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 30–31; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 41–42; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 62–63; Odahl, 86–87; Potter, 348–49.
- [93] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 31; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 64; Odahl, 87–88; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 15–16.
- [94] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 30; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 62–63; Odahl, 86–87.
- [95] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 34; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 63–65; Odahl, 89; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 15–16.
- [96] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 32; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 64; Odahl, 89, 93.
- [97] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 32–34; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 42–43; Jones, 61; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 65; Odahl, 90–91; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 17; Potter, 349–50; Treadgold, 29.
- [98] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 33; Jones, 61.
- [99] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 36–37.
- [100] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 34–35; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 43; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 65–66; Odahl, 93; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 17; Potter, 352.
- [101] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 34.
- [102] Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 43; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 68; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 20.
- [103] Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 45; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 68.
- [104] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 30.1; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 40–41, 305.
- [105] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 68.
- [106] Potter, 352.
- [107] *Panegyrici Latini* 6(7); Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 35–37, 301; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 66; Odahl, 94–95, 314–15; Potter, 352–53.
- [108] *Panegyrici Latini* 6(7)1. Qtd. in Potter, 353.
- [109] *Panegyrici Latini* 6(7).21.5.
- [110] Virgil, *Eclogues* 4.10.
- [111] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 36–37; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 67; Odahl, 95.
- [112] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 36–37; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 50–53; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 66–67; Odahl, 94–95.
- [113] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 31–35; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.16; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 43; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 68; Odahl, 95–96, 316.
- [114] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 34; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.17; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 304; Jones, 66.
- [115] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 39; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 43–44; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 68; Odahl, 95–96.
- [116] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 45; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 69; Odahl, 96.
- [117] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 39–40; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 44; Odahl, 96.
- [118] Odahl, 96.
- [119] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 38; Odahl, 96.
- [120] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 37; Curran, 66; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 68; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 62.
- [121] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 37.
- [122] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 37–39.
- [123] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 38–39; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 62.
- [124] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 40; Curran, 66.
- [125] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41.
- [126] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41; Elliott, *Christianity of Constantine*, 44–45; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 69; Odahl, 96.
- [127] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.15.1–2, qtd. and tr. in MacMullen, *Constantine*, 65.
- [128] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 71.
- [129] *Panegyrici Latini* 12(9)2.5; Curran, 67.
- [130] Curran, 67.
- [131] MacMullen, *Constantine*, 70–71.
- [132] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41; Odahl, 101.
- [133] *Panegyrici Latini* 12(9)5.1–3; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 71; Odahl, 101.
- [134] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41; Jones, 70; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 71; Odahl, 101–2.
- [135] *Panegyrici Latini* 12(9)5–6; 4(10)21–24; Jones, 70–71; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 71; Odahl, 102, 317–18.
- [136] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41; Jones, 71; Odahl, 102.
- [137] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41–42; Odahl, 103.
- [138] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42; Jones, 71; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 71; Odahl, 103.

- [139] Jones, 71; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 71; Odahl, 103.
- [140] Jones, 71; Odahl, 103.
- [141] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42; Jones, 71; Odahl, 103.
- [142] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42; Jones, 71; Odahl, 103–4.
- [143] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42; Jones, 71; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 69; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 71; Odahl, 104.
- [144] Jones, 71; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 71.
- [145] MacMullen, *Constantine*, 71.
- [146] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42; Curran, 67; Jones, 71.
- [147] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42; Jones, 71; Odahl, 105.
- [148] Jones, 71.
- [149] Odahl, 104.
- [150] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42.
- [151] MacMullen, *Constantine*, 72; Odahl, 107.
- [152] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42; Curran, 67; Jones, 71–72; Odahl, 107–8.
- [153] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42–43; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 78; Odahl, 108.
- [154] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 44.8; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 43; Curran, 67; Jones, 72; Odahl, 108.
- [155] Odahl, 108.
- [156] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 43; Digeser, 122; Jones, 72; Odahl, 106.
- [157] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 44.4–6, tr. J.L. Creed, *Lactantius: De Mortibus Persecutorum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), qtd. in Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 71.
- [158] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.28, tr. Odahl, 105. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 43; Drake, "Impact of Constantine on Christianity" (CC), 113; Odahl, 105.
- [159] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.27–29; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 43, 306; Odahl, 105–6, 319–20.
- [160] Drake, "Impact of Constantine on Christianity" (CC), 113.
- [161] Cameron and Hall, 208.
- [162] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 306; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 73; Odahl, 319.
- [163] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 306; Cameron and Hall, 206–7; Drake, "Impact of Constantine on Christianity" (CC), 114; Nicholson, 311.
- [164] Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 71, citing *Roman Imperial Coinage* 7 Ticinum 36.
- [165] R. Ross Holloway, *Constantine and Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 3, citing Kraft, "Das Silbermedaillon Constantins des Grossen mit dem Christusmonogram auf dem Helm," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 5–6 (1954/55): 151–78.
- [166] Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 71.
- [167] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 43; Curran, 68.
- [168] MacMullen, *Constantine*, 78.
- [169] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 43; Curran, 68; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 70; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 78; Odahl, 108.
- [170] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 44; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 81; Odahl, 108.
- [171] Cameron, 93; Curran, 71–74; Odahl, 110.
- [172] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 44; Curran, 72; Jones, 72; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 70; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 78; Odahl, 108.
- [173] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 44–45.
- [174] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 44; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 81; Odahl, 111. Cf. also Curran, 72–75.
- [175] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 45; Curran, 72; MacMullen, *Constantine*, 81; Odahl, 109.
- [176] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 45–46; Odahl, 109.
- [177] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 46; Odahl, 109.
- [178] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 46.
- [179] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 44.
- [180] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 45–47; Cameron, 93; Curran, 76–77; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 70.
- [181] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 45.
- [182] Curran, 80–83.
- [183] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 47.
- [184] Portrait Head of the Emperor Constantine, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.229 ([http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ho/05/eust/ho\\_26.229.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ho/05/eust/ho_26.229.htm))
- [185] Curran, 83–85.
- [186] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 45; Curran, 76; Odahl, 109.
- [187] Curran, 101.
- [188] Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romanorum*, 5.90, cited in Curran, 93–96.
- [189] Odahl, 109.
- [190] The term is a misnomer as the act of Milan was not an edict, while the subsequent edicts by Licinius—of which the edicts to the provinces of Bythnia and Palestine are recorded by Lactantius and Eusebius, respectively—were not issued in Milan.

- [191] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 25.
- [192] Drake, "Impact," 121–123.
- [193] Carrié & Rousselle, *L'Empire Romain*, 229
- [194] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 38–39.
- [195] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 41–42.
- [196] Carrié & Rousselle, *L'Empire Romain*, 229/230
- [197] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 42–43.
- [198] Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors*, 215.
- [199] MacMullen, *Constantine*.
- [200] Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une Capitale*, 24
- [201] Petrus Patricius *excerpta Vaticana*, 190: Κωνσταντίνος εβουλεύσατο πρότον εν Σαρδική μεταγαγείν τά δημόσια· φιλών τε τήν πόλιν εκείνην συνεχώς έλεγεν „η εμή Ρώμη Σαρδική εστι.“
- [202] Ramsey MacMullen, *Constantine*, Routledge ed., 1987, 149
- [203] Dagron, *Naissance d'une Capitale*, 15/19
- [204] Sardonyx cameo depicting constantine the great crowned by Constantinople, 4th century AD (<http://www.hermitagerooms.com/exhibitions/Byzantium/sardonyx.asp>) at "The Road to Byzantium: Luxury Arts of Antiquity". *The Hermitage Rooms at Somerset House* (30 March 2006 – 3 September 2006)
- [205] According to the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 164 (Stuttgart: A. Hierseemann, 2005), column 442, there is no evidence for the tradition that Constantine officially dubbed the city "New Rome" (*Nova Roma* or *Nea Rhome*). Commemorative coins that were issued during the 330s already refer to the city as *Constantinopolis* (Michael Grant, *The Climax of Rome* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 133). It is possible that the emperor called the city "Second Rome" (*Deutera Rhome*) by official decree, as reported by the 5th century church historian Socrates of Constantinople.
- [206] Bowder, Diana. *The Age of Constantine and Julian*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1978
- [207] See Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 34–35.
- [208] R. Gerberding and J. H. Moran Cruz, *Medieval Worlds* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004) p. 55. Also, Percival J. On the Question of Constantine's Conversion to Christianity (<http://cliojournal.wikispaces.com/On+the+Question+of+Constantine's+Conversion+to+Christianity>), *Clio History Journal*, 2008.
- [209] Peter Brown, *The Rise of Christendom* 2nd edition (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2003) p. 60
- [210] R. Gerberding and J. H. Moran Cruz, *Medieval Worlds* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004) pp. 55–56.
- [211] Cf. Paul Veyne, *Quand notre monde est devenu chrétien*, 163.
- [212] Richards, Jeffrey. *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476–752* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) 14–15; *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476–752* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) 15.
- [213] Richards, Jeffrey. *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476–752* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) 16.
- [214] Frend, W.H.C., "The Donatist Church; A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa," (1952 Oxford), pp.156–162
- [215] *Life of Constantine* Vol. III Ch. XVIII (<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/25023.htm>) by Eusebius; The Epistle of the Emperor Constantine, concerning the matters transacted at the council, addressed to those Bishops who were not present (<http://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf203.iv.viii.i.x.html>)
- [216] Christol & Nony, *Rome et son Empire*, 241
- [217] As equestrian *order* refers to people of equestrian *census*—thousands of which had no state function—that had an actual position in the state bureaucracy: cf. Claude Lepelley, "Fine delle' ordine equestre: le tappe delle'unificazione dela classe dirigente romana nel IV secolo", IN Giardina, ed., *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, Bari: Laterza, 1986, V.1, quoted by Carrié & Rouselle, p.660
- [218] Christol & Nony, *Rome et son Empire*, 247; Carrié & Rousselle *L'Empire Romain*, 658.
- [219] Carrié & Rousselle *L'Empire Romain*, 658–59.
- [220] *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* ([http://oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/epigr/epieinzel\\_de?p\\_belegstelle=CIL+06,+01708&r\\_sortierung=Belegstelle](http://oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/epigr/epieinzel_de?p_belegstelle=CIL+06,+01708&r_sortierung=Belegstelle)); Carrié & Rousselle *L'Empire Romain*, 659.
- [221] Carrié & Rousselle, *L'Empire Romain*, 660.
- [222] Cf. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire*, quoted by Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, 101.
- [223] T.D. Barnes, "Statistics and the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy", *Journal of Roman Studies*, 85,1995, quoted by Carrié & Rousselle, p.657
- [224] Cf. Paul Veyne, *L'Empire Gréco-Romain*, 49.
- [225] Christol & Nony, *Rome et son Empire*, 247.
- [226] Walter Scheidel, "The Monetary Systems of the Han and Roman Empires", 174/175
- [227] *De Rebus Bellicis*, 2.
- [228] Sandro Mazzarino, according to Christol & Nony, *Rome et son Empire*, 246
- [229] Carrié & Rousselle, *L'Empire Romain*, 245–246.
- [230] Guthrie, 325–6.
- [231] Guthrie, 326; Woods, "Death of the Empress," 70–72.
- [232] Guthrie, 326; Woods, "Death of the Empress," 72.



- [233] Guthrie, 326–27.
- [234] *Art. Pass* 45; Woods, "Death of the Empress," 71–72.
- [235] Christol & Nony, *Rome et son Empire*, 237/238
- [236] Cf. Adrian Goldsworthy, *How Rome Fell*, 189 & 191
- [237] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 250.
- [238] Odahl, 261.
- [239] Eusebius, VC 4.9ff, cited in Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 259.
- [240] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 258–59. See also: Fowden, "Last Days", 146–48, and Wiemer, 515.
- [241] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.58–60; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 259.
- [242] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.61; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 259.
- [243] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.62.
- [244] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.62.4.
- [245] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 75–76; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 82.
- [246] Because he was so old, he could not be submerged in water to be baptised, and therefore, the rules of baptism were changed to what they are today, having water placed on the forehead alone. In this period infant baptism, though practiced (usually in circumstances of emergency) had not yet become a matter of routine in the west. Thomas M. Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: East and West Syria* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press/Michael Glazier, 1992); Philip Rousseau, "Baptism," in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Post Classical World*, ed. G.W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999).
- [247] Marilena Amerise, "Il battesimo di Costantino il Grande."
- [248] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.64; Fowden, "Last Days of Constantine," 147; Lenski, "Reign of Constantine" (CC), 82.
- [249] Julian, *Orations* 1.18.b.
- [250] *Origo Constantini* 35.
- [251] Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Historiae abbreviatae* XLI.16.
- [252] Eutropius, *Breviarium* X.8.2.
- [253] Fowden, "Last Days of Constantine," 148–9.
- [254] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 75–76.
- [255] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 71, figure 9.
- [256] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 72.
- [257] <http://www.byzantium.xronikon.com/statfirst.html>
- [258] <http://www.forumancientcoins.com/numiswiki/view.asp?key=Barba>
- [259] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 91.
- [260] Seidel, 237–39.
- [261] Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 83–87.
- [262] Lieu, "Constantine in Legendary Literature" (CC), 305.
- [263] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 272–23.
- [264] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 273.
- [265] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 273; Odahl, 281.
- [266] Johannes Leunclavius, *Apologia pro Zosimo adversus Evagrii, Nicephori Callisti et aliorum acerbas criminationes (Defence of Zosimus against the Unjustified Charges of Evagrius, Nicephorus Callistus, and Others)* (Basel, 1576), cited in Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 273, and Odahl, 282.
- [267] Caesar Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* 3 (Antwerp, 1623), cited in Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 274, and Odahl, 282.
- [268] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* Chapter 18, cited in Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 274, and Odahl, 282. See also Lenski, "Introduction" (CC), 6–7.
- [269] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 1.256; David P. Jordan, "Gibbon's 'Age of Constantine' and the Fall of Rome", *History and Theory* 8:1 (1969): 71–96.
- [270] Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen* (Basel, 1853; revised edition, Leipzig, 1880), cited in Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 274; Lenski, "Introduction" (CC), 7.
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- [272] Lenski, "Introduction" (CC), 7–8.
- [273] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 274.
- [274] Lenski, "Introduction" (CC), 8.
- [275] Lenski, "Introduction" (CC), 8–9; Odahl, 283.
- [276] Odahl, 283; Mark Humphries, "Constantine," review of *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, by Charles Odahl, *Classical Quarterly* 56:2 (2006), 449.
- [277] Averil Cameron, "Introduction," in *Constantine: History, Historiography, and Legend*, ed. Samuel N.C. Lieu and Dominic Montserrat (New York: Routledge, 1998), 3.
- [278] Lenski, "Introduction" (CC), 10.
- [279] Quand notre monde est devenu chretien ([http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_hb6404/is\\_2\\_69/ai\\_n29437350/?tag=content;coll](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb6404/is_2_69/ai_n29437350/?tag=content;coll)), Fabian E. Udoh, review, *Theological Studies*, June 2008

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- [314] This translation is not very good. The pagination is broken in several places, there are many typographical errors (including several replacements of "Julian" with "Jovian" and "Constantine" with "Constantius"). It is nonetheless the only translation of the *Historia Nova* in the public domain. Roger Pearse, "Preface to the online edition of Zosimus' *New History* ([http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/zosimus00\\_intro.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/zosimus00_intro.htm))". 19 November 2002, rev. 20 August 2003. Accessed 15 August 2009.
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## Further reading

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## External links

- Firth, John B. "Constantine the Great, the Reorganisation of the Empire and the Triumph of the Church" ([http://www.third-millennium-library.com/readinghall/GalleryofHistory/CONSTANTINE\\_THE\\_GREAT/constantine\\_DOOR.html](http://www.third-millennium-library.com/readinghall/GalleryofHistory/CONSTANTINE_THE_GREAT/constantine_DOOR.html)) (BTM).
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- Constantine I ([http://88.1911encyclopedia.org/C/CO/CONSTANTINE\\_I\\_.htm](http://88.1911encyclopedia.org/C/CO/CONSTANTINE_I_.htm)) in the 1911 Encyclopædia Britannica
- Constantine the Great (<http://www.constantinethegreatcoins.com/>) A site about Constantine the Great and his bronze coins emphasizing history using coins, with many resources including reverse types issued and reverse translations.
- House of Constantine bronze coins (<http://rg.ancients.info/constantine/>) Illustrations and descriptions of coins of Constantine the Great and his relatives.
- BBC North Yorkshire's site on Roman York, Yorkshire and Constantine the Great ([http://www.bbc.co.uk/northyorkshire/i\\_love\\_ny/history/romans/](http://www.bbc.co.uk/northyorkshire/i_love_ny/history/romans/))
- This list of Roman laws of the fourth century (<http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/imperial-laws-chart-364>) shows laws passed by Constantine I relating to Christianity.
- Professor Edwin Judge discusses Constantine's legacy for a Centre for Public Christianity vodcast (<http://www.publicchristianity.org/Videos/constantinechristendom.html>)
- Constantine's time in York on the 'History of York' (<http://www.historyofyork.org.uk/themes/constantine-the-great>)

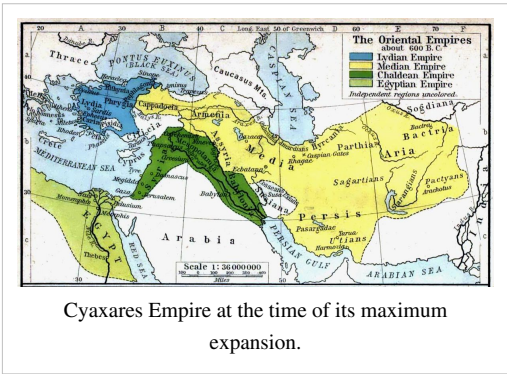
# Cyaxares the Great

Cyaxares the Great	
King	
Reign	625 BC - 585 BC (according to Herodotus)
Birthplace	Ecbatana (Modern day - Hamadan)
Buried	Syromedia (today Qyzqapan) <sup>[1][2]</sup> , according to Igor Diakonov <sup>[3]</sup>
Predecessor	Phraortes
Successor	Astyages
Dynasty	Median Dynasty
Religious beliefs	Pre-Zoroastrian Iranian religion

**Cyaxares the Great** <sup>[4]</sup> or **Hvakhshathra** (Old Persian: 𐎧𐎱𐎠𐎿𐎧𐎺𐎠<sup>[5]</sup> *Uvaxštra*,<sup>[6]</sup> Greek: Κυαξάρης; r. 625–585 BC), the son of King Phraortes, was the first king of Media.<sup>[7]</sup> According to Herodotus, Cyaxares, grandson of Deioces, had a far greater military reputation than his father or grandfather, therefore he is often being described as the first official Median King.

## The rise of Cyaxares

He was born in the Median capital of Ecbatana, his father Phraortes was killed in a battle against the Assyrians, led by Ashurbanipal, the king of Neo-Assyria. After his fall the Scythians took over. In his early age Cyaxares was seeking for revenge. He killed the Scythian leaders and proclaimed himself as *King of Medes*. After throwing of the Scythians, he prepared for war against Assyria.<sup>[8]</sup> Cyaxares reorganized and modernized the Median Army, then joined with King Nabopolassar of Babylonia. This alliance was formalized through the marriage of Cyaxares daughter, Amytis with Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadnezzar II, the king who constructed the Hanging Gardens of Babylon as a present for his Median wife to help with her homesickness for the mountainous country of her birth. These allies overthrew the Assyrian Empire and destroyed Nineveh in 612 BC.



## War against Lydia

After the victory in Assyria, the Medes conquered Northern Mesopotamia, Armenia and the parts of Asia Minor east of the Halys River, which was the border established with Lydia after a decisive battle between Lydia and Media, the Battle of Halys ended with an eclipse on May 28, 585 BC.

The conflict between Lydia and the Medes was reported by Herodotus as follows:

"A horde of the nomad Scythians at feud with the rest withdrew and sought refuge in the land of the Medes: and at this time the ruler of the Medes was Cyaxares the son of Phraortes, the son of Deïokes, who at first dealt well with these Scythians, being suppliants for his protection; and esteeming them very highly he delivered boys to them to learn their speech and the art of shooting with the bow. Then time went by, and the Scythians used to go out continually to the chase and always brought back something; till once it happened that they took nothing, and when they returned with empty hands Cyaxares (being, as he showed on this occasion, not of an eminently good disposition) dealt with them very harshly and used insult towards them. And they, when they had received this treatment from Cyaxares, considering that they had suffered indignity, planned to kill and to cut up one of the boys who were being instructed among them, and having dressed his flesh as they had been wont to dress the wild animals, to bear it to Cyaxares and give it to him, pretending that it was game taken in hunting; and when they had given it, their design was to make their way as quickly as possible to Alyattes the son of Sadyattes at Sardis. This then was done; and Cyaxares with the guests who ate at his table tasted of that meat, and the Scythians having so done became suppliants for the protection of Alyattes.

After this, since Alyattes would not give up the Scythians when Cyaxares demanded them, there had arisen war between the Lydians and the Medes lasting five years; in which years the Medes often discomfited the Lydians and the Lydians often discomfited the Medes (and among others they fought also a battle by night): and as they still carried on the war with equally balanced fortune, in the sixth year a battle took

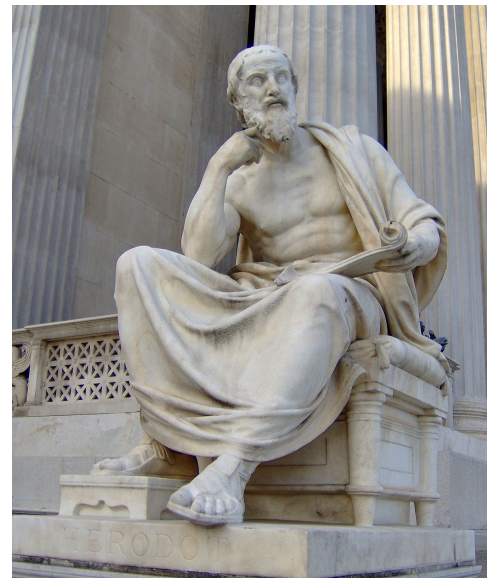


Halys river

place in which it happened, when the fight had begun, that suddenly the day became night. And this change of the day Thales the Milesian had foretold to the Ionians laying down as a limit this very year in which the change took place. The Lydians however and the Medes, when they saw that it had become night instead of day, ceased from their fighting and were much more eager both of them that peace should be made between them. And they who brought about the peace between them were Syennesis the Kilikian and Labynetos the Babylonian: these were they who urged also the

taking of the oath by them, and they brought about an interchange of marriages; for they decided that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages the son of Cyaxares, since without the compulsion of a strong tie agreements are apt not to hold strongly together." (*Histories*, 1.73-74, trans. Macaulay)

Cyaxares died shortly after the battle and was succeeded by his son, Astyages, who was the maternal grandfather of Cyrus the Great through his daughter Mandane of Media.



Herodotus reported the wars of Cyaxares in *Histories*



## Qyzqapan

*Qyzqapan* is a tomb located in the mountains in Syromedia<sup>[1][2]</sup>, and is the last resting place of Cyaxares the Great, according to the Russian historian Igor Diakonov.<sup>[3]</sup>

The construction of the tomb, begun after the death of Cyaxares the Great in 585 BC. The tomb contains Zoroastrian symbols, since the Medes had an ancient religion (a form of pre-Zoroastrian Mazdaism or Mithra worshipping) with a priesthood named as "Magi". Later and during the reigns of last Median kings the reforms of Zarathustra spread in northwestern Iran.

## References

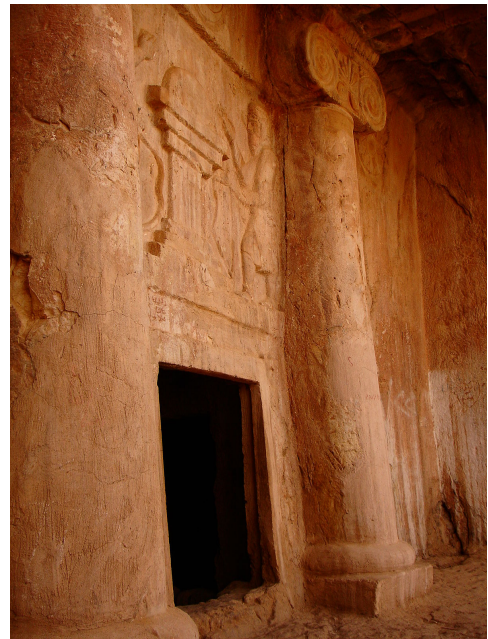
- [1] The tomb of Cyaxares the Great (<http://qyzqapan.blogspot.com/2011/08/tomb-of-cyaxares.html>)
- [2] Video of the tomb of Cyaxares the Great (<http://www.frequency.com/video/tomb-of-emperor-cyaxares-qyzqapan/12705173>)
- [3] Gershevitch, Ilya (1984). *The Cambridge history of Iran: The Median and Achaemenian periods* ([http://books.google.no/books?id=kMLKgZj5afMC&pg=PA139&dq=Cyaxares+tomb&hl=no&ei=RRU0TqeVE8XQsgb6gtC5Ag&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=6&ved=0CD8Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=Cyaxares+tomb&f=false](http://books.google.no/books?id=kMLKgZj5afMC&pg=PA139&dq=Cyaxares+tomb&hl=no&ei=RRU0TqeVE8XQsgb6gtC5Ag&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=6&ved=0CD8Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=Cyaxares+tomb&f=false)). .
- [4] R. Izady, Mehrdad (1991). *The Kurds: a concise handbook* ([http://books.google.no/books?id=I9mr6OgLjBoC&pg=PA160&dq=Kurd+suhrawardi&hl=no&ei=yNgxTqP0AsrIswaV\\_YHpBg&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=5&ved=0CEYQ6AEwBA#v=onepage&q=Cyaxares&f=false](http://books.google.no/books?id=I9mr6OgLjBoC&pg=PA160&dq=Kurd+suhrawardi&hl=no&ei=yNgxTqP0AsrIswaV_YHpBg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=5&ved=0CEYQ6AEwBA#v=onepage&q=Cyaxares&f=false)). .
- [5] Akbarzadeh, D.; A. Yahyanezhad (2006) (in Persian). *The Behistun Inscriptions (Old Persian Texts)*. Khaneye-Farhikhtagan-e Honarhaye Sonati. pp. 87. ISBN 964-8499-05-5.
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- [7] <http://www.britannica.com/ebc/article-9371723>
- [8] Gershevitch, Ilya (1984). *The Cambridge history of Iran: The Median and Achaemenian periods* ([http://books.google.no/books?id=kMLKgZj5afMC&pg=PA139&dq=Cyaxares+tomb&hl=no&ei=Ej80Tr7HC4XFswbr4ai5Ag&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=6&ved=0CD8Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=Cyaxares&f=false](http://books.google.no/books?id=kMLKgZj5afMC&pg=PA139&dq=Cyaxares+tomb&hl=no&ei=Ej80Tr7HC4XFswbr4ai5Ag&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=6&ved=0CD8Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=Cyaxares&f=false)). .

## Further reading

- *Nos ancêtres de l'Antiquité* (1991), Christian Settipani, p. 152

## External links

- Livius.org: Cyaxares (<http://www.livius.org/ct-cz/cyaxares/cyaxares.html>)
- [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nR8fUAkfJRA&feature=channel\\_video\\_title](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nR8fUAkfJRA&feature=channel_video_title)
- <http://qyzqapan.blogspot.com/2011/08/tomb-of-cyaxares.html>



Entrance of tomb of Cyaxares the Great, Qyzqapan, Sulaymaniyah.

# Cyrus the Great

Cyrus the Great

King of Persia, King of Āryāvarta,<sup>[1][2]</sup> King of Anshan, King of Media, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of the four corners of the World<sup>[3]</sup>



Reign	559 BC – 530 BC (30 years)
Born	600 BC or 576 BC
Birthplace	Anshan, Persis, Iran
Died	December, 530 BC
Place of death	Along the Syr Darya
Buried	Pasargadae
Predecessor	Cambyses I
Successor	Cambyses II
Consort	Cassandane of Persia
Offspring	Cambyses II Bardiya Artystone Atossa Unnamed unknown
Royal House	Achaemenid
Father	Cambyses I
Mother	Mandane of Media or Argoste of Persia

**Cyrus II of Persia** (Old Persian: 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎡𐎴 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎡𐎴 <sup>[4]</sup> *Kuruš* (c. 600 BC or 576 BC–530 BC<sup>[5]</sup>), commonly known as **Cyrus the Great**,<sup>[6]</sup> also known as **Cyrus the Elder**, was the founder of the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>[7]</sup> Under his rule, the empire embraced all the previous civilized states of the ancient Near East,<sup>[7]</sup> expanded vastly and eventually conquered most of Southwest Asia and much of Central Asia, parts of Europe and the Caucasus. From the Mediterranean sea and Hellespont in the west to the Indus River in the east, Cyrus the Great created the largest empire the world had yet seen.<sup>[8]</sup> He also pronounced one of the first historically important declarations of human rights via the Cyrus Cylinder sometime between 539-530 BCE and was one of the first leaders ever to abolish

slavery under his rule.

The reign of Cyrus the Great lasted between 29 and 31 years. Cyrus built his empire by conquering first the Median Empire, then the Lydian Empire and eventually the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Either before or after Babylon, he led an expedition into central Asia, which resulted in major campaigns that were described as having brought "into subjection every nation without exception".<sup>[9]</sup> Cyrus did not venture into Egypt, as he himself died in battle, fighting the Massagetae along the Syr Darya in December 530 BC.<sup>[10][11]</sup> He was succeeded by his son, Cambyses II, who managed to add to the empire by conquering Egypt, Nubia, and Cyrenaica during his short rule.

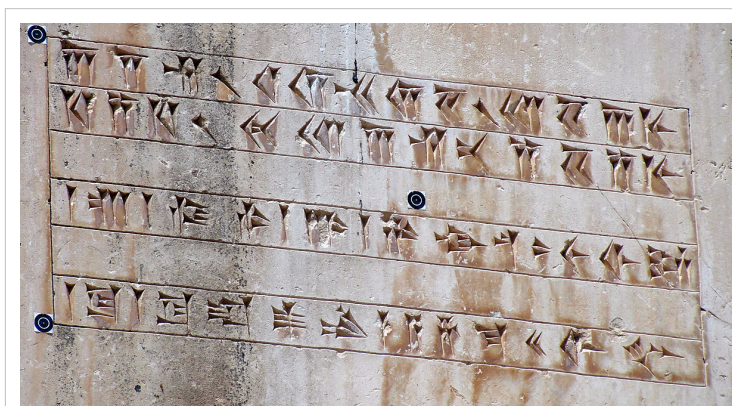
Cyrus the Great respected the customs and religions of the lands he conquered.<sup>[12]</sup> It is said that in universal history, the role of the Achaemenid empire founded by Cyrus lies in its very successful model for centralized administration and establishing a government working to the advantage and profit of its subjects.<sup>[7]</sup> In fact, the administration of the empire through satraps and the vital principle of forming a government at Pasargadae were the works of Cyrus.<sup>[13]</sup> What is sometimes referred to as the Edict of Restoration (actually two edicts) described in the Bible as being made by Cyrus the Great left a lasting legacy on the Jewish religion where because of his policies in Babylonia, he is referred to by the people of the Jewish faith, as "the anointed of the Lord" or a "Messiah".<sup>[14][15]</sup>

Cyrus the Great is also well recognized for his achievements in human rights, politics, and military strategy, as well as his influence on both Eastern and Western civilizations. Having originated from Persis, roughly corresponding to the modern Iranian province of Fars, Cyrus has played a crucial role in defining the national identity of modern Iran.<sup>[16][17][18]</sup> Cyrus and, indeed, the Achaemenid influence in the ancient world also extended as far as Athens, where many Athenians adopted aspects of the Achaemenid Persian culture as their own, in a reciprocal cultural exchange.<sup>[19]</sup>

## Background

### Etymology

The name *Cyrus* is a Latinized form derived from a Greek form of the Old Persian *Kūruš*.<sup>[20]</sup> The name and its meaning has been recorded in ancient inscriptions in different languages. The ancient Greek historians Ctesias and Plutarch noted that Cyrus was named from *Kuros*, the Sun, a concept which has been interpreted as meaning "like the Sun" by noting its relation to the Persian noun for sun, *khōr*, while using *-vash* as a suffix of likeness.<sup>[21]</sup> Karl Hoffmann has suggested a translation based on the meaning of an Indo-European-root "to humiliate" and accordingly "Cyrus" means "humiliator of the enemy in verbal contest."<sup>[20]</sup> In the Persian language and specially in Iran, Cyrus's name is spelled as "کوروش بزرگ" or "Kūrošé Bozorg" which translates to Cyrus the Great. In the Bible, he is known as Koresh (Hebrew: כורש).<sup>[22]</sup>



"I am Cyrus the king, an Achaemenid." in Old Persian, Elamite and Aramaic languages. It is carved in a column in Pasargadae.

## Dynastic history

The Persian domination and kingdom in the Iranian plateau started by an extension of the Achaemenid dynasty, who expanded their earlier domination possibly from the 9th century BC onward. The eponymous founder of this dynasty was Achaemenes (from Old Persian *Haxāmaniš*). Achaemenids are "descendants of Achaemenes" as Darius the Great, the ninth king of the dynasty, traces his genealogy to him and declares "for this reason we are called Achaemenids". Achaemenes built the state Parsumash in the southwest of Iran and was succeeded by Teispes, who took the title "King of Anshan" after seizing Anshan city and enlarging his kingdom further to include Pars proper.<sup>[7]</sup> Ancient documents<sup>[24]</sup> mention that Teispes had a son called Cyrus I, who also succeeded his father as "king of Anshan". Cyrus I had a full brother whose name is recorded as Ariaramnes.<sup>[7]</sup>

In 600 BC, Cyrus I was succeeded by his son Cambyses I who reigned until 559 BC. Cyrus the Great was a son of Cambyses I, who named his son after his father, Cyrus I.<sup>[25]</sup> There are several inscriptions of Cyrus the Great and later kings that refer to Cambyses I as the "great king" and "king of Anshan". Among these are some passages in the Cyrus cylinder where Cyrus calls himself "son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anshan". Another inscription (from CM's) mentions Cambyses I as "mighty king" and "an Achaemenian", which according to bulk<sup>[26]</sup> of scholarly opinion was engraved under Darius and considered as a later forgery by Darius.<sup>[27]</sup> However Cambyses II's maternal grandfather Pharnaspes is named by Herodotus as "an Achaemenian" too.<sup>[28]</sup> Xenophon's account in *Cyropædia* further names Cambyses's wife as Mandane and mentions Cambyses as king of Iran (ancient Persia). These agree with Cyrus's own inscriptions, as Anshan and Parsa were different names of the same land. These also agree with other non-Iranian accounts, except at one point from Herodotus stating that Cambyses was not a king but a "Persian of good family".<sup>[29]</sup> However, in some other passages, Herodotus's account is wrong also on the name of the son of Chishpish, which he mentions as Cambyses but, according to modern scholars, should be Cyrus I.<sup>[30]</sup>

The traditional view based on archaeological research and the genealogy given in the Behistun Inscription and by Herodotus<sup>[7]</sup> holds that Cyrus the Great was an Achaemenian. However it has been suggested by M. Waters that Cyrus is unrelated to Achaemenes or Darius the Great and that his family was of Teispid and Anshanite origin instead of Achaemenid.<sup>[31]</sup>

## Early life

The best-known date for the birth of Cyrus the Great is either 600-599 BC or 576-575 BC.<sup>[32]</sup> Little is known of his early years, as there are only a few sources known to detail that part of his life, and they have been damaged or lost.

Herodotus's story of Cyrus's early life belongs to a genre of legends in which abandoned children of noble birth, such as Oedipus and Romulus and Remus, return to claim their royal positions. Similar to other culture's heroes and founders of great empires, folk traditions abound regarding his family background. According to Herodotus, he was the grandson of the Median king Astyages and was brought up by humble herding folk. In another version, he was presented as the son of a poor family that worked in the Median court. These folk stories are, however, contradicted by Cyrus's own testimony, according to which he was preceded as king of Persia by his father, grandfather and great-grandfather.<sup>[33]</sup>



*The four winged guardian figure representing Cyrus the Great, a bas-relief found at Pasargadae on top of which was once inscribed in three languages the sentence "I am Cyrus the king, an Achaemenian."<sup>[23]</sup>*



After the birth of Cyrus the Great, Astyages had a dream that his Magi interpreted as a sign that his grandson would eventually overthrow him. He then ordered his steward Harpagus to kill the infant. Harpagus, morally unable to kill a newborn, summoned the Mardian Mitrdates (which the historian Nicolaus of Damascus calls Atradates), a royal bandit herdsman from the mountainous region bordering the Saspis,<sup>[34]</sup> and ordered him to leave the baby to die in the mountains. Luckily, the herdsman and his wife (whom Herodotus calls Cyno in Greek, and Spaca-o in Median) took pity and raised the child as their own, passing off their recently stillborn infant as the murdered Cyrus.<sup>[35][36]</sup> For the origin of Cyrus the Great's mother, Herodotus identifies Mandane of Media, and Ctesias insists that she is fully Persian but gives no name, while Nicolaus gives the name "Argoste" as Atradates's wife; whether this figure represents Cyno or Cambyses's unnamed Persian queen has yet to be determined. It is also noted that Strabo has said that Cyrus was originally named Agradates by his stepparents; therefore, it is probable that, when reuniting with his original family, following the naming customs, Cyrus's father, Cambyses I, names him Cyrus after his grandfather, who was Cyrus I.

Herodotus claims that when Cyrus the Great was ten years old, it was obvious that Cyrus was not a herdsman's son, stating that his behavior was too noble. Astyages interviewed the boy and noticed that they resembled each other. Astyages ordered Harpagus to explain what he had done with the baby, and, after Harpagus confessed that he had not killed the boy, Astyages tricked him into eating his own broiled and chopped up son.<sup>[37]</sup> Astyages was more lenient with Cyrus and allowed him to return to his biological parents, Cambyses and Mandane.<sup>[38]</sup> While Herodotus's description may be a legend, it does give insight into the figures surrounding Cyrus the Great's early life.

Cyrus the Great had a wife named Cassandane. She was an Achaemenian and daughter of Pharnaspes. From this marriage, Cyrus had four children: Cambyses II, Bardiya (Smerdis), Atossa, and another daughter whose name is not attested in the ancient sources. Also, Cyrus had a fifth child named Artystone, the sister or half-sister of Atossa, who may not have been the daughter of Cassandane. Cyrus the Great had a specially dear love for Cassandane. Cassandane also loved Cyrus to the point that on her death bed she is noted as having found it more bitter to leave Cyrus, than to depart her life.<sup>[39]</sup> According to the Chronicle of Nabonidus, when Cassandane died, all the nations of Cyrus's empire observed "a great mourning", and, particularly in Babylonia, there was probably even a public mourning lasting for six days (identified from 21–26 March 538 BC). Her tomb is suggested to be at Cyrus's capital, Pasargadae.<sup>[40]</sup> There are other accounts suggesting that Cyrus the Great also married a daughter of the Median king Astyages, named Amytis. This name may not be the correct one, however. Cyrus probably had married once, after the death of Cassandane, to a Median woman in his royal family.<sup>[41]</sup> Cyrus the Great's son Cambyses II would become the king of Persia, and his daughter Atossa would marry Darius the Great and bear him Xerxes I.

## Rise and military campaigns



The Standard of Cyrus the Great

### Median Empire

Further information: Persian Revolt, Battle of Hyrba, Battle of the Persian Border, and Battle of Pasargadae

Though his father died in 551 BC, Cyrus the Great had already succeeded to the throne in 559 BC; however, Cyrus was not yet an independent ruler. Like his predecessors, Cyrus had to recognize Median overlordship.



During Astyages's reign, the Median Empire may have ruled over the majority of the Ancient Near East, from the Lydian frontier in the west to the Parthians and Persians in the east.

In Herodotus's version, Harpagus, seeking vengeance, convinced Cyrus to rally the Persian people to revolt against their feudal lords, the Medes. However, it is likely that both Harpagus and Cyrus rebelled due to their dissatisfaction with Astyages's policies.<sup>[35]</sup> From the start of the revolt in summer 553 BC, with his first

battles taking place from early 552 BC, Harpagus, with Cyrus, led his armies against the Medes until the capture of Ecbatana in 549 BC, effectively conquering the Median Empire.<sup>[42]</sup>

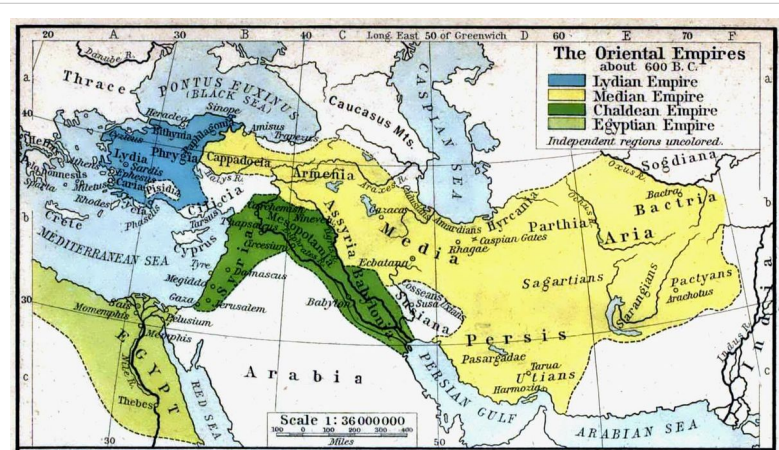
While Cyrus the Great seems to have accepted the crown of Media, by 546 BC, he officially assumed the title "King of Persia" instead. With Astyages out of power, all of his vassals (including many of Cyrus's relatives) were now under his command. His uncle Arsames, who had been the king of the city-state of Parsa under the Medes, therefore would have had to give up his throne. However, this transfer of power within the family seems to have been smooth, and it is likely that Arsames was still the nominal governor of Parsa, under Cyrus's authority—more of a Prince or a Grand Duke than a King.<sup>[43]</sup> His son, Hystaspes, who was also Cyrus's second cousin, was then made satrap of Parthia and Phrygia. Cyrus the Great thus united the twin Achaemenid kingdoms of Parsa and Anshan into Persia proper. Arsames would live to see his grandson become Darius the Great, Shahanshah of Persia, after the deaths of both of Cyrus's sons.<sup>[44]</sup> Cyrus's conquest of Media was merely the start of his wars.<sup>[45]</sup>

## Lydian Empire and Asia Minor

Further information: Battle of Pteria, Battle of Thymbra, and Siege of Sardis (547 BC)

The exact dates of the Lydian conquest are unknown, but it must have taken place between Cyrus's overthrow of the Median kingdom (550 BC) and his conquest of Babylon (539 BC). It was common in the past to give 547 BC as the year of the conquest due to some interpretations of the Nabonidus Chronicle, but this position is currently not much held.<sup>[46]</sup> The Lydians first attacked the Achaemenid Empire's city of Pteria in Cappadocia. Croesus besieged and captured the city enslaving its inhabitants. Meanwhile, the Persians invited the citizens of Ionia who were part of the Lydian kingdom to revolt against their ruler. The offer was rebuffed, and thus Cyrus levied an army and marched against the Lydians, increasing his numbers while passing through nations in his way. The Battle of Pteria was effectively a stalemate, with both sides suffering heavy casualties by nightfall. Croesus retreated to Sardis the following morning.<sup>[47]</sup>

While in Sardis, Croesus sent out requests for his allies to send aid to Lydia. However, near the end of the winter, before the allies could unite, Cyrus the Great pushed the war into Lydian territory and besieged Croesus in his capital, Sardis. Shortly before the final Battle of Thymbra between the two rulers, Harpagus advised Cyrus the Great



The Median Empire, Lydian Empire, and Neo-Babylonian Empire, prior to Cyrus the Great's conquests



Croesus on the pyre. Attic red-figure amphora, 500–490 BC, Louvre (G 197)

to place his dromedaries in front of his warriors; the Lydian horses, not used to the dromedaries' smell, would be very afraid. The strategy worked; the Lydian cavalry was routed. Cyrus defeated and captured Croesus. Cyrus occupied the capital at Sardis, conquering the Lydian kingdom in 546 BC.<sup>[47]</sup> According to Herodotus, Cyrus the Great spared Croesus's life and kept him as an advisor, but this account conflicts with some translations of the contemporary Nabonidus Chronicle (the King who was himself subdued by Cyrus the Great after conquest of Babylonia), which interpret that the king of Lydia was slain.<sup>[48]</sup>

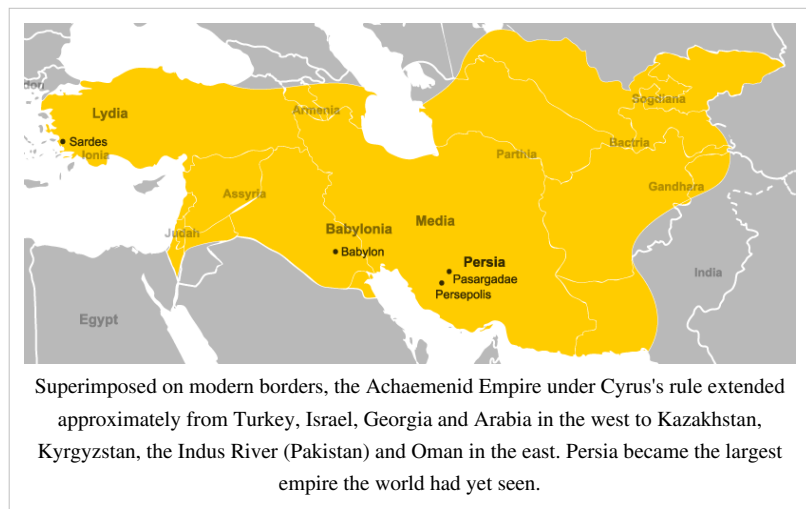
Before returning to the capital, a Lydian named Pactyas was entrusted by Cyrus the Great to send Croesus's treasury to Persia. However, soon after Cyrus's departure, Pactyas hired mercenaries and caused an uprising in Sardis, revolting against the Persian satrap of Lydia, Tabalus. With recommendations from Croesus that he should turn the minds of the Lydian people to luxury, Cyrus sent Mazares, one of his commanders, to subdue the insurrection but demanded that Pactyas be returned alive. Upon Mazares's arrival, Pactyas fled to Ionia, where he had hired more mercenaries. Mazares marched his troops into the Greek country and subdued the cities of Magnesia and Priene. The end of Pactyas is unknown, but after capture, he was probably sent to Cyrus and put to death after a succession of tortures.<sup>[49]</sup>

Mazares continued the conquest of Asia Minor but died of unknown causes during his campaign in Ionia. Cyrus sent Harpagus to complete Mazares's conquest of Asia Minor. Harpagus captured Lycia, Cilicia and Phoenicia, using the technique of building earthworks to breach the walls of besieged cities, a method unknown to the Greeks. He ended his conquest of the area in 542 BC and returned to Persia.<sup>[35]</sup>

## Neo-Babylonian Empire

Further information: Battle of Opis

By the year 540 BC, Cyrus captured Elam (Susiana) and its capital, Susa.<sup>[50]</sup> The Nabonidus Chronicle records that, prior to the battle(s), Nabonidus had ordered cult statues from outlying Babylonian cities to be brought into the capital, suggesting that the conflict had begun possibly in the winter of 540 BC.<sup>[51]</sup> Near the beginning of October, Cyrus fought the Battle of Opis in or near the strategic riverside city of Opis on the Tigris, north of Babylon. The Babylonian army was routed, and on October 10, Sippar was seized without a battle, with little to no resistance from the populace.<sup>[52]</sup> It is probable that Cyrus engaged in negotiations with the Babylonian generals to obtain a compromise on their part and therefore avoid an armed confrontation.<sup>[53]</sup> Nabonidus was staying in the city at the time and soon fled to the capital, Babylon, which he had not visited in years.<sup>[54]</sup>



Two days later, on October 7 (proleptic Gregorian calendar), Gubaru's troops entered Babylon, again without any resistance from the Babylonian armies, and detained Nabonidus.<sup>[55]</sup> Herodotus explains that to accomplish this feat, the Persians, using a basin dug earlier by the Babylonian queen Nitokris to protect Babylon against Median attacks, diverted the Euphrates river into a canal so that the water level dropped "to the height of the middle of a man's thigh", which allowed the invading forces to march directly through the river bed to enter at night.<sup>[56]</sup> On October 29, Cyrus himself entered the city of Babylon and detained Nabonidus.<sup>[57]</sup>

Prior to Cyrus's invasion of Babylon, the Neo-Babylonian Empire had conquered many kingdoms. In addition to Babylonia itself, Cyrus probably incorporated its subnational entities into his Empire, including Syria, Judea, and Arabia Petraea, although there is no direct evidence of this fact.<sup>[58]</sup>

After taking Babylon, Cyrus the Great proclaimed himself "king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four corners of the world" in the famous Cyrus cylinder, an inscription deposited in the foundations of the Esagila temple dedicated to the chief Babylonian god, Marduk. The text of the cylinder denounces Nabonidus as impious and portrays the victorious Cyrus pleasing the god Marduk. It describes how Cyrus had improved the lives of the citizens of Babylonia, repatriated displaced peoples and restored temples and cult sanctuaries. Although some have asserted that the cylinder represents a form of human rights charter, historians generally portray it in the context of a long-standing Mesopotamian tradition of new rulers beginning their reigns with declarations of reforms.<sup>[59]</sup>

Cyrus the Great's dominions comprised the largest empire the world had ever seen.<sup>[8]</sup> At the end of Cyrus's rule, the Achaemenid Empire stretched from Asia Minor in the west to the northwestern areas of India in the east.<sup>[60]</sup>

## Death

The details of Cyrus's death vary by account. The account of Herodotus from his *Histories* provides the second-longest detail, in which Cyrus met his fate in a fierce battle with the Massagetae, a tribe from the southern deserts of Khwarezm and Kyzyl Kum in the southernmost portion of the steppe regions of modern-day Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, following the advice of Croesus to attack them in their own territory.<sup>[61]</sup> The Massagetae were related to the Scythians in their dress and mode of living; they fought on horseback and on foot. In order to acquire her realm, Cyrus first sent an offer of marriage to their ruler, Tomyris, a proposal she rejected. He then commenced his attempt to take Massagetae territory by force, beginning by building bridges and towered war boats along his side of the river Jaxartes, or Syr Darya, which separated them. Sending him a warning to cease his encroachment in which she stated she expected he would disregard anyway, Tomyris challenged him to meet her forces in honorable warfare, inviting him to a location in her country a day's march from the river, where their two armies would formally engage each other. He accepted her offer, but, learning that the Massagetae were unfamiliar with wine and its intoxicating effects, he set up and then left camp with plenty of it behind, taking his best soldiers with him and leaving the least capable ones. The general of Tomyris's army, who was also her son Spargapises, and a third of the Massagetaean troops killed the group Cyrus had left there and, finding the camp well stocked with food and the wine, unwittingly drank themselves into inebriation, diminishing their capability to defend themselves, when they were then overtaken by a surprise attack. They were successfully defeated, and, although he was taken prisoner, Spargapises committed suicide once he regained sobriety. Upon learning of what had transpired, Tomyris denounced Cyrus's tactics as underhanded and swore vengeance, leading a second wave of troops into battle herself. Cyrus the Great was ultimately killed, and his forces suffered massive casualties in what Herodotus referred to as the fiercest battle of his career and the ancient world. When it was over, Tomyris ordered the body of Cyrus brought to her, then decapitated him and dipped his head in a vessel of blood in a symbolic gesture of revenge for his bloodlust and the death of her son.<sup>[62][63]</sup> However, some scholars question this version, mostly because Herodotus admits this event was one of many versions of Cyrus's death that he heard from a supposedly reliable source who told him no one was there to see the aftermath.<sup>[64]</sup>



Queen Tomyris receiving the head of Cyrus



Herodotus, also recounts that Cyrus saw in his sleep the oldest son of Hystaspes (Darius I) with wings upon his shoulders, shadowing with the one wing Asia, and with the other wing Europe.<sup>[65]</sup> Iranologist, Ilya Gershevitch explains this statement by Herodotus and its connection with the four winged bas-relief figure of Cyrus the Great in the following way:<sup>[65]</sup>

*"Herodotus, therefore as I surmise, may have known of the close connection, between this type of winged figure, and the image of the Iranian majesty, which he associated with a dream prognosticating, the king's death, before his last, fatal campaign across the Oxus."*

Ctesias, in his *Persica*, has the longest account, which says Cyrus met his death while putting down resistance from the Derbices infantry, aided by other Scythian archers and cavalry, plus Indians and their elephants. According to him, this event took place northeast of the headwaters of the Syr Darya.<sup>[66]</sup> An alternative account from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* contradicts the others, claiming that Cyrus died peaceably at his capital.<sup>[67]</sup> The final version of Cyrus's death comes from Berossus, who only reports that Cyrus met his death while warring against the Dahae archers northwest of the headwaters of the Syr Darya.<sup>[68]</sup>

## Burial

Cyrus the Great's remains were interred in his capital city of Pasargadae, where today a limestone tomb (built around 540-530 BCE<sup>[69]</sup>) still exists which many believe to be his. Both Strabo and Arrian give nearly equal descriptions of the tomb, based on the eyewitness report of Aristobulus of Cassandreia, who at the request of Alexander the Great visited the tomb two times.<sup>[70]</sup> Though the city itself is now in ruins, the burial place of Cyrus the Great has remained largely intact; and the tomb has been partially restored to counter its natural deterioration over the years. According to Plutarch, his epitaph said,



Tomb of Cyrus in Pasargadae, Iran, a UNESCO World Heritage Site (2006)

“O man, whoever you are and wherever you come from, for I know you will come, I am Cyrus who won the Persians their empire. Do not therefore begrudge me this bit of earth that covers my bones.”<sup>[71]</sup>

Cuneiform evidence from Babylon proves that Cyrus died around December 530 BC,<sup>[11]</sup> and that his son Cambyses II had become king. Cambyses continued his father's policy of expansion, and managed to capture Egypt for the Empire, but soon died after only seven years of rule. He was succeeded either by Cyrus's other son Bardiya or an impostor posing as Bardiya, who became the sole ruler of Persia for seven months, until he was killed by Darius the Great.

The translated ancient Roman and Greek accounts give a vivid description of the tomb both geometrically and aesthetically; The tomb's geometric shape has changed little over the years, still maintaining a large stone of quadrangular form at the base, followed by a pyramidal succession of smaller rectangular stones, until after a few slabs, the structure is curtailed by an edifice, with an arched roof composed of a pyramidal shaped stone, and a small opening or window on the side, where the slenderest man could barely squeeze through.<sup>[72]</sup>

Within this edifice was a golden coffin, resting on a table with golden supports, inside of which the body of Cyrus the Great was interred. Upon his resting place, was a covering of tapestry and drapes made from the best available Babylonian materials, utilizing fine Median workmanship; below his bed was a fine red carpet, covering the narrow rectangular area of his tomb.<sup>[72]</sup> Translated Greek accounts describe the tomb as having been placed in the fertile

Pasargadae gardens, surrounded by trees and ornamental shrubs, with a group of Achaemenian protectors called the "Magi", stationed nearby to protect the edifice from theft or damage.<sup>[72][73]</sup>

Years later, in the ensuing chaos created by Alexander the Great's invasion of Persia and after the defeat of Darius III, Cyrus the Great's tomb was broken into and most of its luxuries were looted. When Alexander reached the tomb, he was horrified by the manner in which the tomb was treated, and questioned the Magi and put them to court.<sup>[72]</sup> On some accounts, Alexander's decision to put the Magi on trial was more about his attempt to undermine their influence and his show of power in his newly conquered empire, than a concern for Cyrus's tomb.<sup>[74]</sup> Regardless, Alexander the Great ordered Aristobulus to improve the tomb's condition and restore its interior.<sup>[72]</sup> Despite his admiration for Cyrus the Great, and his attempts at renovation of his tomb, Alexander would eventually ransack Persepolis, the opulent city that Cyrus had helped build, and order its burning in 330 B.C.<sup>[75]</sup>

The edifice has survived the test of time, through invasions, internal divides, successive empires, regime changes and revolutions. The last prominent Persian figure to bring attention to the tomb was Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (Shah of Iran) the last official monarch of Persia, during his celebrations of 2,500 years of monarchy. Just as Alexander the Great before him, the Shah of Iran wanted to appeal to Cyrus's legacy to legitimize his own rule by extension.<sup>[76]</sup>

After the Iranian revolution, the tomb of Cyrus the Great survived the initial chaos and vandalism propagated by the Islamic revolutionary hardliners who equated Persian imperial historical artifacts with the late Shah of Iran. There are allegations of the tomb being in danger of damage from the construction of the Sivand Dam on river Polvar (located in the province of Pars) and flooding, but there is no official acknowledgement of this claim. This has nonetheless, caused a petition to be drafted to the U.N. demanding protection of this historical entity. United Nations recognizes the tomb of Cyrus the Great and Pasargadae as a UNESCO World Heritage site.<sup>[69]</sup>

## Legacy

In scope and extent his achievements ranked far above that of the Macedonian king,  
Alexander who was to demolish the empire in the 320s but fail  
to provide  
any stable alternative.

—Charles Freeman in 'The Greek Achievement'<sup>[77]</sup>

The achievements of Cyrus the Great throughout antiquity is well reflected in the way he is remembered today. His own nation, the Iranians, have regarded him as "The Father", the very title that had been used during the time of Cyrus himself, by the many nations that he conquered, as according to Xenophon.<sup>[78]</sup>



Cyrus the Great liberated the Hebrew exiles to resettle and rebuild Jerusalem, earning him an honored place in Judaism.

*"And those who were subject to him, he treated with esteem and regard, as if they were his own children, while his subjects themselves respected Cyrus as their 'Father' ... What other man but 'Cyrus', after having overturned an empire, ever died with the title of 'The Father' from the people whom he had brought under his power? For it is plain fact that this is a name for one that bestows, rather than for one that takes away!"*

The Babylonians regarded him as "The Liberator".<sup>[79]</sup> After his conquest of Babylon, followed Cyrus's help for the return of Jews; for this, Cyrus is addressed in the Jewish Tanakh as the "Lord's Messiah". Glorified by Ezra, and by



Isaiah, Cyrus is the one to whom "Yahweh, the God of heaven" has given "all the Kingdoms of the earth".<sup>[23]</sup>

Cyrus was distinguished equally as a statesman and as a soldier. By pursuing a policy of generosity instead of repression, and by favoring local religions, he was able to make his newly conquered subjects into enthusiastic supporters.<sup>[80]</sup> Due in part to the political infrastructure he created, the Achaemenid empire endured long after his death.

The rise of Persia under Cyrus's rule had a profound impact on the course of world history. Iranian philosophy, literature and religion all played dominant roles in world events for the next millennia. Despite the Islamic conquest of Persia in the 7th century CE by the Islamic Caliphate, Persia continued to exercise enormous influence in the Middle East during the Islamic Golden Age, and was particularly instrumental in the growth and expansion of Islam.

Many of the Iranian dynasties following the Achaemenid empire and their kings saw themselves as the heirs to Cyrus the Great and have claimed to continue the line begun by Cyrus.<sup>[81][82]</sup> However there are different opinions among scholars whether this is also the case for the Sassanid Dynasty.<sup>[83]</sup>

Even today many consider Cyrus greater than Alexander in his accomplishment. In fact Alexander the Great was himself infatuated with and admired Cyrus the Great, from an early age reading Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, which described Cyrus's heroism in battle and governance and his abilities as a king and a legislator.<sup>[84]</sup> Alexander respected Cyrus to the point, that during his visit to Pasargadae, he paid significant homage to the memory of Cyrus the Great by ordering Aristobulus to decorate the interior of the sepulchral chamber of his tomb.<sup>[84]</sup>

According to Professor Richard Nelson Frye:<sup>[85]</sup>

It is a testimony to the capability of the founder of the Achaemenian empire that it continued to expand after his death and lasted for more than two centuries. But Cyrus was not only a great conqueror and administrator; he held a place in the minds of the Persian people similar to that of Romulus and Remus in Rome or Moses for the Israelites. His saga follows in many details the stories of hero and conquerors from elsewhere in the ancient world. The manner in which the baby Cyrus was given to a shepherd to raise is reminiscent of Moses in the bulrushes in Egypt, and the overthrow of his tyrannical grandfather has echoes in other myths and legends. There is no doubt that the Cyrus saga arose early among the Persians and was known to the Greeks. The sentiments of esteem or even awe in which Persians held him were transmitted to the Greeks, and it was no accident that Xenophon chose Cyrus to be the model of a ruler for the lessons he wished to impart to his fellow Greeks.

In short, the figure of Cyrus has survived throughout history as more than a great man who founded an empire. He became the epitome of the great qualities expected of a ruler in antiquity, and he assumed heroic features as a conqueror who was tolerant and magnanimous as well as brave and daring. His personality as seen by the Greeks influenced them and Alexander the Great, and, as the tradition was transmitted by the Romans, may be considered to influence our thinking even now. In the year 1971, Iran celebrated the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of the monarchy by Cyrus.

On another account, Professor Patrick Hunt states:<sup>[86]</sup>

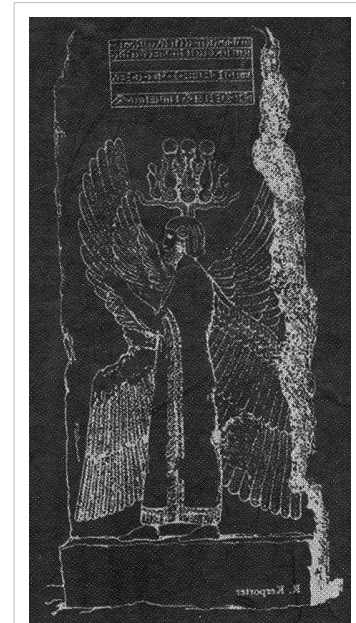
If you are looking at the greatest personages in History who have affected the World, 'Cyrus the Great' is one of the few who deserves that epithet, the one who deserves to be called 'the Great'. The empire over which Cyrus ruled was the largest the Ancient World had ever seen and may be to this day the largest empire ever.

## Religion and philosophy

Although there is no doubt about the influence of Zarathushtra's teachings on Cyrus's acts and policies, so far there has not been a clear evidence indicating that Cyrus practiced a specific religion; however, his liberal and tolerant views towards other religions have made some scholars consider Cyrus a Zoroastrian king.<sup>[87]</sup> The religious policies of Cyrus are well documented in Babylonian texts as well as Jewish sources and the historians accounts. Cyrus initiated a general policy that can be described as a policy of permitting religious freedom throughout his vast empire. He brought peace to the Babylonians and is said to have kept his army away from the temples and restored the statues of the Babylonian gods to their sanctuaries.<sup>[12]</sup> Another example of his religion, as evidenced by the Cyrus cylinder (see below),

'û-mi-Ša-am ma- h ar iluBel ù iluNabu Š a a-ra-ku ume-ia li-ta-mu-û  
lit-taŠ-ka-ru a-ma-a-ta du-un-ki-ia ù a-na iluMarduk beli-ia  
li-iq-bu-û Ša mKu-ra-aŠ Šarri pa-li- hi-ka u mKa-am-bu-zi-ia mari-  
Šu' (Cylinder,Akkadian language line:35)

'pray daily before Bêl and Nabû for long life for me, and may they  
speak a gracious word for me and say to Marduk, my lord, "May  
Cyrus, the king who worships you, and Cambyses, his son,'  
(Cylinder,English Translation line:35)



Dhul-Qarnayn is thought to refer to  
Cyrus by some Qur'anic  
commentators.

His religious policy was his treatment of the Jews during their exile in Babylon after Nebuchadnezzar II destroyed Jerusalem. The Jewish Bible's Ketuvim ends in Second Chronicles with the decree of Cyrus, which returned the exiles to the Promised Land from Babylon along with a commission to rebuild the temple.

'Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia: All the kingdoms of the earth hath Yahweh, the God of heaven, given me; and He hath charged me to build Him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of all His people -- may Yahweh, his God, be with him -- let him go there.' (2 Chronicles 36:23)

This edict is also fully reproduced in the Book of Ezra.

"In the first year of King Cyrus, Cyrus the king issued a decree: 'Concerning the house of God at Jerusalem, let the temple, the place where sacrifices are offered, be rebuilt and let its foundations be retained, its height being 60 cubits and its width 60 cubits; with three layers of huge stones and one layer of timbers. And let the cost be paid from the royal treasury. 'Also let the gold and silver utensils of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took from the temple in Jerusalem and brought to Babylon, be returned and brought to their places in the temple in Jerusalem; and you shall put them in the house of God.' (Ezra 6:3-5)

As a result of Cyrus's policies, the Jews honored him as a dignified and righteous king. He is the only Gentile to be designated as Messiah, a divinely appointed leader, in the Tanakh (Isaiah 45:1-6). Isaiah 45:13: "I will raise up Cyrus in my righteousness: I will make all his ways straight. He will rebuild my city and set my exiles free, but not for a price or reward, says Yahweh Almighty." As the text suggests, Cyrus did ultimately release the nation of Israel from its exile without compensation or tribute. Traditionally, the entire book of Isaiah is believed to pre-date the rule of Cyrus by about 120 years. These particular passages (Isaiah 40-55, often referred to as *Deutero-Isaiah*) are believed by most modern critical scholars to have been added by another author toward the end of the Babylonian exile (*ca. 536 BC*).<sup>[88]</sup> Whereas Isaiah 1-39 (referred to as *Proto-Isaiah*) saw the destruction of Israel as imminent, and the restoration in the future, Deutero-Isaiah speaks of the destruction in the past (Isa 42:24-25), and the restoration as imminent (Isa 42:1-9). Notice, for example, the change in temporal perspective from (Isa 39:6-7), where the

Babylonian Captivity is cast far in the future, to (Isa 43:14), where the Israelites are spoken of as already in Babylon.<sup>[89]</sup>

Josephus, the first century Jewish historian, relates the traditional view of the Jews regarding the prediction of Cyrus in Isaiah in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, book 11, chapter 1:<sup>[90]</sup>

*"In the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city, that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them; for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write this throughout all Asia: "Thus saith Cyrus the king: Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship; for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea." This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies; for this prophet said that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: "My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land, and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the Divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfill what was so written; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city Jerusalem, and the temple of God, for that he would be their assistant, and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighborhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices."*

Cyrus was praised in the Tanakh (Isaiah 45:1-6 and Ezra 1:1-11) for the freeing of slaves, humanitarian equality and costly reparations he made. However, there was Jewish criticism of him after he was lied to by the Cuthites, who wanted to halt the building of the Second Temple. They accused the Jews of conspiring to rebel, so Cyrus in turn stopped the construction, which would not be completed until 515 BC, during the reign of Darius I.<sup>[91][92]</sup> According to the Bible it was King Artaxerxes who was convinced to stop the construction of the temple in Jerusalem. (Ezra 4:7-24)

Some contemporary Muslim scholars have suggested that the Qur'anic figure of Dhul-Qarnayn is Cyrus the Great. This theory was proposed by Sunni scholar Abul Kalam Azad and endorsed by Shi'a scholars Allameh Tabatabaei, in his *Tafsir al-Mizan* and Makarem Shirazi.

## Politics and management

Cyrus founded the empire as a multi-state empire governed by four capital states; Pasargadae, Babylon, Susa and Ekbatana. He allowed a certain amount of regional autonomy in each state, in the form of a satrapy system. A satrapy was an administrative unit, usually organized on a geographical basis. A 'satrap' (governor) was the vassal king, who administered the region, a 'general' supervised military recruitment and ensured order, and a 'state secretary' kept the official records. The general and the state secretary reported directly to the satrap as well as the central government.

During his reign, Cyrus maintained control over a vast region of conquered kingdoms, achieved through retaining and expanding the satrapies. Further organization of newly conquered territories into provinces ruled by satraps, was continued by Cyrus's successor Darius the Great. Cyrus's empire was based on tribute and conscripts from the many parts of his realm.<sup>[93]</sup>

Through his military savvy, Cyrus created an organized army including the Immortals unit, consisting of 10,000 highly trained soldiers.<sup>[94]</sup> He also formed an innovative postal system throughout the empire, based on several relay stations called Chapar Khaneh.<sup>[95]</sup>

Cyrus's conquests began a new era in the age of empire building, where a vast superstate, comprising many dozens of countries, races, religions, and languages, were ruled under a single administration headed by a central government. This system lasted for centuries, and was retained both by the invading Seleucid dynasty during their control of Persia, and later Iranian dynasties including the Parthians and Sassanids.<sup>[96]</sup>

On December 10, 2003, in her acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize, Shirin Ebadi evoked Cyrus, saying:

"I am an Iranian, a descendant of Cyrus the Great. This emperor proclaimed at the pinnacle of power 2,500 years ago that he 'would not reign over the people if they did not wish it.' He promised not to force any person to change his religion and faith and guaranteed freedom for all. The Charter of Cyrus the Great should be studied in the history of human rights."<sup>[97]</sup>

Cyrus has been known for his innovations in building projects; he further developed the technologies that he found in the conquered cultures and applied them in building the palaces of Pasargadae. He was also famous for his love of gardens; the recent excavations in his capital city has revealed the existence of the Pasargad Persian Garden and a network of irrigation canals. Pasargadae was place for two magnificent palaces surrounded by a majestic royal park and vast formal gardens; among them was the four-quartered wall gardens of "Paradisias" with over 1000 meters of channels made out of carved limestone, designed to fill small basins at every 16 meters and water various types of wild and domestic flora. The design and concept of Paradisia were exceptional and have been used as a model for many ancient and modern parks, ever since.<sup>[98]</sup>

Cyrus's legacy has been felt even as far away as Iceland<sup>[99]</sup> and colonial America. Many of the forefathers of the United States of America sought inspiration from Cyrus the Great through works such as Cyropaedia. Thomas Jefferson, for example, owned a copy.<sup>[100]</sup>



Statue of Cyrus the great at Olympic Park in Sydney

The English physician and philosopher Sir Thomas Browne penned a discourse entitled *The Garden of Cyrus* in 1658 in which Cyrus is depicted as an archetypal 'wise ruler' - at a time when the Protectorate of Cromwell occurred in English history.

'Cyrus the elder brought up in Woods and Mountains, when time and power enabled, pursued the dictate of his education, and brought the treasures of the field into rule and circumscription. So nobly beautifying the hanging Gardens of Babylon, that he was also thought to be the author thereof.'

## Cyrus cylinder

One of the few surviving sources of information that can be dated directly to Cyrus's time is the Cyrus cylinder, a document in the form of a clay cylinder inscribed in Akkadian cuneiform. It had been placed in the foundations of the Esagila (the temple of Marduk in Babylon) as a foundation deposit following the Persian conquest in 539 BC. It was discovered in 1879 and is kept today in the British Museum in London.<sup>[101]</sup>

The text of the cylinder denounces the deposed Babylonian king Nabonidus as impious and portrays Cyrus as pleasing to the chief god Marduk. It goes on to describe how Cyrus had improved the lives of the citizens of Babylonia, repatriated displaced peoples and restored temples and cult sanctuaries.<sup>[102]</sup> Although not mentioned in the text, the repatriation of the Jews from their "Babylonian captivity" has been interpreted as part of this policy.<sup>[103]</sup>

The United Nations has declared the relic to be an "ancient declaration of human rights" since 1971, approved by then Secretary General Mr. Sithu U Thant.<sup>[104]</sup> The British Museum describes the cylinder as "an instrument of ancient Mesopotamian propaganda" that "reflects a long tradition in Mesopotamia where, from as early as the third millennium BC, kings began their reigns with declarations of reforms."<sup>[59]</sup> The cylinder emphasizes Cyrus's continuity with previous Babylonian rulers, asserting his virtue as a traditional Babylonian king while denigrating his predecessor.<sup>[105]</sup>

In the 1970s the Shah of Iran adopted it as a political symbol, using it "as a central image in his own propaganda celebrating 2500 years of Iranian monarchy."<sup>[106]</sup> and asserting that it was "the first human rights charter in history".<sup>[107]</sup> This view has been disputed by some as "rather anachronistic" and tendentious,<sup>[108]</sup> as the modern concept of human rights would have been quite alien to Cyrus's contemporaries and is not mentioned by the cylinder.<sup>[109][110]</sup> The cylinder has, nonetheless, become seen as part of Iran's cultural identity.<sup>[106]</sup>



The Cyrus cylinder, a contemporary cuneiform script proclaiming Cyrus as legitimate king of Babylon.

## Family tree

Further information: the full Achaemenid family tree



**Achaemenes**

King of Persia

**Teispes**

King of Persia

Ariaramnes	Cyrus I
Ruler of Persia*	Ruler of Anshan

Arsames	Cambyes I
Ruler of Persia*	Ruler of Anshan

Hystaspes	<b>Cyrus the</b>
Prince	<b>Great</b>
	<b>(Cyrus II)</b>
	King of Persia

<b>Darius the</b>	<b>Cambyes II</b>	Bardiya (Smerdis)	Artystone	Atossa
<b>Great</b>	King of Persia	Prince (imposter Gaumata ruled as Smerdis*)	Princess	Princess
<b>(Darius I)</b>				
King of Persia				

\* Unconfirmed rulers, due to the Behistun Inscription.

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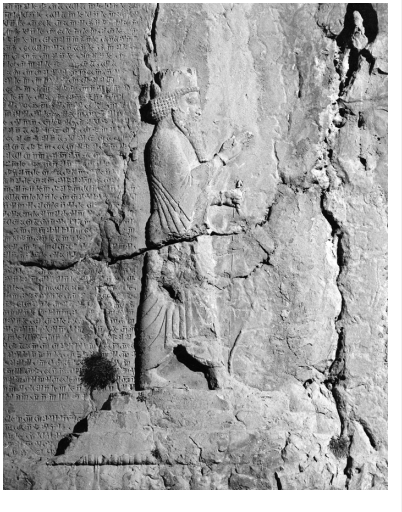
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- Xenophon, *Cyropaedia: the education of Cyrus*, translated by Henry Graham Dakyns and revised by F.M. Stawell, Project Gutenberg (<http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/2085>).
- Cyrus the Great (<http://www.iranchamber.com/history/cyrus/cyrus.php>) An article about Cyrus by Iran Chamber Society
- (<http://gravity.ir/7-panorama/shiraz/8-cyrus-the-great-pasargadae>) 360 Panoramic Image - Tomb of Cyrus The Great

# Darius I

Darius the Great

*Khshayathiya Khshayathiyānam* , King of Kings



Relief of Darius I at his tomb in Naqsh-e Rostam, Iran.

Reign	September 522 BCE to October 486 BCE (36 years)
Born	550 BCE
Died	October 486 BCE (aged approximately 64)
Buried	Naqsh-e Rostam
Predecessor	Bardiya
Successor	Xerxes I
Wife	Atossa
Offspring	Artobazan, Xerxes
Dynasty	Achaemenid Empire
Father	Hystaspes
Mother	Rhodogune
Religious beliefs	Zoroastrianism

**Darius I, the Great** (Old Persian: 𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎧𐎫𐎡𐎹 *Dārayava(h)uš*) (550–486 BCE), formally known as **Darius the Great**, was the third king of the Achaemenid Empire. Darius held the empire at its peak, then including much of West Asia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, parts of the Balkans (Bulgaria-Romania-Pannonia), portions of north and northeast Africa including Egypt (Mudrāya),<sup>[1]</sup> eastern Libya, coastal Sudan, Eritrea), as well as most of Pakistan, the Aegean Islands and northern Greece/Thrace-Macedonia.

Darius ascended the throne by overthrowing the alleged magus usurper of Bardiya with the assistance of six other Persian noble families; Darius was crowned the following morning. The new king met with rebellions throughout his kingdom and quelled them each time. A major event in Darius's life was his expedition to punish Athens and Eretria for their aid in the Ionian Revolt and subjugate Greece. Darius expanded his empire by conquering Thrace and Macedon and invading Scythia, home of the Scythians, nomadic tribes who invaded Media and had previously killed

Cyrus the Great.

Darius organized the empire by dividing it into provinces and placing satraps to govern it. He organized a new uniform monetary system, along with making Aramaic the official language of the empire. Darius also worked on construction projects throughout the empire, focusing on Susa, Pasargadae, Persepolis, Babylon and Egypt. Darius devised a codification of laws for Egypt. He also had the cliff-face Behistun Inscription carved, an autobiography of great modern linguistic significance. Darius also started many massive architectural projects, including magnificent palaces in Persepolis and Susa.

## Etymology

*Dārius* (or *Dārēus*) is the Latin form of the Greek *Dareîos*, which is a shortened form of the Old Persian *Dārayavauš*. The Old Persian form is also seen to have been reflected in the Elamite *Da-ri-(y)a-ma-u-iš*, Akkadian *Da-(a-)ri-ia-(a-)muš*, Aramaic *dryhwš* and archaizing *drywhwš*, and possibly the longer Greek form *Dareiaîos*. The translation of his name from Old Persian to English is "holding firm the good", which can be seen by the stem *dāraya*, meaning "hold", and the adjective *vau*, meaning "good".<sup>[2]</sup>

## Primary sources

Darius left a tri-lingual monumental relief on Mount Behistun which was written in Elamite, Old Persian and Babylonian between his coronation and his death. The inscription begins with a brief autobiography with his ancestry and lineage. To aid the presentation of his ancestry, Darius wrote down the sequence of events which occurred after the death of Cyrus the Great.<sup>[3][4]</sup> Darius mentions several times that he is the rightful king by the grace of Ahura Mazda, the Zoroastrian God. In addition, further texts and monuments from Persepolis have been found, including a fragmentary Old Iranian inscription from Gherla, Romania (Harmatta) and a letter from Darius to Gadates, preserved in a Greek text of the Roman period.<sup>[5]</sup>

Herodotus, a Greek historian and author of *The Histories*, provided an account of many Persian kings and the Greco-Persian Wars. He wrote an extensive amount of information on Darius which spans half of book 3, along with books 4, 5 and 6. It begins with the removal of the alleged usurper Gaumata and continues to the end of Darius's reign.<sup>[5]</sup>

The Book of Ezra (chapter 6, verse 1) describes the adoption and precise instructions to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. It was completed and inaugurated of the sixth year of Darius (March 515 BCE), as also related in the Book of Ezra (chapter 6, verse 15), so the 70-year prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled. Between Cyrus and Darius, an exchange of letters with King Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes is described (chapter 4, verse 7), the grandson of Darius I, in whose reign Ezra and Nehemiah came to Jerusalem. The generous funding of the temple gave Darius and his successors the support of the Jewish priesthood.<sup>[6][7]</sup> There is mention of a Darius in the Book of Daniel, identified as Darius the Mede. He began ruling when he was 62 years old (chapter 5, verse 31), appointed 120 satraps to govern over their provinces or districts (chapter 6, verse 1), was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans (chapter 9, verse 1), and predated Cyrus (chapter 11, verse 1). Therefore, many scholars identify him with Cyaxares II rather than Darius I of Persia.<sup>[8]</sup>

## Early life

Darius was born as the eldest of five sons to Hystaspes and Rhodugune in 550 BCE. Hystaspes was a leading figure of authority in Persia, which was the homeland of the Persians. Darius's inscription states that his father was satrap of Bactria in 522 BCE. According to Herodotus, Hystaspes was the satrap of Persis, although most historians state that this is an error. Also according to Herodotus (III.139), Darius, prior to seizing power and "of no consequence at the time", had served as a spearman (*doryphoros*) in the Egyptian campaign (528–525 BCE) of Cambyses II, then the Persian Great King.<sup>[9]</sup> Hystaspes was an officer in Cyrus's army and a noble of his court.<sup>[10]</sup>

Before Cyrus and his army crossed the Aras River to battle with northern tribes, he installed his son Cambyses II as king in case he should not return from battle.<sup>[11]</sup> However, once Cyrus had crossed the Aras River he had a dream with a vision of Darius in which he had wings atop his shoulders and stood upon the confines of Europe and Asia (the whole known world). When Cyrus awoke from the dream, he inferred it as a great danger to the future security of the empire, as it meant that Darius would one day rule the whole world. However, his son Cambyses was the heir to the throne, not Darius, causing Cyrus to wonder if Darius was forming treasonable and ambitious designs. This led Cyrus to order Hystaspes to go back to Persis and watch over his son strictly, until Cyrus himself returned.<sup>[12]</sup> Darius did not seem to have any treasonous thoughts as Cambyses II ascended the throne peacefully, and through promotion Darius was eventually elevated to Cambyses's personal lancer.

## Ascension

The rise of Darius to the throne contains two variations, an account from Darius and another other from Greek historians. Some modern historians have inferred that Darius's rise to power might have been illegitimate. To them, it seems likely that Gaumata was in fact Bardiya, and that under cover of revolts, Darius killed the heir to the throne and took it himself.

<sup>[13]</sup> Darius's account, written at the Behistun Inscription states that Cambyses II killed his own brother Bardiya, but that this murder was not known among the Iranian people. A would-be usurper named Gaumata came and lied to the people, stating he was Bardiya.<sup>[14]</sup> The Iranians had grown rebellious against Cambyses's rule and on 11 March 522 BCE a revolt against Cambyses broke out in his absence. On 1 July, the Iranian people chose to be under the leadership of Gaumata, as "Bardiya". No member of the Achaemenid family would rise against Gaumata for the safety of their own life. Darius, who had served Cambyses as his lance-bearer until the deposed ruler's death, prayed for aid and in September 522 BCE, along with Otanes, Intraphrenes, Gobryas, Hydarnes, Megabyxus and Aspathines, killed Gaumata in the fortress of Sikayauvati.<sup>[14]</sup>

Several days after Gaumata had been assassinated, Darius and the other seven nobles discussed the fate of the empire. At first, the seven discussed the form of government; a democratic republic was strongly pushed by Otanes, a oligarchy was pushed by Megazybus, while Darius pushed for a monarchy. After stating that a republic would lead to corruption and internal fighting, while a monarchy would be led with a single-mindedness, not possible in other governments, Darius was able to convince the other nobles that a monarchy was the correct form of government. To decide who would become the monarch, the six nobles (Otaner stated that he had no interest in becoming king) decided on a test. All six nobles would gather outside mounted on their horses at sunrise, and the nobles' horse which neighed first would become Great King. According to Herodotus, Darius had a slave, Oebares who helped Darius win this contest. Before the contest, Oebares rubbed his hand over the genitals of a mare that Darius's horse had a fondness for. When the six nobles gathered outside, Oebares placed his hands beside the nostrils of Darius's horse, who became excited at the smell and neighed. Immediately after, lightning and thunder occurred leading the other six noblemen to believe to be an act of God, causing them to dismount and kneel before Darius.<sup>[15]</sup> Darius did not believe that he had achieved the throne through fraud but through brilliant sagacity, even erecting a statue of himself mounted on his neighing horse stating "Darius, son of Hystaspes, obtained the sovereignty of Persia by the sagacity of his horse and the ingenious contrivance of Oebases, his groom."<sup>[16]</sup>

According to the accounts of Greek historians, Cambyses II had left Patizeithes in charge of the kingdom when he headed for Egypt. He later sent Prexaspes to murder Bardiya. After the killing, Patizeithes put his brother Gaumata, a Magian who resembled Bardiya, on the throne and declared him the Great King. Otanes discovered that Gaumata was an impostor, and along with six other Iranian nobles including Darius, created a plan to oust the pseudo-Bardiya. After killing the impostor along with his brother Patizeithes and other Magians, Darius was crowned king the following morning.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Early reign

Following his coronation at Pasargadae, Darius moved to Ecbatana. He soon learned that support for Bardiya was strong, and revolts in Elam and Babylonia had broken out. Darius ended the Elamite revolt when the revolutionary leader Aschina was captured and executed in Susa, after three months the revolt in Babylonia had ended. While in Babylonia, Darius learned a revolution had broken out in Bactria, a satrapy which had always been in favour of Darius, and had initially volunteered an army of soldiers to quell revolts. Following this, revolts broke out in Persis, the homeland of the Persians and Darius. These new revolts led to a renewed revolt in Elam and Babylonia. With all these ongoing revolts, revolts broke out in Media, Parthia, Assyria, and Egypt. By 522 BCE, the majority, if not the entire Achaemenid Empire was revolting against Darius and in turmoil. Even though Darius did not have the support of the populace, Darius had a loyal army, led by close confidants and nobles (including the six nobles with whom he removed Gaumata) with whom he was able to suppress and quell all revolts within a year. In Darius's words, he had killed a total of eight "lying kings" through the quelling of revolutions. Darius left a detailed account of these revolutions at the Behistun Inscription.

One of the significant events of Darius's early reign was the slaying of Intaphernes. Intaphernes was one of the seven noblemen who had deposed the previous ruler and installed Darius as the new monarch. The seven had made an agreement that they could all visit the new king whenever they pleased, except when he was with his wife. One evening, Intaphernes went to the palace to meet Darius, but was stopped by two officers who stated that Darius had retired for the night. Becoming enraged and insulted, Intaphernes drew his sword and cut off the ears and noses of the two officers. While leaving the palace, he took the bridle from his horse, and tied the two officers together. The officers went to the king and showed him what Intaphernes had done to them. Darius began to fear for his own safety; he thought that all seven noblemen had banded together to rebel against him and that the attack against his officers was the first sign of revolt. He sent a messenger to each of the noblemen, asking them if they approved of Intaphernes's actions; they denied it and disavowed any connection to Intaphernes's actions, stating that they stood by their decision to appoint Darius as King of Kings.

Taking precautions against further resistance, Darius sent soldiers to seize Intaphernes, along with his son, family members, relatives and any friends who were capable of arming themselves. Darius believed that Intaphernes was planning a rebellion, but when he was brought to the court, there was no proof of any such plan. Nonetheless, Darius killed Intaphernes's entire family, excluding his wife's brother and son. She was asked to choose between her brother and son. She chose her brother to live. Her reasoning for doing so was that she could have another husband and another son, but she would always have but one brother. Darius was impressed by her response and spared both her brother's and her son's life.<sup>[17]</sup>

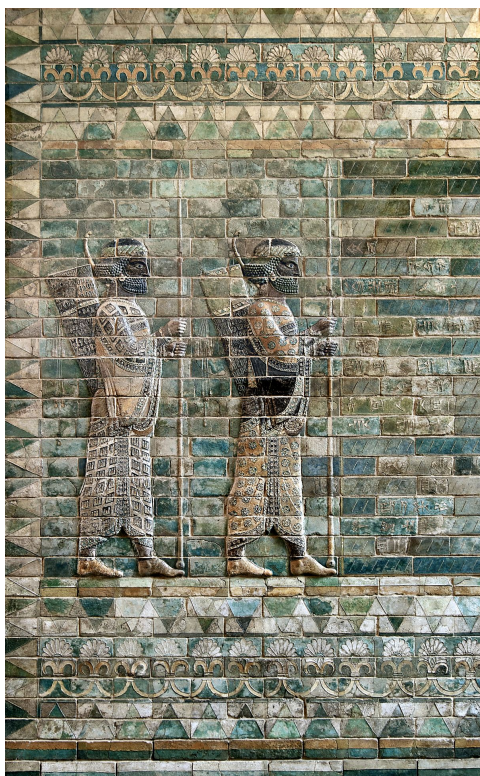
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## Military campaigns

After securing his authority over the entire empire, Darius embarked on a campaign to Egypt where he defeated the armies of the Pharaoh and secured the lands that Cambyses had conquered while incorporating a large portion of Egypt into the Achaemenid Empire. Darius also led his armies to the Indus River, building fortresses and establishing Persian rule.<sup>[18]</sup>

## Babylonian revolt



Archers frieze from Darius's palace at Susa. Detail of the beginning of the frieze, left

After Bardiya was murdered, widespread revolts occurred throughout the empire, especially on the eastern side. Darius asserted his position as king by force, taking his armies throughout the empire, suppressing each revolt individually. The most notable of all the revolts is the Babylonian revolt which was led by Nebuchadnezzar III. This revolt occurred when Otanes withdrew much of the army out of Babylon to aid Darius in suppressing other revolts. Darius felt that the Babylonian people had taken advantage of him and deceived him, which resulted in Darius gathering up a large army and marching to Babylon. At Babylon, Darius was met with closed gates and a series of defenses to keep him and his armies out of Babylon.<sup>[19]</sup> Darius encountered mockery and taunting from the rebels, including the famous saying "Oh yes, you will capture our city, when mules shall have foals." For a year and a half, Darius and his armies were unable to capture Babylon, though he attempted many tricks and strategies—even copying that which Cyrus the Great had employed when he captured Babylon. However, the situation changed in Darius's favor when, according to the story, a mule owned by Zopyrus, a high-ranking soldier, foaled. Following this, a plan was hatched for Zopyrus to pretend to be a deserter, enter the Babylonian camp, and gain the trust of the Babylonians. The plan was successful, and Darius's army eventually surrounded the city and overcame the

rebels.<sup>[20]</sup>

During this revolt, Scythian nomads took advantage of the disorder and chaos and invaded Persia. Darius first finished defeating the rebels in Elam, Assyria, and Babylon and then attacked the Scythian invaders. He pursued the invaders, who led him to a marsh; there he found no known enemies but an enigmatic Scythian tribe distinguished by their large pointy hats.<sup>[21]</sup>

## Persian invasion of Scythia

The Scythians were a group of north Iranian nomadic tribes, speaking a Indo-Iranian language who had invaded Media, killed Cyrus in battle, revolted against Darius and threatened to disrupt trade between Central Asia and the shores of the Black Sea as they lived between the Danube river, river Don and the Black Sea.<sup>[5][22]</sup>

Darius crossed the Black Sea at the Bosphorus Straits using a bridge of boats. Darius conquered large portions of Eastern Europe - even crossing the Danube to wage war on the Scythians. Darius invaded Scythia, where the Scythians evaded Darius's army, using feints and retreating technique eastward while wasting the countryside, by blocking wells, intercepting convoys, destroying pastures and continuous skirmishes against Darius's army.<sup>[23]</sup> Seeking to fight with the Scythians, Darius's army chased the Scythian army deep into Scythian lands, where there

were no cities to conquer and no supplies to forage. In frustration Darius sent a letter to the Scythian ruler Idanthysrus to fight or surrender. The ruler replied that he would not stand and fight with Darius until they found the graves of their fathers and tried to destroy them - until then, they could continue their current technique as they had no cities or cultivated lands to lose.<sup>[24]</sup> Darius ordered a halt at the banks of Oarus, where he built eight frontier fortresses spaced at intervals of eight miles. After chasing the Scythians for a month, Darius's army was suffering losses due to fatigue, privation and sickness. In fear of losing more troops, he halted the march at the banks of the Volga River and headed towards Thrace.<sup>[25]</sup> He had conquered enough territory of Scythia to force the Scythians to respect the Persian forces.<sup>[26]</sup>

## Persian invasion of Greece

Darius's European expedition was a major event in his reign, which began with the invasion of Thrace, after which he left Megabyzus to conquer Thrace, returning to Sardis to spend the winter. Before returning, Darius also conquered many cities of the northern Aegean, while Macedonia submitted voluntarily. The Asiatic Greeks and Greek islands had submitted to Persian rule by 510 BCE. Nonetheless, there were certain Greeks who were pro-Persian, such as the medizing Greeks, which were largely grouped at Athens. This improved Greek-Persian relations as Darius opened his court and treasuries to the Greeks who wanted to serve him. These Greeks served as soldiers, artisans, statesmen and mariners for Darius; however, Greek fear of the strength of Darius's kingdom became strong and the constant interference by the Greeks in Ionia and Lydia were all stepping stones in the conflict that was yet to come between Persia and Greece.



When Aristagoras organized the Ionian revolt, Eretria and Athens supported him by sending ships and troops to Ionia and burning Sardis. Persian military and naval operations to quell the revolt ended in the Persian reoccupation of Ionian and Greek islands; however, anti-Persian parties gained more power in Athens, and pro-Persian aristocrats were exiled from Athens and Sparta. Darius responded by sending troops led by his son-in-law across the Hellespont; however, a violent storm and harassment by Thracians forced the troops to return to Persia. Seeking revenge on Athens and Eretria, Darius assembled another army of 20,000 men under his Admiral, Datis who met success when he captured Eretria and advanced to Marathon. In 490 BCE, at the Battle of Marathon, the Persian army was defeated by a heavily armed Athenian army, with 9,000 men who were supported by 600 Plataeans, 1,000 soldiers from each of eleven Greek city-states (11,000 men in total) and 10,000 lightly armed soldiers led by Miltiades.

The defeat at Marathon marked the end of the first Persian invasion of Greece. Darius began preparations for a second force which he would command, instead of his generals; however, before the preparations were complete, Darius died, thus leaving the task to his son Xerxes.<sup>[26]</sup>

## Family

Darius was son of Hystaspes and grandson of Arsichama I, both men belonging to the Achaemenid tribe, and being alive when Darius ascended the throne. Darius justifies his ascension to the throne with his lineage tracing back to Achaemenes, even though he was distantly related. For these reasons, Darius married Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, with whom he had four sons, Xerxes, Achaemenes, Masistes and Hystaspes. He also married Artystone, another daughter of Cyrus, with whom he had two sons, Arsames and Gobryas. Darius also married Parmys, the daughter of Bardiya, with whom he had a son, Ariomardos. Furthermore, Darius married Phratagone, with whom he had two sons, Abrokomas and Hyperantes. He also married another woman of the nobility, Phaidime, the daughter of Otanes.

It is unknown if he had children with her. Before these royal marriages, Darius married a commoner with whom he had three sons, Artobarzanes(the first born), Arabignes and Arsamenes, while daughters are not known. Although Artobarzanes was the first born of Darius, Xerxes became heir and next king through the influence of Atossa, who had great authority in the kingdom, as Darius loved her, of all of his wives, most.

## Death

After becoming aware of the Persian defeat at the Battle of Marathon, Darius began planning another expedition against the Greek-city states; this time, he, not Datis, would command the imperial armies. Darius had spent three years preparing men and ships for war, when a revolt broke out in Egypt. This revolt in Egypt worsened his failing health and prevented the possibility of leading another army himself. Soon Darius died. In October 486 BCE the body of Darius was embalmed and entombed in the rock-cut sepulcher which had been prepared for him several years earlier.

Xerxes, eldest son of Darius and Atossa, succeeded to the throne as Xerxes I; however, prior to Xerxes's accession, he contested the succession with his elder half-brother Artobazan, Darius's eldest son who was born to his commoner first wife before Darius rose to power.<sup>[27]</sup>

In 1923 CE German archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld made casts of the cuneiform inscriptions on Darius's tomb. They are currently housed in the archives of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.



Tomb of Darius the Great; located next to other Achaemenian kings at Naqsh-e Rostam

## Government

### Organization

Early in his reign, Darius wanted to organize the loosely organized empire with a system of taxation he inherited from Cyrus and Cambyses. To do this, Darius created twenty provinces called satrapies (or *archi*) which were each assigned to a satrap(*archon*) and specified fixed tributes that the satrapies were required to pay. A complete list is preserved in the catalog of Herodotus, beginning from Ionia and listing the other satrapies from west to east excluding Persis which was the land of the Persians and the only province which was not a conquered land. Tributes were paid in both silver and gold talents.

Tributes in silver from each satrap were measured with the Babylonian talent. Those paid in gold were measured with the Euboic talent. The total tribute from the satraps came to an amount less than 15,000 silver talents.<sup>[28]</sup>

The majority of the satraps were of Persian origin and were members of the royal house or the six great noble families. These satraps were personally picked by Darius to monitor these provinces, which were divided into sub-provinces with their own governors which were chosen either by the royal court or by the satrap. To assess tributes, a commission evaluated the expenses and revenues of each satrap. To ensure that one person did not gain too much power, each satrap had a secretary who observed the affairs of the state and communicated with Darius, a treasurer who safeguarded provincial revenues and a garrison commander who was responsible for the troops. Additionally, royal inspectors who were the "eyes and ears" of Darius completed further checks over each satrap.<sup>[29]</sup>

There were headquarters of imperial administration at Persepolis, Susa, and Babylon while Bactria, Ecbatana, Sardis, Dascylium and Memphis also had branches of imperial administration. Darius chose Aramaic as a common language, which soon spread throughout the empire. However, Darius gathered a group of scholars to create a separate language system only used for Persis and the Persians, which was called Aryan script which was only used for official inscriptions.<sup>[29]</sup>



Darius I, imagined by a Greek painter, 4th century BCE



## Economy

Darius conducted the introduction of a universal currency, the daric sometime before 500 BCE. Darius applied the coinage system as a transnational currency to regulate trade and commerce throughout his empire. The daric was also recognized beyond the borders of the empire - in places such as Celtic Central Europe and Eastern Europe. There were two types of darics, a gold and a silver. Only the king could mint gold darics, important generals and satraps minted silver darics, the latter usually to recruit Greek mercenaries in Anatolia. The daric was a major boost to international trade, trade goods such as textiles, carpets, tools and metal objects began to travel throughout Asia, Europe and Africa. To further improve trade, Darius built a royal highway, a postal system and Phoenician-based commercial shipping.

The daric also improved government revenues as the introduction of the daric led to new taxes on land, livestock and marketplaces. This also led to the registration of land. It was measured and taxed accordingly. The increased government revenues helped maintain and improve existing infrastructure. The increased government revenues also helped fund irrigation projects in dry lands. This new tax system also led to the formation of state banking and the creation of banking firms. One of the most famous banking firms was Murashu and Sons, based in Nippur.<sup>[30]</sup> These banking firms provided loans and credit to clients.<sup>[31]</sup>

The daric was called *dārayaka* within the empire and was most likely named after Darius. In an effort to further improve trade, Darius built canals, underground waterways and a powerful navy. He further improved and expanded the network of roads and waystations throughout the empire, so that there was a system of travel authorization for the King, satraps and other high officials, which entitled the traveller to draw provisions at daily stopping places.<sup>[32][29]</sup>



Gold darics such as this one (with a purity of 95.83%) were only issued by the king himself. (c. 490 BCE).

## Religion

By the grace of Ahuramazda am I king; Ahuramazda has granted me the kingdom.

Darius, on the Behistun Inscription

While there is no absolute consensus on the kings before Darius, such as Cyrus and Cambyses, it is well established that Darius was an adherent of Zoroastrianism<sup>[33]</sup> or at least a firm believer in Ahura Mazda. As can be seen at the Behistun Inscription, Darius believed that Ahura Mazda had appointed him to rule the Achaemenid Empire. Darius had dualistic convictions and believed that each rebellion in his kingdom was the work of druj, the enemy of Asha. Darius believed that because he lived righteously by Asha, Ahura Mazda supported him.<sup>[34]</sup> In many cuneiform inscriptions denoting his achievements, he presents himself as a devout believer, perhaps even convinced that he had a divine right to rule over the world.<sup>[35]</sup>

In the lands that were conquered by his empire, Darius followed the same Achaemenid tolerance that Cyrus had shown and later Achaemenid emperors would show. He supported faiths and religions that were "alien" as long as the adherents were submissive and peaceable, sometimes giving them grants from his treasury for their purposes.<sup>[36]</sup> He had funded the restoration of the Jewish temple which had originally been decreed by Cyrus the Great, presented favour towards Greek cults which can be seen in his letter to Gadatas, and supported Elamite priests. He had also observed Egyptian religious rites related to kingship and had built the temple for the Egyptian God, Amun.<sup>[37]</sup>



## Construction

During Darius's Greek expedition, he had begun construction projects in Susa, Egypt and Persepolis. He had linked the Red Sea to the river Nile by building a canal which ran from modern Zaḡāzīq to modern Suez. To open this canal, he traveled to Egypt in 497 BCE, where the inauguration was done among great fanfare and celebration. Darius also built a canal to connect the Red Sea and Mediterranean.<sup>[27][38]</sup> On this visit to Egypt he erected monuments and executed Aryandes on accounts of treason. When Darius returned to Persis, he found that the codification of Egyptian law had been finished.<sup>[26]</sup>

Additionally, Darius sponsored large construction projects in Susa, Babylon, Egypt, and Persepolis. In Susa, Darius built a new palace complex in the north of the city. An inscription states that the palace was destroyed during the reign of Artaxerxes I, but was rebuilt. Today only glazed bricks of the palace remain, the majority of them in the Louvre. In Pasargadae Darius finished all incomplete construction projects from the reign of Cyrus the Great. A palace was also built during the reign of Darius, with an inscription in the name of Cyrus the Great. It was previously believed that Cyrus had constructed this building, however due to the cuneiform script being used, the palace is believed to have been constructed by Darius.

In Egypt Darius built many temples and restored those that had previously been destroyed. Even though Darius was a Zoroastrian, he built temples dedicated to the Gods of the Ancient Egyptian religion. Several temples found were dedicated to Ptah and Nekhbet. Darius also created several roads and routes in Egypt. The monuments that Darius built were often inscribed in the official languages of the Persian Empire, Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian and Egyptian hieroglyphs. To construct these monuments Darius hired a large number of workers and artisans of diverse nationalities. Several of these workers were deportees who had been employed specifically for these projects. These deportees enhanced the economy and improved international relations with neighboring countries that these deportees arrived from.<sup>[29]</sup> At the time of Darius's death construction projects were still underway. Xerxes completed these works and in some cases expanded his father's projects by erecting new buildings of his own.<sup>[39]</sup>



The ruins of Persepolis. In the foreground is the treasure house, right behind the Palace of Darius.

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# Devapala

<h1 style="text-align: center;">Pala Empire</h1> <h2 style="text-align: center;">পাল সাম্রাজ্য</h2>	
<h3>810-850</h3>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Deva Pala's empire at its greatest extent.</p>	
<b>Capital</b>	Pataliputra
<b>Religion</b>	Buddhism
<b>Government</b>	Monarchy
<b>History</b>	
- Established	810
- Disestablished	850

**Deva Pala (Deva Pala the Great)**, (ruled 810–850 CE) was a powerful emperor from the Pala Empire of Bengal region in the Indian Subcontinent. He was the third king in the line and had succeeded his father, emperor Dharamapala (ruled 770–810 CE). He inherited a great empire built by his father but he also made his own significant contributions to it to expand its frontiers<sup>[1]</sup>.

## Military career of Devapala

Though not much is known about the details of his military campaigns, he is said to have exacted tributes from whole of northern India from Himalayas to Vindhya and from east to west ocean <sup>[2]</sup>. More specifically, the inscriptions reveal that his victorious military campaigns led him as far as to Kamboja of northwest and Deccan in the south <sup>[3][4]</sup> and that he exterminated the Utkalas, conquered the Pragjyotisha (Assam), shattered the pride of the Hunas, and humbled the lords of Gurjara Pratihara and the Dravidas. <sup>[5]</sup>

Information provided by these inscriptions bears witness to Devapala's encounter with the Kambojas of Kabul valley, which nation, since remote antiquity, had been known for its quality war horses. The *Monghyr Charter* also bears witness to the fact that the Palas recruited their war horses from this Kamboja of the northwest. <sup>[6][7]</sup> King Devapala definitely had some sort of relations with the north-west borderland of India (i.e. Kamboja) which fact also appears probable from his connections with *Viradeva*, a scholar from Nagarahara, Jalalabad near Kabul whom he had appointed to the post of Abbot of Nalanda in south Bihar <sup>[8]</sup>. Probably, Devapala had brought Viradeva during his military expedition to Kamboja in north-west <sup>[9]</sup>.

## Imperialistic and expansionistic policies

According to "Age of Imperial Kanauj" (*History and Culture of Indian People*), the above inscriptional statements attest that Devapala had followed imperialistic and expansionistic policy and in his military campaigns under his real cousin General Jayapala, <sup>[10]</sup> the Pala army invaded Pragjyotisha (Assam) where the king submitted without giving a fight and the Utkalas whose king fled from his capital city <sup>[11]</sup>. On the opposite frontiers of the empire, were the Hunas located in south-east Punjab in Uttarapatha who became the next target of Devapala's fury. From there, the Pala forces had proceeded further to subjugate the Kambojas of North-West Frontiers (Trans-Indus territory). Thereafter, Devapala reduced king Ramabhadra of the Gurjara Pratihara Empire and later he defeated Gurjar Emperor Mihir Bhoja. It also pointed out that Devapala had vanquished the Rashtrakuta ruler Amoghavarsha. <sup>[12]</sup> He is further claimed that he humbled the rulers of Dravida <sup>[13]</sup>.

## Religious leanings

Devapala was a staunch Buddhist and is stated to have granted five villages to Buddhist monasteries for the promotion of Buddhism and the welfare & comforts of the Bhikshus. He is said to have got constructed many temples and monasteries in Magadha. <sup>[14]</sup> Balaputradeva, the Sailendra king of Java requested Devapala to endow land for the monastery at Nalanda.

## Successor of Devapala

Devapala had ruled for about 40 years and was succeeded by his son Mahendrapala, who was succeeded by Vighrahapala, his nephew according to one view and his son according to the other.



## Estimate of Devapala

It is stated that the reigns of Dharmapala and Devapala constituted the most brilliant period of Bengal. Under the Palas, Bengal played a very important role in the history of India.

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- [4] History and Culture of Indian People, The Age of Imperial Kanauj, 1964, p 50, 55, 56, Dr R. C. Majumdar, Dr A. D. Pusalkar.
- [5] op cit., p 50, Dr R. C. Majumdar, Dr A. D. Pusalkar.
- [6] **Kambojesu cha ysya vajiyuvbhi dharvastanayaraji jaso heshayati-hari heshtarvah kaantishchran vikashvah || 13||.**

This verse attests that the horses in the cavalry of Devapala were over-pleased to reunite with their beloveds, the Kamboja mares. This inscriptions, according to scholars, indisputably attests that not only there were Kamboja horses but also there was a Kamboja cavalry in the armed forces of the Palas (See refs: Dynastic History of Northern India, I. p 311; Indian Historical Quarterly, XV, p 511; History of Ancient Bengal, 1971, pp 127, 182-83).

- cf: "The Palas employed mercenary forces and certainly recruited horses from Kamboja (Ins B.8 V 13). Mr N. G. Majumdar has rightly observed that if the horses could be brought into Bengal from North-Western Frontiers of India during the Pala period, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the traders and the adventurers could also have found their way into that province" (Epigraphia Indica XXII.153). Mercenary soldiers (*specially the cavalry*) might have also been recruited from Kamboja and some of them might have been influential chiefs...(Dr R. C. Majumdar).
- [7] cf: "In the ninth century, A.D, the Kambojas are said to have been defeated by Devapala, the great king of the Pala Dynasty of Bengal (R. D. Banerjee, Vangalar Itihaasa, p 182). But during the latter part of the tenth century, the tables were turned and the rule of the Pala kings of Bengal was interrupted by the Kambojas who set up one of their chiefs as the king (Dr. V. A. Smith, The Early History of India, p 399)."
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- [9] Military History of India, 1980, p 88, H. C. Kar.
- [10] Jayapala was son of Dharmapala's younger brother Vakpala, See: Badal Pillar Inscription, verse 13, Epigraphia Indica II, p 160; Bhagalpur Charter of Narayanapala, year 17, verse 6, Indian Antiquary, XV p 304.
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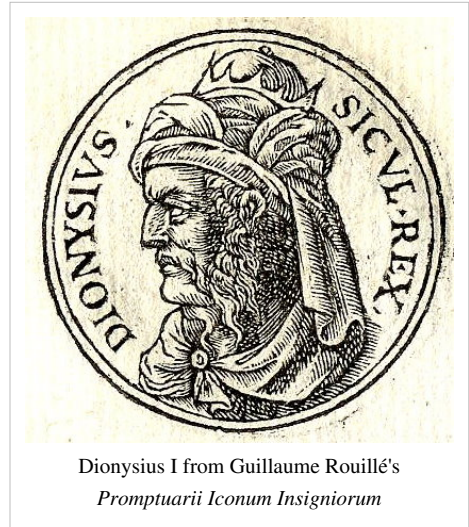
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# Dionysius I of Syracuse

**Dionysius I or Dionysius the Elder** Greek: Διονύσιος ο Πρεσβύτερος (c. 432 – 367 BC) was a Greek tyrant of Syracuse, in what is now Sicily, southern Italy. He conquered several cities in Sicily and southern Italy, opposed Carthage's influence in Sicily and made Syracuse the most powerful of the Western Greek colonies. He was regarded by the ancients as an example of the worst kind of despot—cruel, suspicious and vindictive.

## Early life

Dionysius I began his working life as a clerk in a public office. Because of his achievements in the war against Carthage that had begun in 409 BC, he was elected supreme military commander in 406 BC; in the following year he seized total power and became tyrant.<sup>[1]</sup> In subsequent years he consolidated his position ruthlessly.



## Mercenaries and Autocracy

Dionysius the Elder's victory over the democratic Syracuse represents both the very worst and the very best of the mercenary-leader. Dionysius' career as a despot occurred after he was given six hundred personal mercenaries to guard his person after faking an attack on his own life. He was able to increase this guard to one thousand and gradually consolidated his power and established himself as a tyrant. He imposed his mercenaries on all parts of the polis community. Such an act would have truly wiped out any suggestion that democracy was still in force. His rule was "unconstitutional and illegitimate and could not fail to provoke rebellions among the partisans of democratic government".<sup>[2]</sup> Dionysius' position at home would be threatened even as early as 403 by those philosophically opposed to tyranny. Interestingly, Sparta, which had in the past deposed tyrants from Corinth to Athens, did not damn Dionysius and his autocracy. In fact relations between the two were very positive:

When the Lacedaemonians had settled the affairs of Greece to their own taste, they dispatched Aristus, one of their distinguished men, to Syracuse, ostensibly pretending that they would overthrow the government, but in truth with intent to increase the power of the tyranny; for they hoped that by helping to establish the rule of Dionysius they would obtain his ready service because of their benefactions to him.

[3]

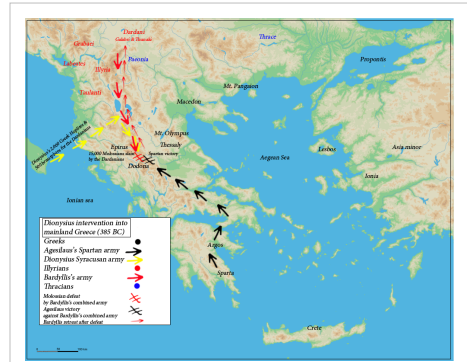
Dionysius would even have the privilege of being allowed to conscript mercenaries from lands under Spartan authority. The demise of a prominent democratic polis in the classical world and the subsequent tenure of Dionysius represented what would become a recurring norm in fourth century Greece, thanks to the prevalence of mercenaries. The mercenary and the tyrant went hand-in-hand; Polybius for example noted how "the security of despots rests entirely on the loyalty and power of mercenaries".<sup>[4]</sup> Aristotle wrote how some form of 'guard' (viz. a personal army) is needed for absolute kingship,<sup>[5]</sup> and for an elected tyrant a very particular number of professional soldiers should be employed; too few undermines the tyrants power and too many threatens the polis itself. The philosopher notes how based on this observation, the people of Syracuse were warned to not let Dionysius conscript too many 'guards' during his reign.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Conquests

He fought a war with Carthage from 397 BC to 392 BC with mixed success;<sup>[1]</sup> his attempts to drive the Carthaginians entirely out of the island of Sicily failed, and at his death they were masters of at least a third of it. He also carried on an expedition against Rhegium, capturing it<sup>[1]</sup> and attacking its allied cities in Magna Graecia. In one campaign, in which he was joined by the Lucanians, he devastated the territories of Thurii and Croton in an attempt to defend Locri.

After a protracted siege, he took Rhegium in 386 and sold the inhabitants as slaves. He joined the Illyrians in an attempt to plunder the temple of Delphi and pillaged the temple of Caere (then allied with Rome) on the Etruscan coast. In the Adriatic, to facilitate trade, Dionysius founded Ancona, Adria and Issa.<sup>[7]</sup> After him, the Adriatic became a sea of Syracuse. In the Peloponnesian War, he joined the side of the Spartans and assisted them with mercenaries.

In 385 BC, Alcetas of Epirus was a refugee in Dionysius' court. Dionysius wanted a friendly monarch in Epirus, so he sent 2,000 Greek hoplites and 500 suits of Greek armour to help the Illyrians under Bardyllis in attacking the Molossians of Epirus. They ravaged the region and killed 15,000 Molossians, and Alcetas regained his throne.<sup>[8]</sup> Sparta intervened<sup>[9]</sup> under Agesilaus, however, and with aid from Thessaly, Macedonia, and the Molossians themselves, the Spartans expelled<sup>[10]</sup> the Illyrians.<sup>[11]</sup>



Dionysius of Syracuse's military attempts to place Alcetas in the throne of the Molossians

## Death

According to others, he was poisoned by his physicians at the instigation of his son, Dionysius the Younger who succeeded him as ruler of Syracuse. His life was written by Philistus, but the work is not extant.

Additionally, it is said that upon hearing news of his play, *The Ransom of Hector*, winning the competition at the Lanaean festival at Athens, he celebrated so fiercely that he drank himself to death. Others report that he died of natural causes shortly after learning of his play's victory in 367 BC. The third theory suggests that "The Company", of which he was a member, had taken revenge on his earlier purges and taxation imposed upon them, in an attempt to raise money for the war with Carthage.

## Intellectual tastes

Like Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, Dionysius was fond of having literary men about him, such as the historian Philistus, the poet Philoxenus, and the philosopher Plato, but treated them in a most arbitrary manner. Once he had Philoxenus arrested and sent to the quarries for voicing a bad opinion about his poetry. A few days later, he released Philoxenus because of his friends' requests, and brought the poet before him for another poetry reading. Dionysius read his own work and the audience applauded. When he asked Philoxenus how he liked it, the poet replied only "Take me back to the quarries."

He also posed as an author and patron of literature; his poems, severely criticized by Philoxenus, were hissed at the Olympic games; but having gained a prize for a tragedy on the *Ransom of Hector* at the Lenaea at Athens, he was so elated that he engaged in a debauch which proved fatal.

His name is also known for the legend of Damon and Pythias, and he features indirectly (via his son) in the legend of the Sword of Damocles. The Ear of Dionysius in Syracuse is an artificial limestone cave named after Dionysius.

## Walls of Syracuse

In 402 BC Dionysius I began building the Circuit Walls of Syracuse. They were completed in 397 BC and had the following characteristics:

- Length: 27 kilometers
- Width at base: 3.3 m to 5.35 m
- Number of known towers on circuit: 14 (including Euryalos)
- Largest tower: 8.5 m x 8.5 m
- Deepest ditch (at Euryalos fortress): 9 m

Building so big a fortress would have involved installing well over 300 tons of stone every day for 5 years.<sup>[12]</sup>



## Fictional references

Dionysius I is mentioned in Dante's *Inferno* (of the *Divine Comedy*) (1308–21) as a tyrant who indulged in blood and rapine and suffers in a river of boiling blood. A fictional version of Dionysius is a character in Mary Renault's historical novel *The Mask of Apollo* (1966). He also features prominently in L. Sprague de Camp's historical novel *The Arrows of Hercules* (1965) as a patron of inventors on the island of Ortygia near Syracuse. He is the main character in Valerio Massimo Manfredi's novel *Tyrant* (2003). He is also featured in the 1962 film *Damon and Pythias*.


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  - [8] *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.*, by N. G. L. Hammond. ISBN 0-19-873095-0, 1986, page 479: "... Molossi, Alcetas, who was a refugee at his court, Dionysius sent a supply of arms and 2,000 troops to the Illyrians, who burst into Epirus and slaughtered 15,000 Molossians. Sparta intervened as soon as they had learned of the events and expelled the Illyrians, but Alcetas had regained his ..."
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<p><b>Preceded by:</b> <i>democracy</i> position previously held by Thrasybulus in 465 BC</p>	<p><b>Tyrant of Syracuse</b> 405 BC – 367 BC</p>	<p><b>Succeeded by:</b> <b>Dionysius the Younger</b></p>
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# Ferdinand I of León and Castile

Ferdinand I	
	
Ferdinand ( <i>left</i> ) and his wife Sancha, from an illumination in a contemporary manuscript.	
Emperor of all Spain	
Reign	1056–1065
Coronation	c. 1056
Predecessor	<i>Vacant</i> Bermudo III
Successor	<i>Vacant</i> Alfonso VI
King of León and Castile	
Reign	1037–1065
Coronation	22 June 1038 (León)
Predecessor	Bermudo III (in León)
Successor	Sancho II (Castile), Alfonso VI (León) and García II (Galicia)
Count of Castile	
Reign	1029–1037
Predecessor	García Sánchez
Successor	title in abeyance
Consort	Sancha of León
Issue	
Urraca of Zamora Sancho II Elvira of Toro Alfonso VI García II	
Dynasty	Jiménez
Father	Sancho III of Navarre
Mother	Mayor of Castile
Born	c. 1015
Died	24 June 1065 (aged 49–50) León

<b>Burial</b>	Basilica of San Isidoro
<b>Religion</b>	Roman Catholicism

**Ferdinand I** (c. 1015 – 24 June 1065), called **the Great** (*el Magno*), was the Count of Castile from his uncle's death in 1029 and the King of León after defeating his brother-in-law in 1037. According to tradition, he was the first to have himself crowned Emperor of Spain (1056), and his heirs carried on the tradition. He was a younger son of Sancho III of Navarre and Mayor of Castile, and by his father's will recognised the supremacy of his eldest brother, García Sánchez III of Navarre. While Ferdinand inaugurated the rule of the Navarrese Jiménez dynasty over western Spain, his rise to preeminence among the Christian rulers of the peninsula shifted the locus of power and culture westward after more than a century of Leonese decline. Nevertheless, "[t]he internal consolidation of the realm of León–Castilla under Fernando el Magno and [his queen] Sancha (1037–1065) is a history that remains to be researched and written."<sup>[1]</sup>

## Date and order of birth

There is some disagreement concerning the order of birth of Sancho III's son, and of Ferdinand's place among them. He was certainly a younger son, and he was probably born later than 1011, when his parents' marriage is first recorded.<sup>[2]</sup> Most, and the most reliable, charters name Sancho's sons in the order Ramiro, García, Gonzalo, then Ferdinand. Three documents from the Cathedral of Pamplona list them in this way,<sup>[3]</sup> as well as four from the monastery of San Juan de la Peña.<sup>[4]</sup> One charter from Pamplona, dated 29 September 1023, is witnessed by Sancho's mother, Jimena Fernández, his wife Mayor, her children, listed García, Ferdinand then Gonzalo, and their brother, the illegitimate Ramiro.<sup>[5]</sup>

In five documents of the monastery of San Salvador de Leire, Ferdinand is listed after Gonzalo.<sup>[6]</sup> Two of these are dated to 17 April 1014. If authentic, they place Ferdinand's birth before that date.<sup>[7]</sup> Three further documents from Leire are among the only ones to place Ferdinand second among the legitimate sons, but they suffer from various anachronisms and interpolations.<sup>[8]</sup> Two preserved diplomas of Santa María la Real de Irache also put Gonzalo ahead of him.<sup>[9]</sup> On the basis of these documents, Gonzalo Martínez Díez places Ferdinand third of the known legitimate sons of Sancho III (Ramiro being a bastard born before his marriage to Mayor), and his birth no earlier than 1015.<sup>[2]</sup> The *Crónica de Alaón renovada*, which Martínez Díez dates to 1154, but which other scholars dismiss as a late medieval concoction, lists García, Ferdinand and Gonzalo as Sancho III's sons by Mayor in that order, but in the same passage mistakenly places Gonzalo's death before his father's.<sup>[10]</sup>

## Count of Castile (1029–37)

Ferdinand was barely in his teens when García Sánchez, Count of Castile, was assassinated by a party of exiled Castilian noblemen as he was entering the church of John the Baptist in León, where he had gone to marry Sancha, sister of Bermudo III, King of León. In his role as feudal overlord, Sancho III of Navarre nominated his younger son Ferdinand, born to the deceased count's sister Mayor, as count of Castile. Although Sancho was recognised as the ruler of Castile until his death, Ferdinand was granted the title "count" (*comes*) and was prepared to succeed in Castile. On 7 July 1029, before a council in Burgos, the capital of Castile, Óneca, aunt of the late García and queen Mayor, formally adopted Sancho and Mayor, making them her heirs. The record of the council is the first recorded instance of Ferdinand bearing the title of count.<sup>[11]</sup> A later charter from the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, dated 1 January 1030, explicit lists Sancho as king in León (the overlord of Castile) and Ferdinand as count in Castile.<sup>[12]</sup> The first indication that Ferdinand was independently reigning *de facto* over Castile, or was at least recognised as count in his own right, is a charter of 1 November 1032 from the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, which does not mention his father, but dates it to the time of "Fernando Sánchez bearing the county".<sup>[13]</sup> Sancho's decision to name his son as count in Castile preserved its high degree of autonomy, although no Castilian document after 1028 is dated by the reign of Bermudo III nor is he ever named as king of León. The only sovereign whose

regnal year was used was Sancho III, making Ferdinand the first count of Castile not to recognise the suzerainty of the king of León.<sup>[14]</sup>

Sancho III arranged for Ferdinand to marry García of Castile's intended bride, Sancha of León, in 1032.<sup>[1]</sup> The lands between the Cea and Pisuerga rivers went to Castile as her dowry. After his father's death on 18 October 1035, Ferdinand continued to rule in Castile, but he was not, as many later authors have it, king of Castile. Contemporary documents stress his status as count and his relationship of vassalage to the king of León. A document issued by his brother Ramiro on 22 August 1036 at San Juan de la Peña was drawn while "emperor Bermudo [was] reigning in León and count Ferdinand in Castile, king García in Pamplona, king Ramiro in Aragon, and king Gonzalo in Ribagorza."<sup>[15]</sup> Two private Castilian documents dated 1 January 1037 both express Ferdinand's continuing vassalage to the Leonese monarch explicitly, dating themselves by the reign of "king Bermudo and Ferdinand, count in his realms".<sup>[16]</sup>

In a dispute over the territory between the Cea and Pisuerga, Ferdinand, nominally a vassal of Bermudo III, defeated and killed his suzerain at the Battle of Tamarón on 4 September 1037.<sup>[1]</sup> Ferdinand took possession of León by right of his wife, who was the heiress presumptive, and on 22 June 1038 had himself formally crowned and anointed king in León.<sup>[1]</sup>

## King of León (1037–65)

### Relations with Navarre

On 15 September 1054, Ferdinand defeated his elder brother García at the Battle of Atapuerca and reduced Navarre to a vassal state under his late brother's young son, Sancho García IV. Although Navarre at that time included the traditionally Castilian lands of Álava and La Rioja, Ferdinand demanded the cession only of Bureba.<sup>[1]</sup> Over the next decade, he gradually extended his control over more of the western territory of Navarre at the expense of Sancho IV, although this was accomplished peacefully and is only detectable in the documentary record.<sup>[17]</sup>

### Relations with al-Andalus

#### War with Zaragoza

In 1060, according to the *Historia silense*, Ferdinand invaded the *taifa* of Zaragoza through the upland valley of the eastern Duero in the highlands around Soria. He captured the fortresses of San Esteban de Gormaz, Berlanga and Vadorrey, and afterwards proceeded through Santiuste, Huermeceles and Santamara as far as the Roman road that lay between Toledo and Zaragoza.<sup>[18]</sup> The success of the campaign was made possible by the preoccupation of the Zaragoza emir, Ahmad al-Muqtadir, with attacking the neighboring *taifa* of Tortosa and defending his northeastern frontier from Ramiro I of Aragon and Raymond Berengar I of Barcelona. The emir, up until then paying tribute to Sancho IV of Navarre, submitted to Ferdinand and agreed to pay *parias*. Although probably originally meant to be temporary, Ferdinand managed to enforce the tribute until his death.<sup>[18]</sup>

#### War with Toledo

With al-Muqtadir sidelined as a threat, Ferdinand turned his attention to Yahya ibn Ismail al-Mamun, emir of Toledo. It is probable that Ferdinand already maintained close relations with the Toledan court, and was perhaps protector of the Mozarabic Christian community in Toledo. In 1058, the last known Mozarabic bishop of Toledo, Pascual, was consecrated in León. In 1062, Ferdinand invaded the east of al-Mamun's *taifa*, taking Talamanca and besieging Alcalá de Henares. After seeing his country plundered, al-Mamun agreed to pay *parias* and Ferdinand left.<sup>[19]</sup>

### Great raid on Badajoz and Seville

In 1063, using the new income from his *parias*, Ferdinand organised a "great raid, or *razzia*" into the *taifas* of Seville and Badajoz. Seville, and probably Badajoz also, paid a ransom for his withdrawal. This attack was probably also designed to remove Badajoz as a threat during his siege of Coimbra the next year.<sup>[19]</sup>

### Reconquests in Portugal

Although the sources are unclear, it is possible that as early as 1055 Ferdinand attacked the *taifa* of Badajoz. His first serious campaign of *Reconquista* was an invasion of the lower basin of the Duero between the coast, which had long been held by León, and the mountains. On 29 November 1057 his army conquered Lamego and its valleys.<sup>[17]</sup> Having secured the Duero, Ferdinand began to bring the valley of the Mondego under his control, first taking Viseu in its middle stretch on 25 July 1058 and then moving down towards the sea. It was "a long and grueling battle" before Coimbra, at the mouth of the Mondego, was taken on 25 July 1064 after a six-month siege.<sup>[17]</sup>

### War with Valencia

In 1065, Ferdinand embarked on his last military campaign. He invaded the *taifa* of Valencia and got as far as the vicinity of the city itself, where he defeated the emir Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar late in the autumn. The emir's father-in-law, al-Mamun of Toledo, seized control of Valencia, and the frightened emir of Zaragoza renewed his tribute payments to León. Ferdinand fell ill in November and returned to his kingdom.<sup>[19]</sup>

## Emperor of Spain

Ferdinand was first titled "emperor" not by himself or his own scribes, but by the notaries of his half-brother, the petty king Ramiro I of Aragon, whose notaries were also calling Ferdinand's predecessor as king of León by the same title. In a royal Aragonese charter of 1036, before the Battle of Tamarón, Ramiro refers to his brother as "emperor in Castile and in León and in Astorga".<sup>[20]</sup> A similarly-worded charter was issued in 1041 and again in 1061, where the order of kingdoms is reversed and Astorga ignored: "emperor in León and in Castile".<sup>[21]</sup> The first use of the imperial style in a charter of his own, preserved in the cartulary of Arlanza, dates to the year 1056: "under the rule of the emperor King Ferdinand and the empress Queen Sancha ruling the kingdom in León and in Galicia as well as in Castile".<sup>[22]</sup> On this basis, Ferdinand is sometimes said to have had himself crowned emperor in 1056.

The imperial title was only used on one other occasion during his reign. A document of 1058 dates itself "in the time of the most serene prince Lord Ferdinand and his consort Queen Sancha" and later qualifies him as "this emperor, the aforesaid Ferdinand".<sup>[23]</sup>

## Death and succession

Ferdinand died on 27 December 1065, in León,<sup>[24]</sup> with many manifestations of ardent piety, having laid aside his crown and royal mantle, dressed in the robe of a monk and lying on a bier covered with ashes, which was placed before the altar of the Basilica of San Isidoro.<sup>[25]</sup> By his will, Ferdinand divided his kingdom between his three sons: the eldest, Sancho, received Castile; the second, Alfonso, León; and from the latter the region of Galicia was carved off to create a separate state for García. Ferdinand's two daughters each received cities: Elvira that of Toro and Urraca that of Zamora. In giving them these territories, he expressed his desire that they respect his wishes and abide by the split. However, soon after Fernando's death, Sancho and Alfonso turned on García, and defeating him. They then fought each other, the victorious Sancho reuniting their father's possessions under his control in 1072. However, Sancho was killed that same year and the territories passed to Alfonso.

## Posthumous reputation

The *Chronicon complutense*, probably written shortly after Ferdinand's death, extols him as the "exceedingly strong emperor" (*imperator fortissimus*) when mentioning the siege of Coimbra.<sup>[26]</sup> After his death, Ferdinand's children took to calling him "emperor" and "the great" (*magnus*). In 1072, Alfonso, Ferdinand's second son, referred to himself as "offspring of the Emperor Ferdinand".<sup>[27]</sup> Two years later (1074), Urraca and Elvira referred to themselves as "daughters of the Emperor Ferdinand the Great [or, the great emperor Ferdinand]".<sup>[28]</sup> In a later charter of 1087, Ferdinand is referred to first as "king", then as "great emperor", and finally just as "emperor" alongside his consort, who is first called "queen" then "empress".<sup>[29]</sup>

In the fourteenth century a legend appeared in various chronicles according to which the Pope, the Holy Roman Emperor, and the King of France demanded a tribute from Ferdinand. In certain versions the Pope is named Urban (although it could not have been either Urban I or Urban II) and in other versions Victor (which is plausibly identifiable with Victor II).<sup>[30]</sup> Ferdinand was prepared to pay, but one of his vassals, later known as El Cid, who in reality was a youth during Ferdinand's reign, declared a war on the Pope, the Emperor and the Frank, and the latter rescinded their demand. For this reason "Don Fernando was afterwards called 'the Great': the peer of an emperor".<sup>[31]</sup> In the sixteenth century this account re-appeared, extended and elaborated, in Juan de Mariana, who wrote that in 1055, at a synod in Florence, the Emperor Henry III urged Victor II to prohibit under severe penalties the use of the imperial title by Ferdinand of León.<sup>[32]</sup>

This story is generally regarded as apocryphal, although some modern authors have accepted it uncritically or seen a kernel of historical truth in it. Spanish historian A. Ballesteros argued that Ferdinand adopted the title in opposition to Henry III's imperial pretensions.<sup>[33]</sup> German historian E. E. Stengel believed the version found in Mariana on the grounds that the latter probably used the now lost acts of the Council of Florence.<sup>[34]</sup> Juan Beneyto Pérez was willing to accept it as based on tradition and Ernst Steindorff, the nineteenth-century student of the reign of Henry III, as being authentically transmitted via the *romancero*.<sup>[35]</sup> Menéndez Pidal accepted the account of Mariana, but placed it in the year 1065.<sup>[36]</sup>

## Notes

[1] Reilly 1988, 7–8.

[2] Martínez Díez 2007, 151–53.

[3] Martínez Díez 2007, 152. They are, by date: 7 April 1014, albeit improperly dated (*Ranimirus, proles regis, confirmat. Garseanus, frater eius, confirmat. Gundisalvus, frater eius, confirmat. Fernandus, germanus eius, confirmat.*); 21 October 1022 (*Garsias et Ranimirus, Gundesalvus et Fernandus, testes.*); and 1033 (*in presencia de filios regis pernomatos Ranimirus, Garseanus, Gundesalvus, Fredinandus*), found in Jaime Goñi Gaztambide, *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Pamplona (829–1243)* (Pamplona: 1997), docs. 5, 7, 12.

[4] Martínez Díez 2007, 152. Although all of these one contain anachronisms, they are not entirely worthless. They are: two dated 21 April 1028, one of 1030, and one from 5 April 1031, found in Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*, I (Valencia: 1962), docs. 47–48, 51, 56.

[5] Martínez Díez 2007, 152: *Sunt testes: Eximina regina et mater regis, regina dompna Maiora cum filiis suis dompno Garsia et Fredinando et Gundesalbo et fratre eorum Ranimiro* in Goñi Gaztambide 1997, doc. 8.

[6] Martínez Díez 2007, 152. They are dated 21 October 1022, 26 December 1032, and 1033, found in Ángel J. Martín Duque, *Documentación medieval de Leire (siglos IX a XII)* (Pamplona: 1983), docs. 20, 23, 24.

[7] Martínez Díez 2007, 152. They read: *Domina Maior regina confirmat. Ranimirus proles regis confirmat. Garseanus frater eius confirmat. Gundisalvus frater eius confirmat. Ferdinandus frater eius confirmat.*, in Martín Duque 1983, docs. 15–16.

[8] Martínez Díez 2007, 153. Two date to 21 October 1015 and another to 29 September 1023, found in Martín Duque 1983, docs. 17–18, 21.

[9] Martínez Díez 2007, 152–53. They are both dated 1024, one to 17 May, and are found in José María Lacarra, *Colección diplomática de Irache, I (958–1222)* (Zaragoza: 1965), docs. 2, 4.

[10] Martínez Díez 2007, 84.

[11] Martínez Díez 2007, 150: *regnante gratia Dei, principe nostro domno Sanctio et prolis eius Fredinando comes* ("[now] reigning by the grace of God, the prince our lord Sancho and his son count Ferdinand").

[12] Martínez Díez 2007, 150: *regnante rex Sancio in Legione et comite Fernando in Castella* ("[now] reigning king Sancho in León and count Ferdinand in Castile").

[13] Martínez Díez 2007, 150: *Factum ... ipsas kalendas novembrii, era MLXX currente, Fredinando Sanzii comitatum gerente* ("[this charter was] made ... these kalends of November, currently Era 1070 [AD 1032], Ferdinand [son] of Sancho holding the county").

- [14] Martínez Díez 2007, 150–51.
- [15] Martínez Díez 2007, 182: *regnante imperator Veremundo in Leone et comite Fredinando in Castella et rex Garsea in Pampilonia et rex Ranimirus in Aragone et rex Gundisalbus in Ripacorça*.
- [16] In the first Rodrigo Téllez, on the occasion of his entering the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, donated his inheritance in Jaramillo to the monastery (Martínez Díez 2007, 182: *rex Vermudo et Fredinando comes in regnis suis*). The second was issued by Ferdinand's great aunt, the Abbess Urraca of Covarrubias, and reads: *Facta carta conparationis die sabbato, ipsas kalendas januarias, era TLXXV<sup>a</sup>, rex Virimudo et Frenando comes in regnis suis* (Martínez Díez 2007, 182).
- [17] Reilly 1988, 9–10.
- [18] Reilly 1988, 10–11.
- [19] Reilly 1988, 11–12.
- [20] García Gallo 1945, 226 n. 70: *Regnante me Ranimiro ... et Fredelandus imperator in Castella et in Leone et in Astorga* ("me, Ramiro, reigning ... and Ferdinand, emperor in Castile and in León and in Astorga").
- [21] This latter, from García Gallo 1945, 226 n. 71, reads "King Ramiro reigning in Aragon ... Ferdinand, emperor in León and in Castile" (*Regnante Ramiro rege in Aragonie ... Fredelandus imperator in Leone et in Castella*).
- [22] García Gallo 1945, 213 and 226 n. 72: *sub imperio imperatoris Fredinandi regis et Sancie regine imperatrice regnum regentes in Legione et in Gallecia vel in Castella*.
- [23] García Gallo 1945, 213 and 226 n. 72: *in tempore serenissimi principis domni Fredinandi et ejus conjugis Sanciae reginae and perrexerunt ad ipsum imperatorem jam dictum Fredenandum*.
- [24] Some sources give the feast of John the Baptist, 24 June, as the date of his death.
- [25] Reilly 1988, 13.
- [26] García Gallo 1945, 213 and 226 n. 74, partially quotes the *Chronicon*'s entry: *rex Ferdinandus cum coniuge eius Sancía regina, imperator fortissimus, simul cum suis episcopis ... obsedit civitatem Colimbriam* ("King Ferdinand with his consort Queen Sancha, the exceedingly strong emperor, likewise with his bishops ... besieged the city of Coimbra").
- [27] García Gallo 1045, 226 n. 73: *Ego Adefonsus regis, prolis Fredinandi ymperatoris*.
- [28] *Ego Urraca et Giluira, Fredinandi imperatoris magni filie* (García Gallo 1045, 226 n. 73).
- [29] García Gallo 1045, 226 n. 73: "I, Urraca, daughter of King Ferdinand ... to the reigning Emperor Alfonso son of Emperor Ferdinand the Great and Queen Sancha ... I, Urraca, daughter of that king and emperor Ferdinand and Empress Sancha" (*Ego Urraca prolis Fredinandi regis ... Adefonso imperatore regnante Ferdenandi magni imperatores et Sancie regine filio ... Ego Urraca filia ejusdem regis et imperatoris Federnandi et Sancie imperatricis*).
- [30] García Gallo 1945, 213–14. The most likely king of France is Henry I, although Philip I also fits. The Emperor would have been Henry III, or possibly his father, Conrad II.
- [31] García Gallo 1945, 214: *fué llamado Don Fernando el Magno: el par de emperador*.
- [32] García Gallo 1945, 214, citing Menéndez Pidal 1929, I, 137–38, and López Ortiz 1942, 43–46.
- [33] In *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 40 (1919): 473, cited in García Gallo 1945, 226 n. 78.
- [34] *Kaisertitel und Souveränitätsidee: Studien zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Staatsbegriffs* (Weimar: 1939), 7–8, 11–13, 15–16, and 23, cited in García Gallo 1945, 226 n. 78.
- [35] *España y el problema de Europa: contribución a la historia de la idea de imperio* (Madrid: 1942), 46–48, cited in García Gallo 1945, 226 n. 78; Steindorff 1881, 484ff.
- [36] He further suggested that the Spanish reaction against Rome encouraged a later Castilian nationalist reaction against the Spanish "empire", cf. García Gallo 1945, 214, citing Menéndez Pidal 1929, I, 138 and 256–64, who completely rejects this thesis.

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# Frederick the Great

Frederick II	
Frederick II, aged 68, by Anton Graff	
Frederick II, aged 68, by Anton Graff	
King of Prussia Elector of Brandenburg	
Reign	31 May 1740 – 17 August 1786
Predecessor	Frederick William I
Successor	Frederick William II
Chief Minister	
Spouse	Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Bevern
House	House of Hohenzollern
Father	Frederick William I of Prussia
Mother	Sophia Dorothea of Hanover
Born	24 January 1712 Berlin, Prussia
Died	17 August 1786 (aged 74) Potsdam, Prussia
Burial	Sanssouci, Potsdam
Religion	Calvinism

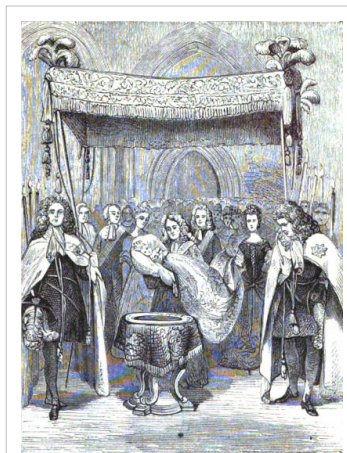
**Frederick II** (German: *Friedrich II.*; 24 January 1712 – 17 August 1786) was a King in Prussia (1740–1772) and a King of Prussia (1772–1786) from the Hohenzollern dynasty.<sup>[1]</sup> In his role as a prince-elector of the Holy Roman Empire, he was also Elector of Brandenburg. He was in personal union the sovereign prince of the Principality of Neuchâtel. He became known as **Frederick the Great** (*Friedrich der Große*) and was named *Der Alte Fritz* ("Old Fritz").

Interested primarily in music and philosophy and not the arts of war during his youth, Frederick unsuccessfully attempted to flee from his authoritarian father, Frederick William I, with childhood friend Hans Hermann von Katte, whose execution he was forced to watch after they were captured. Upon ascending to the Prussian throne, he attacked Austria and claimed Silesia during the Silesian Wars, winning military acclaim for himself and Prussia. Near the end of his life, Frederick physically connected most of his realm by conquering Polish territories in the First Partition of Poland.

Frederick was a proponent of enlightened absolutism. For years he was a correspondent of Voltaire, with whom the king had an intimate, if turbulent, friendship. He modernized the Prussian bureaucracy and civil service and promoted religious tolerance throughout his realm. Frederick patronized the arts and philosophers, and wrote flute music. Frederick is buried at his favorite residence, Sanssouci in Potsdam. Because he died childless, Frederick was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II of Prussia, son of his brother, Prince Augustus William of Prussia.

## Youth

Frederick was born in Berlin, the son of King Frederick William I of Prussia and Sophia Dorothea of Hanover. The so-called Soldier-King, Frederick William had developed a formidable army and encouraged centralization, but was also known for his authoritarianism and temper. Sophia, on the other hand, was well-mannered and well-educated. Her father, George, Elector of Hanover, was the heir of Queen Anne of Great Britain. George succeeded as King George I of Great Britain in 1714.



Baptism of Frederick (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 40, 1870)

The birth of Frederick was welcomed by his grandfather with more than usual pleasure, as two of his grandsons had already died at an early age. Frederick William wished his sons and daughters be educated not as royalty, but as simple folk. He had been educated by a Frenchwoman, Madame de Montbail, who later became Madame de Rocoulle, and he wished that she educate his children. Frederick was brought up by Huguenot governesses and tutors and learned French and German simultaneously. In spite of his father's desire that his education be entirely religious and pragmatic, the young Frederick, with the help of his tutor Jacques Duhan, procured for himself a three thousand volume secret library of poetry, Greek and Roman classics, and French philosophy to supplement his official lessons.<sup>[2]</sup>

Although Frederick William I was raised a devout Calvinist, he feared he was not of the elect. To avoid the possibility of Frederick being motivated by the same concerns the king ordered that his heir not be taught about predestination.

Although he was largely irreligious, Frederick adopted this tenet of Calvinism, despite the king's efforts. Some scholars have speculated that the crown prince did this to spite his father.<sup>[3]</sup>

## Crown Prince

In 1732, Queen Sophia Dorothea attempted to arrange a dual marriage of Frederick and his sister Wilhelmina with Amelia and Frederick, the children of her brother, King George II of Great Britain. Fearing an alliance between Prussia and Great Britain, Field Marshal von Seckendorff, the Austrian ambassador in Berlin, bribed Prussian Minister of War Field Marshal von Grumbkow and Prussian ambassador in London Benjamin Reichenbach. The pair discreetly slandered the British and Prussian courts in the eyes of the two kings. Angered by the idea of the effete Frederick being so honored by Britain, Frederick William presented impossible demands to the British, such as Prussia acquiring Jülich and Berg, leading to the collapse of the marriage proposal.<sup>[4]</sup>



Frederick as Crown Prince 1739

Frederick found an ally in his sister, Wilhelmina, with whom he remained close for life. At age 16, Frederick had formed an attachment to the king's 13-year-old page, Peter Karl Christoph Keith. Wilhelmina recorded that the two "soon became inseparable. Keith was intelligent, but without education. He served my brother from feelings of real devotion, and kept him informed of all the king's actions."<sup>[5]</sup>

When he was 18, Frederick plotted to flee to England with Katte and other junior army officers. While the royal retinue was near Mannheim in the Electoral Palatinate, Robert Keith, Peter's brother, had an attack of conscience when the conspirators were preparing to escape and begged Frederick William for forgiveness on 5 August 1730;<sup>[6]</sup> Frederick and Katte were subsequently arrested and imprisoned in Küstrin. Because they were army officers who had tried to flee

Prussia for Great Britain, Frederick William leveled an accusation of treason against the pair. The king threatened the crown prince with the death penalty, then considered forcing Frederick to renounce the succession in favour of his brother, Augustus William, although either option would have been difficult to justify to the Reichstag of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>[7]</sup> The king forced Frederick to watch the decapitation of his confidant Katte at Küstrin on 6 November, leaving the crown prince to faint away and suffer hallucinations for the following two days.<sup>[8]</sup>

Frederick was granted a royal pardon and released from his cell on 18 November, although he remained stripped of his military rank.<sup>[9]</sup> Instead of returning to Berlin, however, he was forced to remain in Küstrin and began rigorous schooling in statecraft and administration for the War and Estates Departments on 20 November. Tensions eased slightly when Frederick William visited Küstrin a year later, and Frederick was allowed to visit Berlin on the occasion of his sister Wilhelmina's marriage to Margrave Frederick of Bayreuth on 20 November 1731. The crown prince returned to Berlin after finally being released from his tutelage at Küstrin on 26 February 1732.

Frederick William considered marrying Frederick to Elisabeth of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the niece of Empress Anna of Russia, but this plan was ardently opposed by Prince Eugene of Savoy. Frederick himself proposed marrying Maria Theresa of Austria in return for renouncing the succession. Instead, Eugene persuaded Frederick William, through Seckendorff, that the crown prince marry Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Bevern, a Protestant relative of the Austrian Habsburgs.<sup>[10]</sup> Although Frederick wrote to his sister that, "There can be neither love nor friendship between us,"<sup>[5]</sup> and he considered suicide, he went along with the wedding on 12 June 1733. He had little in common with his bride and resented the political marriage as an example of the Austrian interference which had plagued Prussia since 1701. Once Frederick secured the throne in 1740, he prevented Elisabeth from visiting his court in Potsdam, granting her instead Schönhausen Palace and apartments at the Berliner Stadtschloss. Frederick bestowed the title of the heir to the throne, "Prince of Prussia", on his brother Augustus William; despite this, his wife remained devoted to him.<sup>[11]</sup> In their early married life, the royal couple resided at the Crown Princes Palace, Berlin.

Frederick was restored to the Prussian Army as Colonel of the Regiment von der Goltz, stationed near Nauen and Neuruppin. When Prussia provided a contingent of troops to aid Austria during the War of the Polish Succession, Frederick studied under Prince Eugene of Savoy during the campaign against France on the Rhine.<sup>[12]</sup> Frederick William, weakened by gout brought about by the campaign, granted Frederick Schloss Rheinsberg in Rheinsberg, north of Neuruppin. In Rheinsberg, Frederick assembled a small number of musicians, actors and other artists. He spent his time reading, watching dramatic plays, making and listening to music, and regarded this time as one of the happiest of his life. Frederick formed the "Bayard Order" to discuss warfare with his friends; Heinrich August de la Motte Fouqué was made the grand master of the gatherings.

The works of Niccolò Machiavelli, such as *The Prince*, were considered a guideline for the behavior of a king in Frederick's age. In 1739, Frederick finished his *Anti-Machiavel*, an idealistic refutation of Machiavelli. It was published anonymously in 1740, but Voltaire distributed it in Amsterdam to great popularity.<sup>[13]</sup> Frederick's years dedicated to the arts instead of politics ended upon the 1740 death of Frederick William and his inheritance of the Kingdom of Prussia.

## Reign (1740–1786)

Before his ascension, Frederick was told by D'Alembert, "The philosophers and the men of letters in every land have long looked upon you, Sire, as their leader and model." Such devotion, however, had to be tempered by political realities. When Frederick ascended the throne as "King in Prussia" in 1740, Prussia consisted of scattered territories, including Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg in the west of the Holy Roman Empire; Brandenburg, Hither Pomerania, and Farther Pomerania in the east of the Empire; and the former Duchy of Prussia, outside of the Empire bordering the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was titled *King in Prussia* because this was only part of historic Prussia; he was to declare himself *King of Prussia* after acquiring most of the rest in 1772.



## Warfare

Frederick's goal was to modernize and unite his vulnerably disconnected lands; toward this end, he fought wars mainly against Austria, whose Habsburg dynasty reigned as Holy Roman Emperors almost continuously from the 15th century until 1806. Frederick established Prussia as the fifth and smallest European great power by using the resources his frugal father had cultivated.

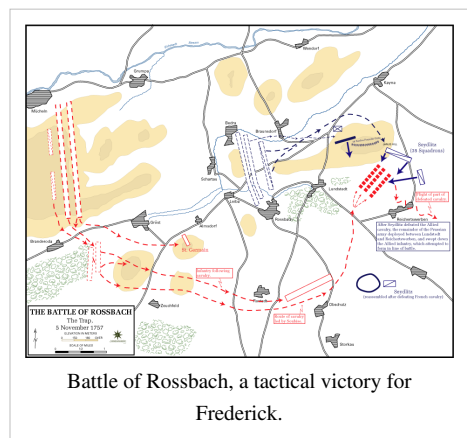


Battle of Hohenfriedberg, *Attack of the Prussian Infantry*, by Carl Röchling.

Desiring the prosperous Austrian province of Silesia, Frederick declined to endorse the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, a legal mechanism to ensure the inheritance of the Habsburg domains by Maria Theresa of Austria. He was also worried that Augustus III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, would seek to connect his own disparate lands through Silesia. The Prussian king thus invaded Silesia the same year he took power, using as justification an obscure treaty from 1537 between the Hohenzollern and the Piast dynasty of Brieg (Brzeg). The ensuing First Silesian War (1740–1742), part of the War of the

Austrian Succession (1740–1748), resulted in Frederick conquering the province (with the exception of Austrian Silesia). Austria attempted to recover Silesia in the Second Silesian War (1744–1745), but Frederick was victorious again and forced Austria to adhere to the previous peace terms. Prussian possession of Silesia gave the kingdom control over the Oder River.

Habsburg Austria and Bourbon France, traditional enemies, allied together in the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756 following the collapse of the Anglo-Austrian Alliance. Frederick swiftly made an alliance with Great Britain at the Convention of Westminster. As neighboring countries began conspiring against him, Frederick was determined to strike first. On 29 August 1756 his well-prepared army crossed the frontier and preemptively invaded Saxony, thus beginning the Seven Years' War, which lasted until 1763. He faced widespread criticism for his attack on neutral Saxony and for his forcible incorporation of the Saxony forces into the Prussian army following the Siege of Pirna in October 1756.



Facing a coalition which included Austria, France, Russia, Saxony, and Sweden, and having only Great Britain and Hanover as his allies, Frederick narrowly kept Prussia in the war despite having his territories repeatedly invaded.

Frederick was frequently at the last gasp. On 6 January 1762, he wrote to Count Karl-Wilhelm Finck von Finckenstein, "We ought now to think of preserving for my nephew, by way of negotiation, whatever fragments of my territory we can save from the avidity of my enemies", which means, that he was resolved to seek a soldier's death on the first opportunity.

The sudden death of Empress Elizabeth of Russia led to the succession of the pro-Prussian Peter III. This "Miracle of the House of Brandenburg" led to the collapse of the anti-Prussian coalition. Although Frederick did not gain any territory in the ensuing Treaty of Hubertusburg, his ability to retain Silesia during the Silesian Wars made him and Prussia popular throughout many German-speaking territories.

Late in his life Frederick also involved Prussia in the low-scale War of the Bavarian Succession in 1778, in which he stifled Austrian attempts to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria. When Emperor Joseph II tried the scheme again in 1784, Frederick created the *Fürstenbund*, allowing himself to be seen as a defender of German liberties, in contrast to his earlier role of attacking the imperial Habsburgs.

Frederick frequently led his military forces personally and had six horses shot from under him during battle. Frederick is often admired as one of the greatest tactical geniuses of all time, especially for his usage of the oblique order of battle. Even more important were his operational successes, especially preventing the unification of numerically superior opposing armies and being at the right place at the right time to keep enemy armies out of Prussian core territory. In a letter to his mother Maria Theresa, the Austrian co-ruler Emperor Joseph II wrote,

When the King of Prussia speaks on problems connected with the art of war, which he has studied intensively and on which he has read every conceivable book, then everything is taut, solid and uncommonly instructive. There are no circumlocutions, he gives factual and historical proof of the assertions he makes, for he is well versed in history... A genius and a man who talks admirably. But everything he says betrays the knave.<sup>[14]</sup>

An example of the place that Frederick holds in history as a ruler is seen in Napoleon Bonaparte, who saw the Prussian king as the greatest tactical genius of all time;<sup>[15]</sup> after Napoleon's victory of the Fourth Coalition in 1807, he visited Frederick's tomb in Potsdam and remarked to his officers, "Gentlemen, if this man were still alive I would not be here".<sup>[16]</sup> Frederick and Napoleon are perhaps the most admiringly quoted military leaders in Clausewitz' *On War*. More than Frederick's use of the oblique order, Clausewitz praised particularly the quick and skillful movement of his troops.<sup>[17]</sup>

Frederick the Great's most notable and decisive military victories on the battlefield were the Battles of Hohenfriedberg, Rossbach, and Leuthen.

## First Partition of Poland

Frederick developed into one of the most vociferous critics of the Polish society<sup>[18]</sup> as he began to prepare ground for dismemberment of Poland-Lithuania in 1752 at the latest, hoping to gain territorial bridge between Pomerania, Brandenburg and East Prussian provinces.<sup>[19]</sup> Other authors also refer to a 1731 letter to Field Marshal Dubislav Gneomar von Natzmer, where Frederick had suggested that the country would be well-served by annexing Polish Prussia in order to unite the territories of the Kingdom of Prussia.<sup>[20]</sup> Similarly, the Russian and Prussian propaganda machines tried to further the resistance of the so-called dissidents against the Catholic majority of Poland.



The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the First Partition (1772)

According to Hamish M. Scott, Frederick was eager to exploit Poland economically as his wider aim of increasing Prussia's wealth.<sup>[21]</sup> Scott views this as a continuation of his previous violations of Polish territory in 1759 and 1761 and raids within Greater Poland until 1765.<sup>[21]</sup> After acquiring dies from which the currency of Poland was struck he issued debased Polish coins which drove money out of Poland into Hohenzollern territory – it is estimated that it gained him 25 million thalers of profit, while causing considerable monetary problems for Poland.<sup>[21]</sup>

Frederick for many years circulated fake currency after obtaining Polish coin dies during the conquest of Saxony. His mint master Veitel-Heine Ephraim coordinated the procedure and the worthless coins were eventually called *efraimki* (pol. 'efraimettes')<sup>[22]</sup> He also opposed attempts at political reform in Poland, and his troops bombarded custom ports in Vistula, thwarting Polish efforts to create a modern fiscal system.<sup>[23]</sup>

Empress Catherine II took the Imperial Russian throne in 1762 after the murder of her husband, Peter III. Catherine was staunchly opposed to Prussia, while Frederick disapproved of Russia, whose troops had been allowed to freely cross the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Seven Years' War. Despite the two monarchs' dislike of each other, Frederick and Catherine signed a defensive alliance on 11 April 1764 which guaranteed Prussian control of Silesia in return for Prussian support for Russia against Austria or the Ottoman Empire. Catherine's candidate for the Polish throne, Stanisław August Poniatowski, was then elected King of Poland in September of that year.





King Frederick II by Anna Dorothea Therbusch, 1772.

Frederick became concerned, however, after Russia gained significant influence over Poland in the Replin Sejm of 1767, an act which also threatened Austria and the Ottoman Turks. In the ensuing Russo-Turkish War (1768–1774), Frederick supported Catherine with a subsidy of 300,000 rubles with reluctance as he did not want Russia to become even stronger through the acquisitions of Ottoman territory. The Prussian king achieved a rapprochement with Emperor Joseph and the Austrian chancellor Kaunitz.

After Russia had occupied the Danubian Principalities, Frederick's representative in Saint Petersburg, his brother Henry, convinced Frederick and Maria Theresa that the balance of power would be maintained by a tripartite division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth instead of Russia taking land from the Ottomans. In the First Partition of Poland in 1772, Frederick claimed most of the Polish province of Royal Prussia. Prussia annexed 20000 square miles (**unknown operator: u'strong' km<sup>2</sup>**) and 600,000 inhabitants, the least of the partitioning powers.<sup>[24]</sup> However, the newly created province of West Prussia connected East Prussia and Farther Pomerania and granted Prussia control of the mouth of the Vistula River. Although Maria Theresa had reluctantly

agreed to the partition, Frederick commented, "she cries, but she takes".<sup>[25]</sup>

Frederick invited German immigrants to redevelop the province<sup>[26]</sup> also hoping they would displace the Poles.<sup>[27]</sup> According to the conservative<sup>[28]</sup> German historian Gerhard Ritter, Frederick II, guided by the interests of the state but not believing in the importance of race, preferred to introduce German or Frisian workers and peasants, believing them to be more fit to build up a new civilization than the "physically and morally ruined serfs of the Polish nobility".<sup>[29][30]</sup>

Frederick himself tried to further propaganda justifying the Partitions, portraying the acquired provinces as underdeveloped and improved by Prussian rule—according to Karin Friedrich these claims were accepted for a long time in German historiography and sometimes still reflected in modern works<sup>[31]</sup>. According to Christopher Clark, 54 percent of the area's and 75 percent of the urban populace were ethnic German Protestants.<sup>[32]</sup> Frederick however never justified his conquests on a national basis, unlike later, nationalist, 19th century German historians.<sup>[33]</sup> Neither did he recourse to the era of the Teutonic Knights to justify Prussian claims.<sup>[33]</sup> Dismissive of contemporary German culture, Frederic was instead pursuing an imperialist policy, acting on the security interests of his state.<sup>[33]</sup> The new-gained territories connected Prussia with Germany proper, and were of major economic importance to the region.<sup>[33]</sup> According to Polish sources, Frederick II settled 300,000 colonists on territories he had conquered, and enforced Germanization.<sup>[34]</sup>

Frederick quickly began improving the infrastructure of West Prussia, reforming its administrative and legal code, and improving the school system. 750 new schools were built from 1772–1775. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic teachers taught in West Prussia, and teachers and administrators were encouraged to be able to speak both German and Polish.<sup>[26]</sup>

Frederick looked upon many of his new citizens with scorn. He had nothing but contempt for the *szlachta*, the numerous Polish nobility, and wrote that Poland had "the worst government in Europe with the exception of Turkey".<sup>[25]</sup> He considered West Prussia as uncivilized as Colonial Canada<sup>[35]</sup> and compared the Polish peasants to

the Iroquois.<sup>[25]</sup> Polish authors have also argued that already during his early days Frederick detested Poles; thus referring to them in a letter from 1735 as "dirty" and "vile apes."<sup>[36]</sup> In a letter to Henry, Frederick wrote about the province that "it is a very good and advantageous acquisition, both from a financial and a political point of view. In order to excite less jealousy I tell everyone that on my travels I have seen just sand, pine trees, heath land and Jews. Despite that there is a lot of work to be done; there is no order, and no planning and the towns are in a lamentable condition."<sup>[37]</sup> Many German officials also regarded the Poles with contempt.<sup>[35]</sup> Frederick did befriend Ignacy Krasicki, whom he asked to consecrate St. Hedwig's Cathedral in 1773. He also advised his successors to learn Polish, a policy followed by the Hohenzollern dynasty until Frederick III decided not to let William II learn the language.<sup>[26]</sup>

## Modernization

Frederick managed to transform Prussia from a European backwater to an economically strong and politically reformed state. His acquisition of Silesia was orchestrated so as to provide Prussia's fledgling industries with raw materials, and he protected these industries with high tariffs and minimal restrictions on internal trade. Canals were built, including between the Vistula and the Oder, swamps were drained for agricultural cultivation, and new crops, such as the potato and the turnip, were introduced. Frederick regarded his reclamation of land in the Oderbruch as a province conquered in peace.<sup>[35]</sup> With the help of French experts, he reorganized the system of indirect taxes, which provided the state with more revenue than direct taxes. Frederick the Great commissioned Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky to promote the trade and—to take on the competition with France—put a silk factory where soon 1,500 persons found employment. Frederick the Great followed his recommendations in the field of toll levies and import restrictions. In 1763 when Gotzkowsky went broke during a financial crisis, which started in Amsterdam, Frederick took over his porcelain factory, known as KPM, but refused to buy more of his paintings.



Frederick the Great during the Seven Years' War, painting by Richard Knötel.

One of Frederick's greatest achievements included the control of grain prices, whereby government storehouses would enable civilian population to survive in needy regions, where the harvest was poor.<sup>[38]</sup>

During the reign of Frederick, the effects of the Seven Years' War and the gaining of Silesia greatly changed the economy. The circulation of depreciated money kept prices high. To revalue the Thaler, the Mint Edict of May 1763 was proposed. This stabilized the rates of depreciated coins that would not be accepted and provided for the payments of taxes in currency of prewar value. This was replaced in northern Germany by the Reichsthaler, worth one-fourth of a Conventionsthaler. Prussia used a Thaler containing one-fourteenth of a Cologne mark of silver. Many other rulers soon followed the steps of Frederick in reforming their own currencies—this resulted in a shortage of ready money thus lowering prices.<sup>[39]</sup>

Frederick gave his state a modern bureaucracy whose mainstay until 1760 was the able War and Finance Minister Adam Ludwig von Blumenthal, succeeded in 1764 by his nephew Joachim who ran the ministry to the end of the reign and beyond. Prussia's education system was seen as one of the best in Europe. Frederick also abolished torture and corporal punishment for most cases.

Frederick began titling himself "King of Prussia" after the acquisition of Royal Prussia (West Prussia) in 1772; the phrasing "King in Prussia" had been used since the coronation of Frederick I in Königsberg in 1701.

## Religious tolerance

Frederick generally supported religious toleration, including the retention of Jesuits as teachers in Silesia, Warmia, and the Netze District after their suppression by Pope Clement XIV. Just like Catherine II, Frederick recognized the educational skills the Jesuits had as an asset for the nation.<sup>[40]</sup> He was interested in attracting a diversity of skills to his country, whether from Jesuit teachers, Huguenot citizens, or Jewish merchants and bankers, particularly from Spain. He wanted development throughout the country, specifically in areas that he judged as needing a particular kind of development. Thus, he accepted countless Protestant weavers from Bohemia, who were fleeing from the devoutly Catholic rule of Maria Theresa. Frederick granted the weavers freedom from taxes and military service.<sup>[41]</sup> As an example of Frederick's practical-minded but not fully unprejudiced tolerance, Frederick wrote in his *Testament politique* that:

We have too many Jews in the towns. They are needed on the Polish border because in these areas Hebrews alone perform trade. As soon as you get away from the frontier, the Jews become a disadvantage, they form cliques, they deal in contraband and get up to all manner of rascally tricks which are detrimental to Christian burghers and merchants. I have never persecuted anyone from this or any other sect [sic]; I think, however, it would be prudent to pay attention, so that their numbers do not increase.<sup>[42]</sup>

Jews on the Polish border were therefore encouraged to perform all the trade they could and received all the protection and support from the king as any other Prussian citizen. The success in integrating the Jews into those areas of society that Frederick encouraged them in can be seen by the role played by Gerson von Bleichröder in financing Bismarck's efforts to reunite Germany.<sup>[43]</sup>

As under Frederick much wasteland was made arable, Prussia was looking for new colonists. Frederick repeatedly emphasized that nationality and religion were of no concern to him.<sup>[44]</sup>

## Architecture

Frederick had famous buildings constructed in his capital, Berlin, most of which still exist today, such as the Berlin State Opera, the Royal Library (today the State Library Berlin), St. Hedwig's Cathedral, and Prince Henry's Palace (now the site of Humboldt University). However, the king preferred spending his time in his summer residence Potsdam, where he built the palace of Sanssouci, the most important work of Northern German rococo. Sanssouci, which translates from French as "carefree" or "without worry", was a refuge for Frederick. "Frederician Rococo" developed under Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff.



South, or garden facade and *corps de logis* of Sanssouci



## Music, arts and learning

Frederick was a gifted musician who played the transverse flute. He composed 100 sonatas for the flute as well as four symphonies. The *Hohenfriedberger Marsch*, a military march, was supposedly written by Frederick to commemorate his victory in the Battle of Hohenfriedberg during the Second Silesian War. His court musicians included C. P. E. Bach, Johann Joachim Quantz, Carl Heinrich Graun and Franz Benda. A meeting with Johann Sebastian Bach in 1747 in Potsdam led to Bach's writing *The Musical Offering*.



*The Flute Concert of Sanssouci* by Adolph Menzel, 1852, depicts Frederick playing the flute in his music room at Sanssouci. C. P. E. Bach accompanies him on the harpsichord.

Frederick also aspired to be a Platonic philosopher king like the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius. The king joined the Freemasons in 1738 and stood close to the French Enlightenment, admiring above all its greatest thinker, Voltaire, with whom he corresponded frequently. The personal friendship of Frederick and Voltaire came to an unpleasant end after Voltaire's visit to Berlin and Potsdam in 1750–1753, although they reconciled from afar in later years.

In addition to his native language, German, Frederick spoke French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian; he also understood Latin, ancient and modern Greek, and Hebrew. Preferring instead French culture, Frederick disliked the German language, literature, and culture, explaining that German authors "pile parenthesis upon parenthesis, and often you find only at the end of an entire page the verb on which depends the meaning of the whole sentence".<sup>[45]</sup> His criticism led many German writers to attempt to impress Frederick with their writings in the German language and thus prove its worthiness. Many statesmen, including Baron vom und zum Stein, were also inspired by Frederick's statesmanship. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe gave his opinion of Frederick during a visit to Strassbourg (Strassburg) by writing:

Well we had not much to say in favour of the constitution of the Reich; we admitted that it consisted entirely of lawful misuses, but it rose therefore the higher over the present French constitution which is operating in a maze of unlawful misuses, whose government displays its energies in the wrong places and therefore has to face the challenge that a thorough change in the state of affairs is widely prophesied. In contrast when we looked towards the north, from there shone Frederick, the Pole Star, around whom Germany, Europe, even the world seemed to turn ...<sup>[46]</sup>

## Berlin Academy

Aarsleff notes that before Frederick came to the throne in 1740, the Prussian Academy of Sciences (Berlin Academy) was overshadowed by similar bodies in London and Paris. Frederick made French the official language and speculative philosophy the most important topic of study. The membership was strong in mathematics and philosophy and included Immanuel Kant, Jean D'Alembert, Pierre-Louis de Maupertuis, and Etienne de Condillac. However the Academy was in a crisis for two decades at mid-century, due to scandals and internal rivalries such as the debates between Newtonianism and Leibnizian views, and the personality conflict between Voltaire and Maupertuis. At a higher level Maupertuis, the director 1746–59 and a monarchist, argued that the action of individuals was shaped by the character of the institution that contained them, and they worked for the glory of the state. By contrast d' Alembert took a republican rather than monarchical approach and emphasized the international Republic of Letters as the vehicle for scientific advance.<sup>[47]</sup> By 1789, however, the academy had gained an international repute while making major contributions to German culture and thought. Frederick invited Joseph-Louis Lagrange to succeed Leonhard Euler at the Berlin Academy; both were world-class mathematicians. Other intellectuals attracted to the philosopher's kingdom were Francesco Algarotti, d'Argens, and Julien Offray de La Mettrie. Immanuel Kant published religious writings in Berlin which would have been censored elsewhere in Europe.<sup>[48]</sup>



Frederick's first interview with Voltaire (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 40, 1870).

## Sexuality

Frederick spent much of his time at Sanssouci, his favorite residence in Potsdam. There he had built the Friendship Temple as a memorial to his favourite sister, Wilhelmine. Surrounding Wilhelmine's statue, the temple's columns have portraits of four pairs of male friends from Greek Antiquity: Euryalus and Nisos, Heracles and Philoctetes, Pirithous and Theseus, as well as Orestes and Pylades.<sup>[49]</sup> At Sanssouci Frederick entertained his most privileged guests, especially the French philosopher Voltaire, whom he asked in 1750 to come to live with him. The correspondence between Frederick and Voltaire, which spanned almost 50 years, was marked by mutual intellectual fascination. In person, however, their friendship was often contentious, as Voltaire abhorred Frederick's militarism. Voltaire's angry attack on Maupertuis, the President of Frederick's academy, provoked Frederick to burn the pamphlet publicly and put Voltaire under house arrest. Voltaire was accused by some of anonymously publishing *The Private Life of the King of Prussia*, wittily claiming Frederick's homosexuality and parade of male lovers, after Voltaire had left Prussia. Frederick neither admitted nor denied the contents of the book, nor ever accused Voltaire of having written it. Some years later, Voltaire and Frederick resumed their correspondence and eventually aired their mutual recriminations, to end as friends once more.<sup>[50]</sup> After Frederick's death, his physician, Johann Georg Ritter von Zimmermann, claimed that the king had let rumors of homosexuality appear to be true in order to keep the public from knowing that his genitalia were harmed by "a cruel surgical operation" to save his life from an unnamed venereal disease that he had contracted as a young man.<sup>[51]</sup>

Historians disagree about the nature of Frederick's sexuality, some saying that Frederick's writings indicate that he simply had greater priorities than women. The French professor Dieudonné Thiébaud declared in 1804 that Frederick had mistresses at Neuruppin.<sup>[52]</sup> In 2011, an unpublished erotic poem by Frederick was discovered amongst his letters; it was written, according to correspondence with Voltaire, in response to an Italian friend's contention that northern Europeans were not as passionate as southern Europeans.<sup>[53]</sup> Literary historian Christopher Clark has remarked that Frederick "may well have abstained from sexual acts with anyone of either sex after his accession to the throne, and possibly even before. But if he did not do it, he certainly talked about it; the

conversation of the inner court circle around him was peppered with homoerotic banter."<sup>[54]</sup>

## Later years

In 1785, Frederick II signed a "Treaty of amity and commerce" with the United States of America, recognizing the independence of the United States. The agreement included a novel clause, whereby the two leaders of the executive branches of either country guaranteed a special and humane detention for prisoners of war<sup>[55]</sup> Near the end of his life Frederick grew increasingly solitary. His circle of friends at Sanssouci gradually died off without replacements, and Frederick became increasingly critical and arbitrary, to the frustration of the civil service and officer corps. The populace of Berlin always cheered the king when he returned to the city from provincial tours or military reviews, but Frederick took no pleasure from his popularity with the common folk, preferring instead the company of his pet Italian greyhounds,<sup>[56]</sup> whom he referred to as his 'marquises de Pompadour' as a jibe at the French royal mistress.<sup>[57]</sup> Frederick died in an armchair in his study in the palace of Sanssouci on 17 August 1786.

Frederick had wished to be buried next to his greyhounds on the vineyard terrace on the side of the corps de logis of Sanssouci. His nephew and successor Frederick William II instead ordered the body to be entombed next to his father in the Potsdam Garrison Church. Near the end of World War II, Adolf Hitler ordered the coffins of Frederick and Frederick William I, as well as those of Paul von Hindenburg and his wife, transferred first to an underground bunker near Berlin, then hidden in a salt mine close to the town of Bernrode, Germany, to protect them from destruction. The US Army discovered the four coffins on 27 April 1945, behind a 6-foot-thick (1.8 m) masonry wall deep within the mine, and moved them to the basement of Marburg Castle, a collection point for recovered Nazi "treasure". As part of a secret project dubbed "Operation Bodysnatch"<sup>[58]</sup> <sup>[59]</sup>, the US Army relocated both kings first to the Elisabeth Church of Marburg and then on to Burg Hohenzollern close to the town of Hechingen. After German reunification, the body of Frederick William was entombed in the Kaiser Friedrich Mausoleum in Sanssouci's Church of Peace.



Grave of Frederick at Sanssouci.

On the 205th anniversary of his death, on 17 August 1991, Frederick's casket lay in state in the court of honor of Sanssouci, covered by a Prussian flag and escorted by a Bundeswehr guard of honor. After nightfall, Frederick's body was finally laid to rest on the terrace of the vineyard of Sanssouci, without pomp, in accordance with his last will ("... Im übrigen will ich, was meine Person anbetrifft, in Sanssouci beigesetzt werden, ohne Prunk, ohne Pomp und bei Nacht..." (1757)).

## Frederick in popular culture

### Places

King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, is named after the King of Prussia Inn, itself named in honor of Frederick.<sup>[60]</sup>

Prussia Street in Dublin, Ireland, is named after Frederick the Great.<sup>[61]</sup>

### German films

*The Great King* (German: "*Der Große König*") is a 1942 German drama film directed by Veit Harlan and starring Otto Gebühr.<sup>[62]</sup> It depicts the life of Frederick the Great. It received the rare "Film of the Nation" distinction.<sup>[63]</sup>

Otto Gebühr also played the King in many other films.

Films with Otto Gebühr as Frederick the Great

- 1920: *Die Tänzerin Barbarina* – director: Carl Boese



- 1921–23: *Fridericus Rex* – director: Arzén von Cserépy
  - Teil 1 – Sturm und Drang
  - Teil 2 – Vater und Sohn
  - Teil 3 – Sanssouci
  - Teil 4 – Schicksalswende
- 1926: *Die Mühle von Sans Souci* – director: Siegfried Philippi
- 1928: *Der alte Fritz – 1. Teil Friede* – director: Gerhard Lamprecht
- 1928: *Der alte Fritz – 2. Teil Ausklang* – director: Gerhard Lamprecht
- 1930: *Das Flötenkonzert von Sanssouci* –director: Gustav Ucicky
- 1932: *Die Tänzerin von Sans Souci* – director: Friedrich Zelnik
- 1933: *Der Choral von Leuthen* – director: Carl Froelich
- 1936. *Heiteres und Ernstes um den großen König* – director: Phil Jutzi
- 1936: *Fridericus* – director: Johannes Meyer
- 1937: *Das schöne Fräulein Schragg* – director: Hans Deppe
- 1942: *Der große König* – director: Veit Harlan

In the 2004 German film *Der Untergang* (*Downfall*), Adolf Hitler is shown sitting in a dark room forlornly gazing at a painting of Frederick, possibly a reference to the dictator's fading hopes for another Miracle of the House of Brandenburg. This is based on an incident witnessed by Rochus Misch.<sup>[64]</sup>

The 2012 German tv-film *Friedrich – ein deutscher König* (Frederick – a german King) starred the female actors Katharina Thalbach and her daughter Anna Thalbach in the title roles as the old and young king respectively.

## Portrayal in *Barry Lyndon*

Although Frederick is never seen on screen, he is mentioned several times in Stanley Kubrick's 1975 film *Barry Lyndon*. In the film, he is referred to as "the great and illustrious Frederick" and his army is both praised and criticized, as in this quotation: "During the five years which the war had now lasted, the great and illustrious Frederick had so exhausted the males of his kingdom that he had to employ scores of recruiters who would hesitate at no crime, including kidnapping, to keep supplied those brilliant regiments of his with food for powder."

## Other

Frederick has been included in the *Civilization* computer game series, the computer games *Age of Empires III*, *Empire Earth II*, *Empire: Total War*, and the board games *Friedrich* and *Soldier Kings*.

Frederick is the main protagonist in the absurdist comedy webcomic *Frederick the Great: A Most Lamentable Comedy Breaching Space and Time*.

Frederick appears in the manga *Hetalia: Axis Powers* as Old Fritz, and was the most important boss of the character Prussia.

## Family tree

Frederick William Elector of Brandenburg	Louise Henriette of Orange-Nassau	Ernest Augustus Elector of Brunswick-Lüneburg	Sophia of the Palatine	George William Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	Eleonore d'Esmier d'Olbreuse
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Frederick I of Prussia	Sophia Charlotte of Hanover	George I of Great Britain	Sophia Dorothea of Celle
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Frederick William I of Prussia	Sophia Dorothea of Hanover
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### Frederick II of Prussia

## Titles, styles, honours and arms

### Titles and styles

- 24 January 1712 – 31 May 1740 – *His Royal Highness* The Crown Prince
- 31 May 1740 – 19 February 1772 – *His Majesty* The King in Prussia
- 19 February 1772 – 17 August 1786 – *His Majesty* The King of Prussia

### Honours

-  Royal Knight Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter
-  Master and Sovereign of the Order of the Black Eagle 1740 - 1786

## Footnotes

- [1] Frederick was the third and last "King in Prussia"; beginning in 1772 he used the title "King of Prussia".
- [2] MacDonogh, p. 37
- [3] MacDonogh, p. 35
- [4] Reiners, p. 33
- [5] Crompton
- [6] MacDonogh, p. 63
- [7] Reiners, p. 41
- [8] N. Mitford, *Frederick the Great*, New York, 1970
- [9] Reiners, p. 52
- [10] Reiners, p. 63
- [11] Reiners, p. 69
- [12] Reiners, p. 71
- [13] MacDonogh, p. 125
- [14] Reiners, pp.247–248
- [15] Koch, p. 126
- [16] Koch, p. 160
- [17] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*; see for instance Book 7, Chapter 13.
- [18] The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569–1772 Karin Friedrich, page 189
- [19] The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569–1772 Karin Friedrich, p. 189
- [20] MacDonogh, p. 78
- [21] The emergence of the Eastern powers 1756–1775 Hamish M. Scott Cambridge University Press 2001, page 176
- [22] Ekonomista: czasopismo poświęcone nauce i potrzebom życia, Wydania 1–3 Towarzystwo, 2004, page 118
- [23] Norman Davies, *Europe: A History*, Oxford University Press, 1996, ISBN 0-19-820171-0, p.663

- [24] Reiners, p.250
- [25] Ritter, p. 192
- [26] Koch, p. 136
- [27] Norbert Finszch and Dietmar Schirmer. *Identity and Intolerance: Nationalism, Racism, and Xenophobia in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. ISBN 0-521-59158-9
- [28] <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/504671/Gerhard-Ritter>
- [29] Ritter, Gerhard (1974). *Frederick the Great: A Historical Profile*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p. 180. ISBN 0-520-02775-2.
- [30] Believing Germans to be better workers, he would even refer to Poles as "slovenly trash" (ibid. p 180).
- [31] The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569–1772 Karin Friedrich, page 16
- [32] Clark, Christopher (2006). *Iron kingdom: the rise and downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (<http://books.google.com/books?id=4LPODzLgDVEC&pg=PA233>). Harvard University Press. p. 233–. ISBN 978-0-674-02385-7. . Retrieved 17 February 2011.
- [33] Clark, p. 232, 233
- [34] Duch Rzeczypospolitej Jerzy Surdykowski – 2001 Wydawn. Nauk. PWN, 2001, page 153
- [35] David Blackbourn. "Conquests from Barbarism": Interpreting Land Reclamation in 18th Century Prussia (<http://www.oslo2000.uio.no/program/papers/s18/s18-blackbourn.pdf>). Harvard University. Accessed 24 May 2006.
- [36] Przegląd humanistyczny, Tom 22, Wydania 3–6 Jan Zygmunt Jakubowski Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe, 2000, page 105
- [37] MacDonogh, p. 363
- [38] Ritter, Gerhard (1974). *Frederick the Great: A Historical Profile*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p. 178. ISBN 0-520-02775-2.
- [39] W. O. Henderson. *Studies in the economic policy of Frederick the Great*. Cass. London, 1963.
- [40] [http://books.google.de/books?id=t1pQ4YG-TDIC&pg=PA310&dq=frederick+II+religious+tolerance&hl=de&ei=QVNmTeLGIIWw8gPxsvTIDQ&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=8&ved=0CFUQ6AEwBw#v=onepage&q&f=true](http://books.google.de/books?id=t1pQ4YG-TDIC&pg=PA310&dq=frederick+II+religious+tolerance&hl=de&ei=QVNmTeLGIIWw8gPxsvTIDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8&ved=0CFUQ6AEwBw#v=onepage&q&f=true)
- [41] [http://books.google.de/books?id=3LylIwXu0xsC&pg=PA419&dq=friedrich+II+religious+tolerance&hl=de&ei=WVBmTfWalsOs8APVqYnIDQ&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CC4Q6AEwATgU#v=onepage&q=friedrich%20II%20religious%20tolerance&f=true](http://books.google.de/books?id=3LylIwXu0xsC&pg=PA419&dq=friedrich+II+religious+tolerance&hl=de&ei=WVBmTfWalsOs8APVqYnIDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CC4Q6AEwATgU#v=onepage&q=friedrich%20II%20religious%20tolerance&f=true)
- [42] MacDonogh, p. 347
- [43] Stern, p. 19
- [44] Gerhard Ritter *Frederick the Great: a historical profile*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975; p. 180
- [45] MacDonogh, p. 370
- [46] Koch, p. 138
- [47] Mary Terrall, "The Culture of Science in Frederick the Great's Berlin," *History of Science*, Dec 1990, Vol. 28 Issue 4, pp. 333–364
- [48] Hans Aarsleff, "The Berlin Academy under Frederick the Great," *History of the Human Sciences*, May 1989, Vol. 2 Issue 2, pp. 193–206
- [49] J. D. Steakley, Sodomy in Enlightenment Prussia, *Journal of Homosexuality*, 16, 1/2 (1988): 163–175
- [50] S. W. Henderson, "Frederick the Great of Prussia: a homophile perspective", *Gai Saber*; 1,1 (1977): 46–54.
- [51] Snyder, pp. 132–136
- [52] Dieudonné Thiébauld *Mes souvenirs de vingt ans de séjour à Berlin, ou, Frédéric le Grand, sa famille, sa cour, son gouvernement, son académie, ses écoles, et ses amis littérateurs et philosophes*; 3 éd., rev. par A. H. Dampmartin. 4 vols. Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1813 (1st ed. 5 vols. Paris, 1804)
- [53] "Prussian King Frederick the Great's erotic poem found" (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14945573>). *BBC News*. 16 September 2011. .
- [54] Clark, p. 188
- [55] The text of the treaty (<http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/ga1-860606.htm>). Thomas Jefferson signed on behalf of the United States in Paris, Benjamin Franklin in Passy, and John Adams in London; on behalf of the king of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm von Thulemeyer signed the agreement in Den Haag.
- [56] Ritter, p. 200
- [57] MacDonogh, p. 366
- [58] The Case of the Distinguished Corpses, Will Lang, *Life Magazine*, 6 Mar 1950 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=-1IEAAAAMBAJ&lpg=PP1&pg=PA65#v=onepage&q&f=false>)
- [59] *Nazi Plunder: Great Treasure Stories of World War II*, Kenneth D. Alford, 2000, Da Capo Press, page 101 ([http://books.google.com/books?id=\\_9sImYb5e1AC&pg=PA101#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=_9sImYb5e1AC&pg=PA101#v=onepage&q&f=false))
- [60] " Historic Reeseville, Early King of Prussia, Pennsylvania (<http://www.historicreeseville.com/early2.htm>)". Accessed 24 May 2006.
- [61] Irish-architecture.com ([http://www.irish-architecture.com/buildings\\_ireland/dublin/streets/index.html](http://www.irish-architecture.com/buildings_ireland/dublin/streets/index.html))
- [62] "The Great King" (<http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/13299/Der-Grosse-K-246-nig/overview>). *The New York Times*. . Retrieved 25 July 2008.
- [63] Erwin Leiser (1974) *Nazi Cinema*; tr. Gertrud Mander and David Wilson. London: Secker and Warburg ISBN 0-02-570230-0; p. 116
- [64] Schnoor, Stefan and Klinge, Boris (15 May 2011). "The Last Survivor of Hitler's Downfall – The Führer's Bodyguard Gives Last Interview" (<http://www.express.co.uk/posts/view/246754/The-last-survivor-of-Hitler-s-downfall-in-the-bunker>). *Daily Express*. . Retrieved 16 May 2011.


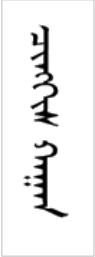
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## External links

- *Digital edition of Frederick the Great's Works* (<http://friedrich.uni-trier.de/>) by Trier University Library (in German and French)
- *Voltaire and Frederick the Great* ([http://www.uncg.edu/gar/courses/lixl/380BLS/380Unit1/Lesson1OldEurope\\_files/VoltaireAndFredericktheGreat.htm](http://www.uncg.edu/gar/courses/lixl/380BLS/380Unit1/Lesson1OldEurope_files/VoltaireAndFredericktheGreat.htm)) by Lytton Strachey
- Story about Frederick and Madame de Pompadour ([http://www.videolexikon.com/referent\\_knollgerhard.htm](http://www.videolexikon.com/referent_knollgerhard.htm)) (German)
- Frederick the Great (<http://genealogics.org/getperson.php?personID=I00008574&tree=LEO>) at Genealogics
- Free scores (<http://www.mutopiaproject.org/cgi-bin/make-table.cgi?Composer=FriedrichII>) at the Mutoxia Project
- Free scores by Frederick the Great at the International Music Score Library Project

# Genghis Khan

Genghis Khan	
Khagan of the Mongol Empire (Supreme Khan of the Mongols) King of Kings Khagan of Khamag Mongol	
	
Reign	Spring 1206 – August 25, 1227 (more than 21 years)
Coronation	Spring 1206 in khurultai at the Onon River, Mongolia
Full name	<div></div> <div>Genghis Khan Mongol: Чингис Хаан <i>Chingis Khaan</i> Mongol script (right): <i>Chinggis Khagan</i><sup>[1]</sup></div>
Titles	Khan, Khagan Temple name: Chinese: 元太祖; pinyin: <i>Yuán Tàizǔ</i> Posthumous name: Emperor Fatian Qiyun Shengwu (法天啓運聖武皇帝)
Born	probably 1162 <sup>[2]</sup>
Birthplace	Khentii Mountains, Mongolia
Died	August 1227 <sup>[3]</sup> (Aged 65)
Successor	Ögedei Khan

<b>Consort</b>	Borte Ujin Khulan Yesugen Yesui others
<b>Offspring</b>	Jochi Chagatai Ögedei Tolui Others
<b>Royal House</b>	Borjigin
<b>Father</b>	Yesügei
<b>Mother</b>	Oulen

**Genghis Khan** (/ˈɡɛŋɡɪsˈkɑːn/ or /ˈdʒɛŋɡɪsˈkɑːn/,<sup>[4][5]</sup> Mongol: [tʃiŋɡɪs xaːŋ] ( ⓘ listen); 1162? – August 1227), born **Temujin**, was the founder and Great Khan (emperor) of the Mongol Empire, which became the largest contiguous empire in history after his death.

He came to power by uniting many of the nomadic tribes of northeast Asia. After founding the Mongol Empire and being proclaimed "Genghis Khan", he started the Mongol invasions that resulted in the conquest of most of Eurasia. These included raids or invasions of the Kara-Khitan Khanate, Caucasus, Khwarezmid Empire, Western Xia and Jin dynasties. These campaigns were often accompanied by wholesale massacres of the civilian populations – especially in Khwarezmia. By the end of his life, the Mongol Empire occupied a substantial portion of Central Asia and China.

Before Genghis Khan died, he assigned Ögedei Khan as his successor and split his empire into khanates among his sons and grandsons.<sup>[6]</sup> He died in 1227 after defeating the Western Xia. He was buried in an unmarked grave somewhere in Mongolia at an unknown location. His descendants went on to stretch the Mongol Empire across most of Eurasia by conquering or creating vassal states out of all of modern-day China, Korea, the Caucasus, Central Asian countries, and substantial portions of modern Eastern Europe, Russia and the Middle East. Many of these invasions resulted in the large-scale slaughter of local populations, which have given Genghis Khan and his empire a fearsome reputation in local histories.<sup>[7]</sup> Mongol campaigns may have resulted in the deaths of 40 million people.<sup>[8]</sup>

Beyond his military accomplishments, Genghis Khan also advanced the Mongol Empire in other ways. He decreed the adoption of the Uyghur script as the Mongol Empire's writing system. He also promoted religious tolerance in the Mongol Empire, and created a unified empire from the nomadic tribes of northeast Asia. Present-day Mongolians regard him as the founding father of Mongolia.<sup>[9]</sup>

He was famous for being merciless. Known for killing boys and men of captured cities; and kidnapping the woman and girls. To a question about the source of happiness he was known to have said: "The greatest happiness is to vanquish your enemies, to chase them before you, to rob them of their wealth, to see those dear to them bathed in tears, to clasp to your bosom their wives and daughters."<sup>[10]</sup> A scientific support to this claim is made by mapping of Y chromosomes in Asia, showing a prevalence of 1/500 of all males being directly related to him.<sup>[11]</sup>

## Early life

### Lineage

Temujin was related on his father's side to Khabul Khan, Ambaghai and Hotula Khan who had headed the Khamag Mongol confederation. When the Chinese Jin Dynasty switched support from the Mongols to the Tatars in 1161, they destroyed Khabul Khan.<sup>[12]</sup> Temujin's father, Yesügei (leader of the Borjigin clan and nephew to Ambaghai and Hotula Khan), emerged as the head of the ruling clan of the Mongols, but this position was contested by the rival Tayichi'ud clan, who descended directly from Ambaghai. When the Tatars grew too powerful after 1161, the Jin



switched their support from the Tatars to the Keraites.

## Birth

Because of the lack of contemporary written records, there is very little factual information about the early life of Temujin. The few sources that provide insight into this period often conflict.

Temujin was born in 1162 or 1155<sup>[2]</sup> in Delüün Boldog near Burkhan Khaldun mountain and the Onon and Kherlen Rivers in modern-day Mongolia, not far from the current capital, Ulaanbaatar. The Secret History of the Mongols reports that Temüjin was born with a blood clot grasped in his fist, a traditional sign that he was destined to become a great leader. He was the third-oldest son of his father Yesügei, a Khamag Mongol's major chief of the Kiyad and an ally of Toghrul Khan of the Kerait tribe,<sup>[13]</sup> and the oldest son of his mother Hoelun. According to the Secret History, Temujin was named after a Tatar chieftain, Temujin-üge, whom his father had just captured. The name also suggests that they may have been descended from a family of blacksmiths (see section Name and title below).



The Onon River, Mongolia, in autumn, the region where Temujin was born and grew up.

Yesukhei's clan was called Borjigin (Боржигин), and Hoelun was from the Olkhunut, the sub-lineage of the Onggirat tribe.<sup>[14][15]</sup> Like other tribes, they were nomads. Because his father was a chieftain, as were his predecessors, Temüjin was of a noble background. This higher social standing made it easier to solicit help from and eventually consolidate the other Mongol tribes.

No accurate portraits of Genghis exist today, and any surviving depictions are considered to be artistic interpretations. Persian historian Rashid-al-Din recorded in his "*Chronicles*" that the legendary "glittering" ancestor of Genghis was tall, long-bearded, red-haired, and green-eyed. Rashid al-Din also described the first meeting of Genghis and Kublai Khan, when Genghis was surprised to find that Kublai had not inherited his red hair.<sup>[16]</sup> Also according to al-Din Genghis' Borjigid clan, had a legend involving their origins: it began as the result of an affair between Alan-ko and a stranger to her land, a glittering man who happened to have red hair and bluish-green eyes. Modern historian Paul Ratchnevsky has suggested in his Genghis biography that the "glittering man" may have been from the Kyrgyz people, who historically displayed these same characteristics. These traits can still be found among modern Mongolians where they have a predominate Mongoloid appearance and with frequent occurrence of blue eyes, green eyes and red hair.<sup>[17]</sup> A certain number of Mongols, particularly the Oirat tribe in western Mongolia tend to exhibit lighter features such as fair skin, blue or green eyes, varying shades of brown hair, and sometimes even red or blonde hair.<sup>[18]</sup> Some of the Mongols today who exhibit some slight Caucasoid features most likely stem from historical intermixing with ancient Central Asian and Siberian Europoids, as opposed to recent intermixing with Slavics and other Europeans.<sup>[19]</sup>

## Early life and family

Temujin had three brothers named Hasar, Hachiun, and Temüge, and one sister named Temülen, as well as two half-brothers named Behter and Belgutei. Like many of the nomads of Mongolia, Temujin's early life was difficult. His father arranged a marriage for him, and at nine years of age, he was delivered by his father to the family of his future wife Börte, who was a member of the tribe Onggirat. Temujin was to live there in service to Dei Sechen, the head of the new household, until he reached the marriageable age of 12. While heading home, his father ran into the neighboring Tatars, who had long been enemies of the Mongols, and he was subsequently poisoned by the food they offered. Upon learning this, Temujin returned home to claim his father's position as chieftain of the tribe; however, his father's tribe refused to be led by a boy so young. They abandoned Hoelun and her children, leaving them without protection.

For the next several years, Hoelun and her children lived in poverty, surviving primarily on wild fruits and ox carcasses, marmots, and other small game hunted by Temujin and his brothers. It was during one hunting excursion that 10-year-old Temujin killed his half-brother, Behter, during a fight which resulted from a dispute over hunting spoils.<sup>[20]</sup> This incident cemented his position. In another incident in 1182 he was captured in a raid and held prisoner by his father's former allies, the Tayichi'ud. The Tayichi'ud enslaved Temujin (reportedly with a cangue), but with the help of a sympathetic watcher, the father of Chilaun (who later became a general of Genghis Khan), he was able to escape from the ger in the middle of the night by hiding in a river crevice. It was around this time that Jelme and Bo'orchu, two of Genghis Khan's future generals, joined forces with him. Temüjin's reputation also became widespread after his escape from the Tayichi'ud.



Genghis Khan and Toghrul Khan. Illustration from a 15th century Jami' al-tawarikh manuscript

At this time, none of the tribal confederations of Mongolia were united politically, and arranged marriages were often used to solidify temporary alliances. Temujin grew up observing the tough political climate of Mongolia, which included tribal warfare, thievery, raids, corruption and continuing acts of revenge carried out between the various confederations, all compounded by interference from foreign forces such as the Chinese dynasties to the south. Temujin's mother Olen taught him many lessons about the unstable political climate of Mongolia, especially the need for alliances.

As previously arranged by his father, Temujin married Börte of the Onggirat tribe when he was around 16 in order to cement alliances between their respective tribes. Börte had four sons, Jochi (1185–1226), Chagatai (1187–1241), Ögedei (1189–1241), and Tolui (1190–1232). Soon after Börte's marriage to Temujin, she was kidnapped by the Merkits, and reportedly given away as a wife. Temüjin rescued her with the help of his friend and future rival, Jamukha, and his protector, Toghrul Khan of the Kerait tribe. She gave birth to a son, Jochi, nine months later, clouding the issue of his parentage. Despite speculation over Jochi, Börte would be his only empress, though Temujin did follow tradition by taking several morganatic wives. In case the term "Noekege" is used meaning "friend" in the feminine, as was used in the case of the "wives" of Yesugei, Chinggis Khan's father, the "wife" status is not too applicable, though "wives" had the right to divorce, and friends could leave, for instance Ibaqa was given by Chinggis Khan to his friend and officer because he said he did not have time for an intelligent woman, although it is unclear if she wanted to stay with him according to an online website trilingual translation of an Eastern European Orientalist available some years ago, also containing translations of historic manuscripts of other Ural-Altaic texts, and Yesui he described as "just a woman" or "just a queen" referring to her rank, or corresponding to the Slavic sense "queen" can also mean a woman friend, to explain that he did not regard her as his wife. At times wives of Mongols were fetched by their friends and then they stayed with those, this being a feminine arrangement there, but easily developing into the type of abduction which took place with Chinggis Khan's own mother. This was rendered superficially possible by the chastity and virginity of women of the day in regard of which Chinggis Khan himself was zealously interested, so that he and his officers preferred the finest women appearing healthy and of best family, but it could be that this had to do with their legal codes in case of defeated enemies, saying as the officers did "that they who they did not know how to handle they would bring to Chinggis Khan" cf. "Nuvs Tovchaan Mongolyn" the mediaeval chronicle of dubious veracity, however what may have been a prostate problem or intestinal problem was thought to be by a Chinese sage he consulted to be linked precisely to multiple relationships, though not necessarily infectious but due to exhaustion of the system, which may indeed indicate the former problem. Nonetheless,

apparently on account of a legal code interpretation, he did not wish executed his alleged assailant in relevant private circumstances. Tangut woman, reported on occasion to have been a princess, chief's daughter, or a type of chieftainess, there was also the Siberian woman ruler or queen who militarily resisted Chinggis Khan unsuccessfully who may have been executed, or died, or she became part of the Mongol movement. Yet there remains the romantic theory that he was seeking someone preferable to his wife, and more likely the legal code context (which is of the Yassa and does not have Islamic influence, as the mediaeval Mongols were not Muslims) and moreover the military legal presumptions of the day involving execution of enemies of either gender, when they have rejected offers of peace according to the system which was alleged to bring dignity to the people, and assure the just division of property for all, the rich being presumed as thieves, and similar, to fight the Mongol forces being seen as a supreme crime, meriting execution and the like, in this context are the *biliqs* "decrees" etc. free love, equal rights being later stated, in the mediaeval declarations of their demands, etc., free love appears in mediaeval song apparently linked, while equal rights appears in the declaration before attack of Hulagu Khan, in the circumstances in which those women were taken after battle, also it is stated that he took them to his tent, leaving other activities following undescribed, but he also took his male captives to his tent, in case that they were or were not to be executed, or made friends, and followers of the Mongol movement, or simply not executed. Mediaeval "freundschaft" has its links to this via the preceding Alemanni, also known as Huns, who were however tougher than the Mongols, mainly reaching Europe women and their sons. <sup>[21]</sup> Genghis Khan also had many other children with his other wives, but they were excluded from the succession. While the names of sons were documented, daughters were not. The names of at least six daughters are known, and while they played significant roles behind the scenes during his lifetime, no documents have survived that definitively provide the number or names of daughters born to the consorts of Genghis Khan. Some persons wished also to be descendants in the female line, being not descendants via his sons. His X-chromosome if available from the time of the disturbance for scientific reasons of his remains which was followed by a number of wars and worldwide extremism, same as the disturbance of the remains of Timur, might also be a clue to this, if not via other descendants of his who would carry his X-chromosome with no specific respect of sepulchre preferences, a priest's presence at the exhumation for this purpose might aid in the process. <sup>[22]</sup> Possible infanticide by resentful "Nokoger" of sons could not be excluded unless influenced in some form the gender of their offspring, unless there were other factors which caused many children not to survive but Mongol biological brothers got along on the face of it. Girls due to tradition, and Tatar, Turkic and Chinese influence were more protected and sheltered, but the rank of *beki* was known for women and the status of *Khatun* could be attained usually through marriage but the *boqtaq* headdress associated may be connected to combat in battle, so it maybe by the time they were conceded this status they were usually married, as in one account of the Yassa trade was their preferred activity and they were not obligated to struggle, or warfare as were the men, depending on the translation in a Portuguese nations and cultures series of the edition "Os Mongóis" by an Italian writer, where often wives and sisters accompanied, being possibly more common among Tatars, or more encouraged due to the Q'uranic encouragement of the female gender in combat in time of confusion throughout the land.

Temujin valued loyalty above all else and also valued brotherhood. <sup>[23]</sup> Jamukha was one of Temujin's best friends growing up. But their friendship was tested later in life, when Temujin was fighting to become a khan. Jamukha said this to Temujin before he was killed, "What use is there in my becoming a companion to you? On the contrary, sworn brother, in the black night I would haunt your dreams, in the bright day I would trouble your heart. I would be the louse in your collar, I would become the splinter in your door-panel...as there was room for only one sun in the sky, there was room only for one Mongol lord." <sup>[23]</sup>

## Religion

Genghis Khan's religion is widely speculated to have been Shamanism or Tengriism, which was very likely among nomadic Mongol-Turkic tribes of Central Asia. The Secret History of Mongols chronicles that Genghis prayed to the Burhan Haldun mountain.

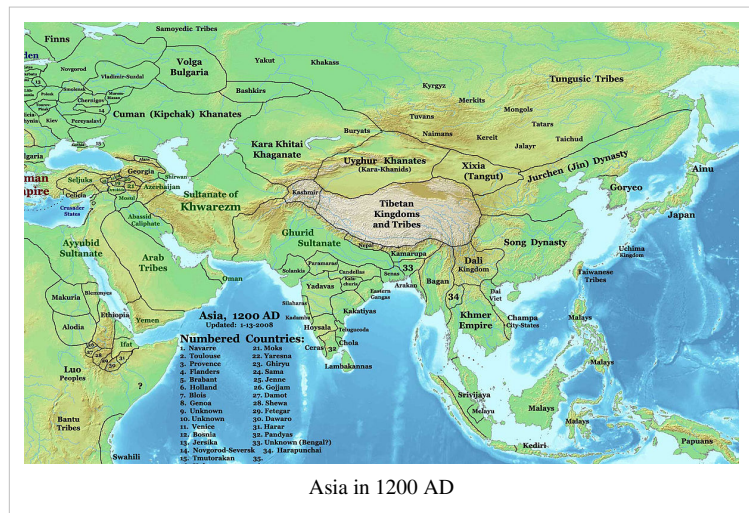
But he was very tolerant religiously, and interested in learning philosophical and moral lessons from other religions. To do so, he consulted Buddhist monks, Muslims, Christian missionaries, and the Taoist monk Qiu Chuji.<sup>[24]</sup>

## Uniting the confederations

The Central Asian plateau (north of China) around the time of Temüjin (the early 13th century) was divided into several tribes or confederations, among them Naimans, Merkits, Tatars, Khamag Mongols, and Kerait, that were all prominent in their own right and often unfriendly toward each other as evidenced by random raids, revenge attacks, and plundering.

Temujin began his slow ascent to power by offering himself as an ally (or, according to others sources, a vassal) to his father's *anda* (sworn brother or blood brother) Toghrul, who was Khan of the Kerait, and is better known by the Chinese title "Wang Khan", which the Jin Empire granted him in 1197. This relationship was first reinforced when Börte was captured by the Merkits; it was Toghrul to whom Temujin turned for support. In response, Toghrul offered his vassal 200,000 of his Kerait warriors and suggested that he also involve his childhood friend Jamukha, who had himself become Khan (ruler) of his own tribe, the Jadaran.<sup>[25]</sup> Although the campaign was successful and led to the recapture of Börte and utter defeat of the Merkits, it also paved the way for the split between the childhood friends, Temujin and Jamukha. Temujin had become blood brother (*anda*) with Jamukha earlier, and they had vowed to remain eternally faithful.

The main opponents of the Mongol confederation (traditionally the "Mongols") around 1200 were the Naimans to the west, the Merkits to the north, Tanguts to the south, and the Jin and Tatars to the east. By 1190, Temujin, his followers, and their advisors, had united the smaller Mongol confederation only. In his rule and his conquest of rival tribes, Temujin broke with Mongol tradition in a few crucial ways. He delegated authority based on merit and loyalty, rather than family ties. As an incentive for absolute obedience and following his rule of law, the Yassa code, Temujin promised civilians and soldiers wealth from future possible war spoils. As he defeated rival tribes, he did not drive away enemy soldiers and abandon the rest. Instead, he took the conquered tribe under his protection and integrated its members into his own tribe. He would even have his mother adopt orphans from the conquered tribe, bringing them into his family. These political innovations inspired great loyalty among the conquered people, making Temujin stronger with each victory.<sup>[26]</sup>







Genghis Khan proclaimed Khagan of all Mongols.  
Illustration from a 15th century Jami' al-tawarikh  
manuscript

Toghrul's (Wang Khan) son Senggum was jealous of Temüjin's growing power, and his affinity with his father. He allegedly planned to assassinate Temujin. Toghrul, though allegedly saved on multiple occasions by Temujin, gave in to his son<sup>[27]</sup> and became uncooperative with Temüjin. Temüjin learned of Senggum's intentions and eventually defeated him and his loyalists. One of the later ruptures between Toghrul and Temüjin was Toghrul's refusal to give his daughter in marriage to Jochi, the eldest son of Temüjin, a sign of disrespect in the Mongolian culture. This act led to the split between both factions, and was a prelude to war. Toghrul allied himself with Jamukha, who already opposed Temujin's forces; however, the internal dispute between Toghrul and Jamukha, plus the desertion of a number of their allies to Temujin, led to Toghrul's defeat. Jamukha escaped during the conflict. This defeat was a catalyst for the fall and eventual dissolution of the Kerait tribe.

The next direct threat to Temüjin was the Naimans (Naiman Mongols), with whom Jamukha and his followers took refuge. The Naimans did not surrender, although enough sectors again voluntarily sided with Temujin. In 1201, a khuruldai elected Jamukha as Gür Khan, "universal ruler", a title used by the rulers of the Kara-Khitans. Jamukha's assumption of this title was the final breach with Temüjin, and Jamukha formed a coalition of tribes to oppose him. Before the conflict, however, several generals abandoned Jamukha, including Subutai, Jelme's well-known younger brother. After several battles, Jamukha was finally turned over to Temujin by his own men in 1206.

According to the *Secret History*, Temujin again offered his friendship to Jamukha, asking him to return to his side. Temujin had killed the men who betrayed Jamukha, stating that he did not want disloyal men in his army. Jamukha refused the offer of friendship and reunion, saying that there can only be one Sun in the sky, and he asked for a noble death. The custom is to die without spilling blood, which is granted by breaking the back. Jamukha requested this form of death, despite the fact that in the past Jamukha had been known to have boiled his opponent's generals alive. The rest of the Merkit clan that sided with the Naimans were defeated by Subutai, who was by then a member of Temujin's personal guard and later became one of the most successful commanders of Genghis Khan. The Naimans' defeat left Genghis Khan as the sole ruler of the Mongol plains – all the prominent confederations fell or united under Temüjin's Mongol confederation.

Accounts of Genghis Khan's life are marked by claims of a series of betrayals and conspiracies. These include rifts with his early allies such as Jamukha (who also wanted to be a ruler of Mongol tribes) and Wang Khan (his and his father's ally), his son Jochi, and problems with the most important shaman, who was allegedly trying to drive a wedge between him and his loyal brother Khasar. His military strategies showed a deep interest in gathering good intelligence and understanding the motivations of his rivals as exemplified by his extensive spy network and Yam route systems. He seemed to be a quick student, adopting new technologies and ideas that he encountered, such as siege warfare from the Chinese. He was also ruthless, as demonstrated by his measuring against the linchpin tactic used against the tribes led by Jamukha.



Genghis  
Khan in  
traditional  
Mongolian  
writing

As a result by 1206 Temüjin had managed to unite or subdue the Merkits, Naimans, Mongols, Keraites, Tatars, Uyghurs and other disparate smaller tribes under his rule. It was a monumental feat for the "Mongols" (as they became known collectively). At a *Khuruldai*, a council of Mongol chiefs, he was acknowledged as "Khan" of the consolidated tribes and took the new title "Genghis Khan". The title Khagan was not conferred on Genghis until after his death, when his son and successor, Ögedei, took the title for himself and extended it posthumously to his father (as he was also to be posthumously declared the founder of the Yuan Dynasty). This unification of all confederations by Genghis Khan established peace between previously warring tribes and a single political and military force under Genghis Khan.

## Military campaigns

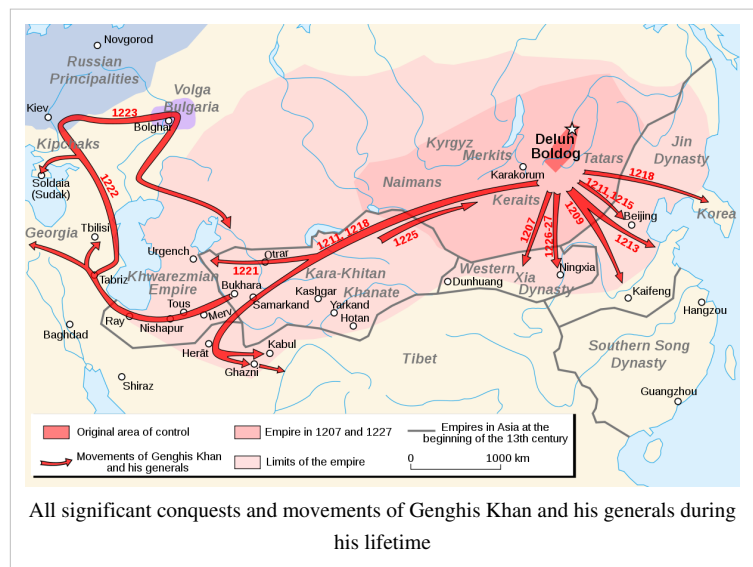
### Western Xia Dynasty

During the 1206 political rise of Genghis Khan, the Mongol Empire created by Genghis Khan and his allies shared its western borders with the Tanguts' Western Xia Dynasty. To its east and south was the Jin Dynasty, founded by the Manchurian Jurchens, who ruled northern China as well as being the traditional overlords of the Mongolian tribes for centuries.

Genghis Khan organized his people, army, and his state to first prepare for war with Western Xia, or Xi Xia, which was closer to the Mongolian lands. He correctly believed that the more powerful Jin Dynasty's young ruler would not come to the aid of Xi Xia. When the Tanguts requested help from the Jin Dynasty, they were refused.<sup>[27]</sup> Despite initial difficulties in capturing its well-defended cities, Genghis Khan forced the surrender of Western Xia by 1209.

### Jin Dynasty

In 1211, after the conquest of Western Xia, Genghis Khan planned again to conquer the Jin Dynasty. The commander of the Jin Dynasty army made a tactical mistake in not attacking the Mongols at the first opportunity. Instead, the Jin commander sent a messenger, Ming-Tan, to the Mongol side, who defected and told the Mongols that the Jin army was waiting on the other side of the pass. At this engagement fought at Badger Pass the Mongols massacred thousands of Jin troops. In 1215 Genghis besieged, captured, and sacked the Jin capital of Yanjing (later known as Beijing). This forced the Emperor Xuanzong to move his capital south to Kaifeng, abandoning the northern half of his kingdom to the Mongols.





## Kara-Khitan Khanate

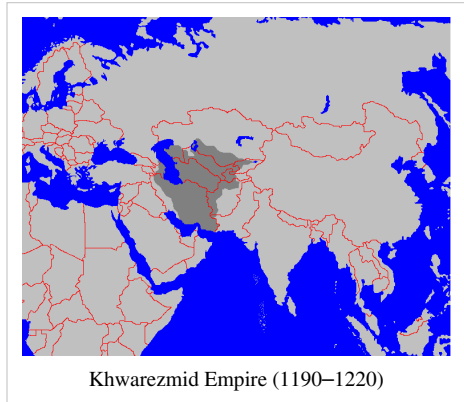
Kuchlug, the deposed Khan of the Naiman confederation that Temüjin defeated and folded into his Mongol Empire, fled west and usurped the khanate of Kara-Khitan (also known as the **Western Liao**, as it was originally established as remnants of the Liao Dynasty). Genghis Khan decided to conquer the Kara-Khitan khanate and defeat Kuchlug, possibly to take him out of power. By this time the Mongol army was exhausted from ten years of continuous campaigning in China against the Western Xia and Jin Dynasty. Therefore Genghis sent only two tumen (20,000 soldiers) against Kuchlug, under his younger general, Jebe, known as "The Arrow".



With such a small force, the invading Mongols were forced to change strategies and resort to inciting internal revolt among Kuchlug's supporters, leaving the Khara-Khitan khanate more vulnerable to Mongol conquest. As a result, Kuchlug's army was defeated west of Kashgar. Kuchlug fled again, but was soon hunted down by Jebe's army and executed. By 1218, as a result of defeat of Kara-Khitan khanate, the Mongol Empire and its control extended as far west as Lake Balkhash, which bordered the Khwarezmia (Khwarezmid Empire), a Muslim state that reached the Caspian Sea to the west and Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea to the south.

## Khwarezmian Empire

In the early 13th century, the Khwarezmian Dynasty was governed by Shah Ala ad-Din Muhammad. Genghis Khan saw the potential advantage in Khwarezmia as a commercial trading partner using the Silk Road, and he initially sent a 500-man caravan to establish official trade ties with the empire. However, Inalchuq, the governor of the Khwarezmian city of Otrar, attacked the caravan that came from Mongolia, claiming that the caravan contained spies and therefore was a conspiracy against Khwarezmia. The situation became further complicated because the governor later refused to make repayments for the looting of the caravans and handing over the perpetrators. Genghis Khan then sent again a second group of three ambassadors (two Mongols and a Muslim) to meet the Shah himself instead of the governor Inalchuq. The Shah had all the men shaved and the Muslim beheaded and sent his head back with the two remaining ambassadors. This was seen as an affront and insult to Genghis Khan. Outraged Genghis Khan planned one of his largest invasion campaigns by organizing together around 200,000 soldiers (20 tumens), his most capable generals and some of his sons. He left a commander and number of troops in China, designated his successors to be his family



members and likely appointed Ogedei to be his immediate successor and then went out to Khwarezmia.

The Mongol army under Genghis Khan, generals and his sons crossed the Tien Shan mountains by entering the area controlled by the Khwarezmian Empire. After compiling intelligence from many sources Genghis Khan carefully prepared his army, which was divided into three groups. His son Jochi led the first division into the northeast of Khwarezmia. The second division under Jebe marched secretly to the southeast part of Khwarezmia to form, with the first division, a pincer attack on Samarkand. The third division under Genghis Khan and Tolui marched to the northwest and attacked Khwarezmia from that direction.

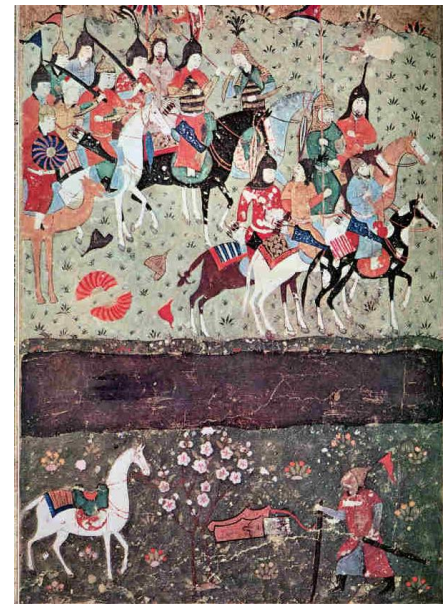
The Shah's army was split by diverse internal disquisitions and by the Shah's decision to divide his army into small groups concentrated in various cities. This fragmentation was decisive in Khwarezmia's defeats, as it allowed the Mongols, although exhausted from the long journey, to immediately set about defeating small fractions of the Khwarezmi forces instead of facing a unified defense. The Mongol army quickly seized the town of Otrar, relying on superior strategy and tactics. Genghis Khan ordered the wholesale massacre of many of the civilians, enslaved the rest of the population and executed Inalchuq by pouring molten silver into his ears and eyes, as retribution for his actions. Near the end of the battle the Shah fled rather than surrender. Genghis Khan charged Subutai and Jebe with hunting him down, giving them two years and 20,000 men. The Shah died under mysterious circumstances on a small island within his empire.

The Mongols' conquest, even by their own standards, was brutal. After the capital Samarkand fell, the capital was moved to Bukhara by the remaining men, and Genghis Khan dedicated two of his generals and their forces to completely destroying the remnants of the Khwarezmid Empire, including not only royal buildings, but entire towns, populations and even vast swaths of farmland. According to stories, Genghis Khan even went so far as to divert a river through the Khwarezmid emperor's birthplace, erasing it from the map.

The Mongols attacked Samarkand using prisoners as body shields. After several days only a few remaining soldiers, die-hard supporters of the Shah, held out in the citadel. After the fortress fell, Genghis supposedly reneged on his surrender terms and executed every soldier that had taken arms against him at Samarkand. The people of Samarkand were ordered to evacuate and assemble in a plain outside the city, where they were killed and pyramids of severed heads raised as a symbol of victory.<sup>[28]</sup>

The city of Bukhara was not heavily fortified, with a moat and a single wall, and the citadel typical of Khwarezmi cities. The city leaders opened the gates to the Mongols, though a unit of Turkish defenders held the city's citadel for another twelve days. Survivors from the citadel were executed, artisans and craftsmen were sent back to Mongolia, young men who had not fought were drafted into the Mongolian army and the rest of the population was sent into slavery. As the Mongol soldiers looted the city, a fire broke out, razing most of the city to the ground.<sup>[29]</sup> Genghis Khan had the city's surviving population assemble in the main mosque of the town, where he declared that he was the flail of God, sent to punish them for their sins.

Meanwhile, the wealthy trading city of Urgench was still in the hands of Khwarezmian forces. The assault on Urgench proved to be the most difficult battle of the Mongol invasion and the city fell only after the defenders put up a stout defense, fighting block for block. Mongolian casualties were higher than normal, due to the unaccustomed difficulty of adapting Mongolian tactics to city fighting.



Genghis Khan watches in amazement as the Khwarezmi Jalal ad-Din prepares to ford the Indus.

As usual, the artisans were sent back to Mongolia, young women and children were given to the Mongol soldiers as slaves, and the rest of the population was massacred. The Persian scholar Juvayni states that 50,000 Mongol soldiers were given the task of executing twenty-four Urgench citizens each, which would mean that 1.2 million people were killed. While this is an exaggeration, the sacking of Urgench is considered one of the bloodiest massacres in human history.

In the meantime, Genghis Khan selected his third son Ögedei as his successor before his army set out, and specified that subsequent Khans should be his direct descendants. Genghis Khan also left Muqali, one of his most trusted generals, as the supreme commander of all Mongol forces in Jin China while he was out battling the Khwarezmid Empire to the west.

## Georgia and Volga Bulgaria

After the defeat of the Khwarezmian Empire in 1220, Genghis Khan gathered his forces in Persia and Armenia to return to the Mongolian steppes. Under the suggestion of Subutai, the Mongol army was split into two forces. Genghis Khan led the main army on a raid through Afghanistan and northern India towards Mongolia, while another 20,000 (two *tumen*) contingent marched through the Caucasus and into Russia under generals Jebe and Subutai. They pushed deep into Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Mongols destroyed the kingdom of Georgia, sacked the Genoese trade-fortress of Caffa in Crimea and overwintered near the Black Sea. Heading home, Subutai's forces attacked the allied forces of the Cuman-Kipchaks and the poorly coordinated 80,000 Kievan Rus' troops led by Mstislav the Bold of Halych and Mstislav III of Kiev who went out to stop the Mongols' actions in the area. Subutai sent emissaries to the Slavic princes calling for a separate peace, but the emissaries were executed. At the Battle of Kalka River in 1223, Subutai's forces defeated the larger Kievan force, while losing the battle of Samara Bend against the neighboring Volga Bulgars - one of the Mongol's few, if not only, utter defeat; the Khwarizmi historian al-Nasawi says only 4,000 survived.<sup>[30]</sup> The Russian princes then sued for peace. Subutai agreed but was in no mood to pardon the princes. As was customary in Mongol society for nobility, the Russian princes were given a bloodless death. Subutai had a large wooden platform constructed on which he ate his meals along with his other generals. Six Russian princes, including Mstislav III of Kiev, were put under this platform and crushed to death.

The Mongols learned from captives of the abundant green pastures beyond the Bulgar territory, allowing for the planning for conquest of Hungary and Europe. Genghis Khan recalled Subutai back to Mongolia soon afterwards, and Jebe died on the road back to Samarkand. Subutai and Jebe's famous cavalry expedition, in which they encircled the entire Caspian Sea defeating all armies in their path, except for that of the Volga Bulgars - who were said to be one of the few, if not the only people to ever defeat Genghis Khan, remains unparalleled to this day, and word of the Mongol triumphs began to trickle to other nations, particularly Europe. These two campaigns are generally regarded as reconnaissance campaigns that tried to get the feel of the political and cultural elements of the regions. In 1225 both divisions returned to Mongolia. These invasions added Transoxiana and Persia to an already formidable empire while destroying any resistance along the way. Later under Genghis Khan's grandson Batu and the Golden Horde, the Mongols returned to conquer Volga Bulgaria and the Kievan Rus in 1237, concluding the campaign in 1240.

## Western Xia and Jin Dynasty

The vassal emperor of the Tanguts (Western Xia) had earlier refused to take part in the war against the Khwarezmid Empire after Genghis Khan and the main army marched towards Khwarezmian Empire. Plus Western Xia and the defeated Jin Dynasty formed a coalition to resist the Mongols, counting on the campaign against the Khwarezmians to drain the Mongols' ability to respond effectively.

In 1226, immediately after returning from the west, Genghis Khan began a retaliatory attack on the Tanguts. His armies quickly took Heisui, Ganzhou and Suzhou (not the Suzhou in Jiangsu province), and in the autumn he took Xiliang-fu. One of the Tangut generals challenged the Mongols to a battle near Helanshan, but was defeated. In November, Genghis laid siege to the Tangut city Lingzhou, and crossed the Yellow River, defeating the Tangut relief army. According to legend, it was here that Genghis Khan reportedly saw a line of five stars arranged in the sky, and interpreted it as an omen of his victory.

In 1227, Genghis Khan's army attacked and destroyed the Tangut capital of Ning Hia, and continued to advance, seizing Lintiao-fu, Xining province, Xindu-fu, and Deshun province in quick succession in the Spring. At Deshun, the Tangut general Ma Jianlong put up a fierce resistance for several days and personally led charges against the invaders outside the city gate. Ma Jianlong later died from wounds received from arrows in battle. Genghis Khan, after conquering Deshun, went to Liupanshan (Qingshui County, Gansu Province) to escape the severe summer. The new Tangut emperor quickly surrendered to the Mongols, and the rest of the Tanguts officially surrendered soon after. Not happy with their betrayal and resistance, Genghis Khan ordered the entire imperial family to be executed, effectively ending the Tangut lineage.

Some accounts say that Genghis Khan was castrated by a Tangut princess using a hidden knife, who wanted revenge against his treatment of the Tanguts and stop him from raping her.<sup>[31][32][33]</sup> After his castration, Genghis Khan died, and the Tangut princess committed suicide by drowning in the Yellow River according to the legend.<sup>[34][35]</sup> In some mythical legends, it is claimed that Genghis fell into a trance after being castrated and is waiting to be sent back to the Mongol people.<sup>[36][37]</sup>

## Succession

The succession topic of Genghis Khan was already significant during the later years of Genghis Khan's reign since he was already reaching his older years. Also the long running paternity discussion about Genghis' oldest son Jochi was already a relatively hot topic behind the scenes, which was particularly contentious because of the seniority of Jochi among the brothers. According to traditional historical accounts, the issue over Jochi's paternity was voiced most strongly by Chagatai. In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, just before the invasion of the Khwarezmid Empire by Genghis Khan, Chagatai declares before his father and brothers that he would never accept Jochi as



Western Xia Dynasty, Jin Dynasty, Song Dynasty and Kingdom of Dali in 1142.



Genghis Khan and three of his four sons. Illustration from a 15th century Jami' al-tawarikh manuscript



Genghis Khan's successor. In response to this tension<sup>[38]</sup> and possibly for other reasons, it was Ögedei who was appointed as successor.

## Jochi

Jochi died in 1226, during his father's lifetime. Some scholars, notably Ratchnevsky, have commented on the possibility that Jochi was secretly poisoned by an order from Genghis Khan. Rashid al-Din reports that the great Khan sent for his sons in the spring of 1223, and while his brothers heeded the order, Jochi remained in Khorasan. Juzjani suggests that the disagreement arose from a quarrel between Jochi and his brothers in the siege of Urgench. Jochi had attempted to protect Urgench from destruction, as it belonged to territory allocated to him as a fief. He concludes his story with the clearly apocryphal statement by Jochi: "Genghis Khan is mad to have massacred so many people and laid waste so many lands. I would be doing a service if I killed my father when he is hunting, made an alliance with Sultan Muhammad, brought this land to life and gave assistance and support to the Muslims." Juzjani claims that it was in response to hearing of these plans that Genghis Khan ordered his son secretly poisoned; however, as Sultan Muhammad was already dead in 1223, the accuracy of this story is questionable.<sup>[39]</sup>



Mongol "Great Khans" coin, minted at Balk, Afghanistan, AH 618, 1221 CE.

Genghis Khan was aware of this friction between his sons (particularly between Chagatai and Jochi) and worried of possible conflict between them if he died and therefore he decided to divide his empire among his sons and make all of them Khan in their own right and by appointing one of his sons as his successor. Chagatai was considered unstable due to his temper and rash behavior because of his statements he made that he would not follow Jochi if he were to become his father's successor. Tolui, Genghis Khan's youngest son was not to be his successor because he was the youngest and in the Mongol culture, youngest sons were not given a huge responsibility due to their age. If Jochi was to become successor, it was likely that Chagatai would engage in warfare with him and collapse the empire. Therefore Genghis Khan decided to give the throne to Ögedei. Ögedei was seen by Genghis Khan as dependable in character and relatively stable and down to earth and would be a neutral candidate and might defuse the situation between his brothers.

## Death and burial

In 1227, after defeating the Tangut people, Genghis Khan died (according to *The Secret History of the Mongols*). The reason for his death is uncertain and speculations abound. Some historians maintain that he fell off his horse during a horseback pursuit from the land of present day Egypt due to battle wounds and physical fatigue, dying of his injuries.<sup>[40]</sup> Others contend that he was felled by a protracted illness such as pneumonia. The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle alleges he was killed by the Tanguts in battle. Later Mongol chronicles connect Genghis' death with a Tangut princess taken as war booty. One chronicle from the early 17th century even relates that the princess hid a small pair of pliers inside her vagina, and hurt the Great Khan so badly that he died. Some Mongol authors have doubted this version and suspected it to be an invention by the rival Oirads.<sup>[41]</sup>



Mongol Empire in 1227 at Genghis Khan's death

Genghis Khan asked to be buried without markings, according to the customs of his tribe. After he died, his body was returned to Mongolia and presumably to his birthplace in Khentii Aimag, where many assume he is buried somewhere close to the Onon River and the Burkhan Khaldun mountain (part of the Kentii mountain range). According to legend, the funeral escort killed anyone and anything across their path to conceal where he was finally buried. The Genghis Khan Mausoleum, constructed many years after his death, is his memorial, but not his burial site.

In 1939 Guomindang Chinese Nationalist soldiers took the mausoleum from its position at the 'Lord's Enclosure' (Mongolian: *Edsen Khoroo*) in Mongolia to protect it from Japanese troops. It was taken through Communist-held territory in Yan'an some 900 km on carts to safety at a Buddhist monastery, the Dongshan Dafo Dian, where it remained for ten years. In 1949, as Communist troops advanced, the Nationalist soldiers moved it another 200 km farther west to the famous Tibetan monastery of Kumbum Monastery or Ta'er Shi near Xining, which soon fell under Communist control. In early 1954, Genghis Khan's bier and relics were returned to the Lord's Enclosure in Mongolia. By 1956 a new temple was erected there to house them.<sup>[42]</sup> In 1968 during the Cultural Revolution, Red Guards destroyed almost everything of value. The "relics" were remade in the 1970s and a great marble statue of Genghis was completed in 1989.<sup>[43]</sup>

On October 6, 2004, a joint Japanese-Mongolian archaeological dig uncovered what is believed to be Genghis Khan's palace in rural Mongolia, which raises the possibility of actually locating the ruler's long-lost burial site.<sup>[44]</sup> Folklore says that a river was diverted over his grave to make it impossible to find (the same manner of burial as the Sumerian King Gilgamesh of Uruk and Atilla the Hun). Other tales state that his grave was stampeded over by many horses, and that trees were then planted over the site, and the permafrost also did its part in hiding the burial site.

Genghis Khan left behind an army of more than 129,000 men; 28,000 were given to his various brothers and his sons. Tolui, his youngest son, inherited more than 100,000 men. This force contained the bulk of the elite Mongolian cavalry. By tradition, the youngest son inherits his father's property. Jochi, Chagatai, Ögedei Khan, and Kulan's son Gelejian received armies of 4,000 men each. His mother and the descendants of his three brothers received 3,000 men each.

## Mongol Empire

### Politics and economics

The Mongol Empire was governed by a civilian and military code, called the Yassa, created by Genghis Khan. The Mongol Empire did not emphasize the importance of ethnicity and race in the administrative realm, instead adopting an approach grounded in meritocracy. The exception was the role of Genghis Khan and his family. The Mongol Empire was one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse empires in history, as befitted its size. Many of the empire's nomadic inhabitants considered themselves *Mongols* in military and civilian life, including Turks, Mongols, and others and included many diverse Khans of various ethnicities as part of the Mongol Empire such as Muhammad Khan.





There were tax exemptions for religious figures and, to some extent, teachers and doctors. The Mongol Empire practiced religious tolerance to a large degree because Mongol tradition had long held that religion was a very personal concept, and not subject to law or interference. Sometime before the rise of Genghis Khan, Ong Khan, his mentor and eventual rival, had converted to Nestorian Christianity. Various Mongol tribes were Buddhist, Muslim, shamanist or Christian. Religious tolerance was thus a well established concept on the Asian steppe.

Modern Mongolian historians say that towards the end of his life, Genghis Khan attempted to create a civil state under the Great Yassa that would have established the legal equality of all individuals, including women.<sup>[45]</sup> However, there is no contemporary evidence of this, or of the lifting of discriminatory policies towards sedentary peoples such as the Chinese. Women played a relatively important role in Mongol Empire and in family, for example Töregene Khatun was briefly in charge of the Mongol Empire when next male Khagan was being chosen. Modern scholars refer to the alleged policy of encouraging trade and communication as the Pax Mongolica (Mongol Peace).

Genghis Khan realised that he needed people who could govern cities and states conquered by him. He also realised that such administrators could not be found among his Mongol people because they were nomads and thus had no experience governing cities. For this purpose Genghis Khan invited a Khitan prince, Chu'Tsai, who worked for the Jin and had been captured by the Mongol army after the Jin Dynasty were defeated. Jin had captured power by displacing Khitan. Genghis told Chu'Tsai, who was a lineal descendant of Khitan rulers, that he had avenged Chu'Tsai's forefathers. Chu'Tsai responded that his father served the Jin Dynasty honestly and so did he; he did not consider his own father his enemy, so the question of revenge did not apply. Genghis Khan was very impressed by this reply. Chu'Tsai administered parts of the Mongol Empire and became a confidant of the successive Mongol Khans.

## Military

Genghis Khan put absolute trust in his generals, such as Muqali, Jebe and Subutai, and regarded them as close advisors, often extending them the same privileges and trust normally reserved for close family members. He allowed them to make decisions on their own when they embarked on campaigns far from the Mongol Empire capital Karakorum. Genghis Khan expected unwavering loyalty from his generals, and granted them a great deal of autonomy in making command decisions. Muqali, a trusted general, was given command of

the Mongol forces against the Jin Dynasty while Genghis Khan was fighting in Central Asia, and Subutai and Jebe were allowed to pursue the Great Raid into the Caucasus and Kievan Rus, an idea they had presented to the Khagan on their own initiative. The Mongol military was also successful in siege warfare, cutting off resources for cities and towns by diverting certain rivers, taking enemy prisoners and driving them in front of the army, and adopting new ideas, techniques and tools from the people they conquered, particularly in employing Muslim and Chinese siege engines and engineers to aid the Mongol cavalry in capturing cities. Another standard tactic of the Mongol military was the commonly practiced feigned retreat to break enemy formations and to lure small enemy groups away from the larger group and defended position for ambush and counterattack.

Another important aspect of the military organization of Genghis Khan was the communications and supply route or *Yam*, adapted from previous Chinese models. Genghis Khan dedicated special attention to this in order to speed up the gathering of military intelligence and official communications. To this end, Yam waystations were established all over the empire.<sup>[46]</sup> The followers of Temujin consisted of several Christians, three Muslims, and several Buddhists. They were united only in their devotion to Temujin and their oath to him and each other. The oaths sworn at Baljuna created a type of brotherhood, and in transcending kinship, ethnicity, and religion, it came close to being a type of modern civic citizenship based upon personal choice and commitment. This connection became a metaphor for the new type of community among Temujin's followers that eventually dominated as the basis of unity within the



Reenactment of Mongol military movement.

Mongol Empire.

## Khanates

Several years before his death, Genghis Khan divided his empire among his sons Ögedei, Chagatai, Tolui, and Jochi (Jochi's death several months before Genghis Khan meant that his lands were instead split between his sons, Batu and Orda) into several Khanates designed as sub-territories: their Khans were expected to follow the Great Khan, who was, initially, Ögedei.

Following are the Khanates the way Genghis Khan assigned them:

- **Empire of the Great Khan:** Ögedei Khan, as *Great Khan*, took most of Eastern Asia, including China; this territory later to comprise the Yuan Dynasty under Kubilai Khan.
- **Mongol homeland** (present day Mongolia, including Karakorum): Tolui Khan, being the youngest son, received a small territory near the Mongol homeland, following Mongol custom.
- **Chagatai Khanate:** Chagatai Khan, Genghis Khan's second son, was given Central Asia and northern Iran.
- **Blue Horde** to Batu Khan, and **White Horde** to Orda Khan, both were later combined into the Kipchak Khanate, or Khanate of the Golden Horde, under Toqtamish. Genghis Khan's eldest son, Jochi, had received most of the distant Russia and Ruthenia. Because Jochi died before Genghis Khan, his territory was further split up between his sons. Batu Khan launched an invasion of Russia, and later Hungary and Poland, and crushed several armies before being summoned back by the news of Ögedei's death.



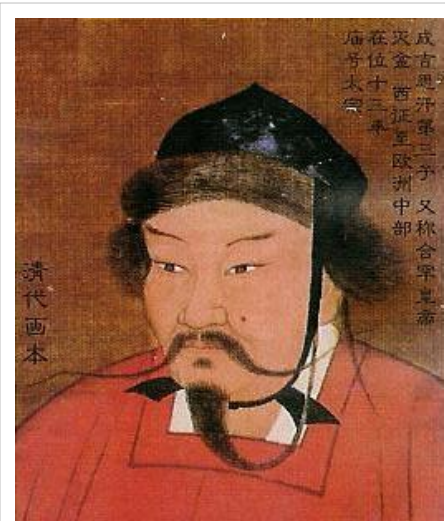
Modern day location of capital Kharakhorum

## After Genghis Khan

Contrary to popular belief, Genghis Khan did not conquer all of the areas of the Mongol Empire. At the time of his death, the Mongol Empire stretched from the Caspian Sea to the Sea of Japan. The empire's expansion continued for a generation or more after Genghis's death in 1227. Under Genghis's successor Ögedei Khan the speed of expansion reached its peak. Mongol armies pushed into Persia, finished off the Xi Xia and the remnants of the Khwarezmids, and came into conflict with the imperial Song Dynasty of China, starting a war that lasted until 1279 and that concluded with the Mongols gaining control of all of China. They also pushed further into Russia and eastern Europe.

## Perceptions

Like other notable conquerors, Genghis Khan is portrayed differently by those he conquered and those who conquered with him. Negative views of Genghis Khan are very persistent within histories written by many different cultures, from a number of different geographical regions. They often cite the cruelties and destruction brought upon by Mongol armies, not to mention the systematic slaughter of civilians in the conquered regions; other authors cite positive aspects of Genghis Khan's conquests as well.



Genghis Khan's son and successor, Ögedei Khan

## Positive

Genghis Khan is credited with bringing the Silk Road under one cohesive political environment. This allowed increased communication and trade between the West, Middle East and Asia, thus expanding the horizons of all three cultural areas. Some historians have noted that Genghis Khan instituted certain levels of meritocracy in his rule, was tolerant of different religions and explained his policies clearly to all his soldiers.<sup>[47]</sup> In Turkey, Genghis Khan is looked on as a great military leader, and it is popular for male children to carry his title as name.<sup>[48]</sup>

## In Mongolia

Traditionally Genghis Khan had been revered for centuries among the Mongols, and also among certain other ethnic groups such as the Turks, largely because of his association with Mongol statehood, political and military organization, and his historic victories in war. He eventually evolved into a larger-than-life figure chiefly among the Mongols and is still considered the symbol of Mongolian culture.



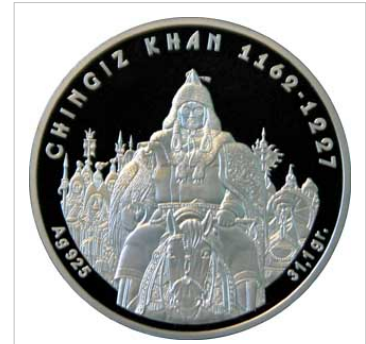
Equestrian statue of Genghis Khan, the largest (40 metres tall) in the world, near Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

During the communist period, Genghis Khan was often described as a reactionary, and positive statements about him were generally avoided.<sup>[49]</sup> In 1962, the erection of a monument at his birthplace and a conference held in commemoration of his 800th birthday led to criticism from the Soviet Union, and resulted in the dismissal of Tömör-Ochir, a secretary of the ruling Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee.

In the early 1990s, when democracy was established in Mongolia, the memory of Genghis Khan with the Mongolian national identity has had a powerful revival partly because of his perception during the Mongolian People's Republic period. Genghis Khan became one of the central figures of the national identity. He is looked upon positively by Mongolians for his role in uniting various warring tribes. For example, it is not uncommon for Mongolians to refer to Mongolia as "Genghis Khan's Mongolia", to themselves as "Genghis Khan's children", and to Genghis Khan as the "father of the Mongols" especially among the younger generation. However, there is a chasm in the perception of his brutality, Mongolians maintain that the historical records written by non-Mongolians are

unfairly biased against Genghis Khan, and that his butchery is exaggerated, while his positive role is underrated.<sup>[50]</sup>

In Mongolia today, Genghis Khan's name and likeness are endorsed on products, streets, buildings, and other places. His face can be found on everyday commodities, from liquor bottles to candy products, and on the largest denominations of 500, 1,000, 5,000, 10,000, and 20,000 Mongolian tögrög (₮). Mongolia's main international airport in Ulaanbaatar has been renamed Chinggis Khaan International Airport, and major Genghis Khan statues have been erected before the parliament<sup>[51]</sup> and near Ulaanbaatar. There have been repeated discussions about regulating the use of his name and image to avoid trivialization.<sup>[52]</sup>



Genghis Khan on the reverse of a Kazakhstan 100 Tenge coin



Genghis Khan on the Mongolian 1,000 tögrög banknote





Statue of Genghis Khan in front of the Mongolian government building in Sühbaatar Square, Ulaanbaatar

Genghis Khan is regarded as one of the prominent leaders in Mongolia's history.<sup>[53]</sup> He is responsible for the emergence of the Mongols as a political and ethnic identity because there was no unified identity between the various tribes that had cultural similarity. He reinforced many Mongol traditions and provided stability and unity during a time of almost endemic warfare between various tribes. He is also given credit for the introduction of the traditional Mongolian script and the creation of the Ikh Zasag, the first written Mongolian law.<sup>[54]</sup> In summary, Mongolians see him as the fundamental figure in the founding of the Mongol Empire, and therefore the basis for Mongolia as a country.

## Mixed



Portrait on a hillside in Ulaanbaatar, 2006

## In China

There are conflicting views of Genghis Khan in the People's Republic of China with some viewing him positively in the Inner Mongolia region where there is a monument and buildings about him and where there are considerable Mongols in the area with a population of around 5 million, almost twice the population of Mongolia. While Genghis Khan never conquered all of China, his grandson Kublai Khan completed that conquest,<sup>[55]</sup> and established the Yuan Dynasty that is often credited with re-uniting China. There has also been much artwork and literature praising Genghis as a great military leader and political genius. The years of the Mongol-established Yuan Dynasty left an indelible imprint on Chinese political and social structures for subsequent generations with literature during the Jin Dynasty relatively fewer. In general the legacy of Genghis Khan and his successors, who completed the conquest of China after 65 years of struggle, remains a mixed topic, even to this day.



Genghis Khan Monument in Hohhot

China suffered a drastic decline in population.<sup>[8]</sup> North China (then the most populous part) is thought to have lost about three-quarters of its population. The census of 1195 showed a population of 50 million people in north China [whereas] the first Mongol census of 1235–36 counted only 18.5 million. Admittedly, some of the population decline in Northern China must also be attributed to the large migration to Southern China, but exact figures are hard to find.<sup>[56]</sup> Within China many people still retain the more traditional view that Genghis Khan was a barbarian invader.

## Negative

In the Middle East and Iran, he is almost universally looked on as a destructive and genocidal warlord who caused enormous damage and destruction to the population of these areas.<sup>[57]</sup> Steven R. Ward wrote that "Overall, the Mongol violence and depredations killed up to three-fourths of the population of the Iranian Plateau, possibly 10 to 15 million people. Some historians have estimated that Iran's population did not again reach its pre-Mongol levels until the mid-20th century."<sup>[58]</sup> Similarly, in Afghanistan (along with other non-Turkic Muslim countries) he is generally viewed unfavorably though some groups display ambivalence as it is believed that the Hazara of Afghanistan are descendants of a large Mongol garrison stationed therein.<sup>[59][60]</sup>



Invasions like the Battle of Baghdad by his grandson are treated as brutal and are seen negatively in Iraq. This illustration is from a 15th century Jami' al-tawarikh manuscript.

The invasions of Baghdad, Samarkand, Urgench, Kiev, Vladimir among others caused mass murders, such as when portions of southern Khuzestan were completely destroyed. His descendant, Hulagu Khan destroyed much of Iran's northern part and sacked Baghdad although his forces were halted by the Mamluks of Egypt. According to the works of the Persian historian Rashid-al-Din Hamadani, the Mongols killed more than 70 thousand people in Merv and more than 190 thousand in Nishapur. In 1237 Batu Khan, a grandson of Genghis Khan, launched an invasion into Kievan Rus'. Over the course of three years, the Mongols destroyed and annihilated all of the major cities of Eastern Europe with the exceptions of Novgorod and Pskov.

Giovanni de Plano Carpini, the Pope's envoy to the Mongol Great Khan, traveled through Kiev in February 1246 and wrote:

*"They [the Mongols] attacked Rus, where they made great havoc, destroying cities and fortresses and slaughtering men; and they laid siege to Kiev, the capital of Rus; after they had besieged the city for a long time, they took it and put the inhabitants to death. When we were journeying through that land we came across countless skulls and bones of dead men lying about on the ground. Kiev had been a very large and heavily populated town, but now it has been reduced almost to nothing, for there are at the present time scarce two hundred houses there and the inhabitants are kept in complete slavery."*<sup>[61]</sup>

Although the famous Mughal Emperors were descendants of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, they distanced themselves from the Mongol atrocities against the Khwarizim Shahs, Turks, Persians, the citizens of Baghdad and Damascus and historical figures such as Attar of Nishapur.

Among the Iranian peoples, he is regarded along with Tamerlane as one of the most despised conquerors of Iran.<sup>[62][63]</sup> In much of Russia, Middle East, Korea, China, Ukraine, Poland and Hungary, Genghis Khan and his regime are credited with considerable damage, destruction and loss of population.

## Descent

Zerjal et al. [2003]<sup>[59]</sup> identified a Y-chromosomal lineage present in about 8% of the men in a large region of Asia (about 0.5% of the world total). The paper suggests that the pattern of variation within the lineage is consistent with a hypothesis that it originated in Mongolia about 1,000 years ago. Because the rate of such a spread would be too rapid to have occurred by genetic drift, the authors propose that the lineage is carried by likely male-line descendants of Genghis Khan, and that it has spread through social selection. In Mongolia alone as many as 200,000 of the country's 2 million people could be Khan descendants.<sup>[7]</sup> In addition to most of the Mongol nobility up to the 20th century, the Mughal emperor Babur's mother was a descendant. Timur (also known as Tamerlane), the 14th century military leader, claimed descent from Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan was one of the most powerful warlords during his reign, as a result the harem that he kept was of enormous size. It is said that his harem reached anywhere from

2,000–3,000 women. There are so many descendants of Genghis Khan not only because of the size of his harem, but also because of the size of his sons' harems and that they ruled their own separate kingdoms.

## Physical appearance

There are some debate as to whether Genghis Khan was fully Mongoloid or mixed Mongoloid/Caucasoid as there is no historical portrait of Genghis Khan. The only piece of evidence attributed to his Caucasoidness was the description from Rashid al-Din that recorded him being a red haired with green eyes, however these traits evidently still exists in some modern Mongols who are predominately Mongoloid in appearance and inherit all light hair and light eyes traits such as blue or green eyes and blonde or red hair. A certain number of Mongols, particularly the Oirat tribe in western Mongolia tend to exhibit lighter features such as fair skin, blue or green eyes, varying shades of brown hair, and sometimes even red or blonde hair.<sup>[18]</sup> Adding to the fact that Zerjal *et al.* identified Genghis Khan paternal DNA Y-chromosomal lineage to be Haplogroup C3 which is a common mongoloid marker among Tungusic people, this would make Genghis Khan more likely to be either predominately Mongoloid or at least a Euro-Mongoloid hybrid. Genetic testing of ethnic Mongolians mtDNA in Xinjiang China were found to have 14.3% west Eurasian mtDNA.<sup>[64]</sup> Which shows significant number of Europoid maternal contribution into the Mongolian mtDNA gene pool.

## Depictions in modern culture

There have been several films, novels and other adaptation works on the Mongolian ruler.

### Films

- *Genghis Khan*, a 1950 Philippine film directed by Manuel Conde.
- *The Conqueror*, released in 1956 and starring John Wayne as Temüjin and Susan Hayward as Börte.
- *Genghis Khan (1965 film)* starring Omar Sharif.
- *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure* 1989 film starring Keanu Reeves, Alex Winter with Al Leong as Genghis Khan.
- *Under The Eternal Blue Sky* a Mongolian film directed by Nyamgavaa released in 1990.
- *Genghis Khan (1992 film)* starring Richard Tyson, Charlton Heston and Pat Morita.
- *Genghis Khan - A Proud Son Of Heaven (1998 film)*, made in Mongolian, with English subtitles.
- *Genghis Khan: To the Ends of the Earth and Sea*, also known as *The Descendant of Gray Wolf*, a Japanese-Mongolian film released in 2007.
- *Mongol*, a film by Sergei Bodrov released in 2007. (Academy Award nominee for Best Foreign Language Film).
- *No Right to Die - Chinggis Khaan*, a Mongolian film released in 2008.
- *By the Will of Genghis Khan*, a Russian film released in 2009.

### TV series



The Genghis Khan Mausoleum in the town of Ejin Horo Qi, China



Year	Production	Lead actor	Additional information
1987	TVB (Hong Kong)	Alex Man	see <i>Genghis Khan (TVB)</i>
1987	ATV (Hong Kong)	Tony Liu	20 episodes
2004	China	Ba Sen	see <i>Genghis Khan (2004 TV series)</i>

Genghis Khan was discussed in a third season episode of *Deadliest Warrior*, first aired on May 26, 2011. The show, which is produced by the American cable channel Spike, pits various figures from history against each other in computer analyzed hypothetical battle scenarios to determine the outcome in a hypothetical confrontation. The show's panel determined that in a hypothetical battle with Hannibal, the Mongol steel armor would be a deciding factor and so Genghis Khan would be the victor.

## Novels

- 1 Jenghiz Khan, by Vasili Yan, trans. L. E. Britton, publisher. Hutchinson
- 2 Batu Khan. by Vasili Yan, trans. L. E. Britton, publisher. Hutchinson
- *The Conqueror* series of novels by Conn Iggulden
- "You Can't, But Genghis Khan" from the Time Warp Trio book series

## Short stories

- *The Private Life of Genghis Khan* by Douglas Adams and Graham Chapman

## Music

- West German pop band Dschinghis Khan took its name from Genghis Khan. They participated in the Eurovision contest of 1979 with a song of the same name.
- English Heavy Metal band Iron Maiden titled an instrumental track *Genghis Khan* on their 1981 album *Killers*.
- The band Protest The Hero's song *bloodmeat* references Genghis Khan and the Khanate, and re-tells the tale of a small un-militarised, and unequipped town fighting off a large, elite enemy, which may also be a reference to Genghis Khan.
- Ace Frehley composed and recorded a song named after Genghis Khan in his 2009 album *Anomaly*.
- Belgian neo-classical/power metal band Iron Mask titled track "Genghis Khan" on their 2011 album *Black as Death*

## Video games

- Age of Empires II: The Age of Kings
- Aoki Ookami to Shiroki Mejika IV: Genghis Khan
- Sid Meier's Civilization Series
- Genghis Khan (video game)
- Genghis Khan II: Clan of the Gray Wolf
- Cengiz Han II: Demir Yumruk (Turkish MMORPG)<sup>[65]</sup>

## Name and title

There are many theories about the origins of Temüjin's title. Since people of the Mongol nation later associated the name with *ching* (Mongolian for strength), such confusion is obvious, though it does not follow etymology.

One theory suggests the name stems from a palatalised version of the Mongolian and Turkic word *tenggis*, meaning "ocean", "oceanic" or "wide-spreading". (Lake Baikal and ocean were called *tenggis* by the Mongols. However, it seems that if they had meant to call Genghis *tenggis* they could have said, and written, "Tenggis Khan", which they did not.) Zhèng (Chinese: 正) meaning "right", "just", or "true", would have received the Mongolian adjectival modifier *-s*, creating "Jenggis", which in medieval romanization would be written "Genghis". It is likely that the 13th century Mongolian pronunciation would have closely matched "Chinggis".<sup>[66]</sup>



The gate of Genghis Khan Mausoleum

The English spelling "Genghis" is of unclear origin. Weatherford claims it to derive from a spelling used in original Persian reports. Even at this time some Iranians pronounce his name as "Ghengiss". However, review of historical Persian sources does not confirm this.<sup>[67]</sup>

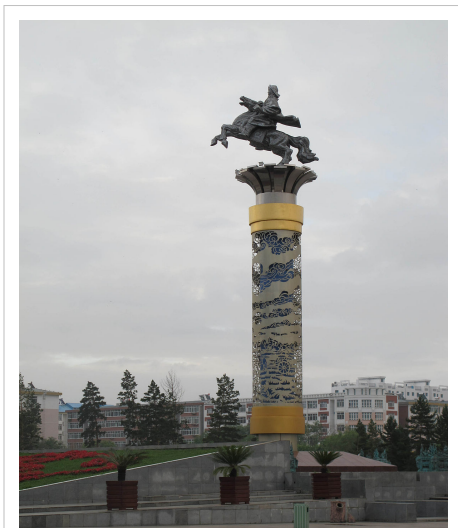
According to the Secret History of the Mongols, Temüjin was named after a powerful warrior of the Tatar tribe that his father Yesügei had taken prisoner. The name "Temüjin" is believed to derive from the word *temür*, meaning iron (modern Mongolian: төмөр, *tömör*). The name would imply skill as a blacksmith.

More likely, as no evidence has survived to indicate that Genghis Khan had any exceptional training or reputation as a blacksmith, the name indicated an implied lineage in a family once known as blacksmiths. The latter interpretation is supported by the names of Genghis Khan's siblings, Temülin and Temüge, which are derived from the same root word.

## Name and spelling variations

Genghis Khan's name is spelled in variety of ways in different languages such as Chinese: 成吉思汗; pinyin: *Chéngjísī Hán*, Turkic: *Cengiz Han*, *Çingiz Xan*, *Çingiz Han*, *Chingizxon*, *Çiñğız Xan*, *Chengez Khan*, *Chinggis Khan*, *Chinggis Xaan*, *Chingis Khan*, *Jenghis Khan*, *Chinggis Qan*, *Djingis Kahn*, Russian: Чингисхан (*Čingiskhan*) or Чингиз-хан (*Čingiz-khan*), etc. Temüjin is written in Chinese as simplified Chinese: 铁木真; traditional Chinese: 鐵木真; pinyin: *Tiěmùzhēn*.

When Kublai Khan established the Yuan Dynasty in 1271, he had his grandfather Genghis Khan placed on the official record as the founder of the dynasty or Taizu (Chinese: 太祖). Thus, Genghis Khan is also referred to as Yuan Taizu (Chinese: 元太祖) in Chinese historiography.



Monument in Hulunbuir

## Timeline

- Probably 1155, 1162, or 1167: Temüjin was born in the Khentii mountains.
- At the age of nine, Temüjin's father Yesükhei was poisoned by Tatars, leaving him and his family destitute.
- c. 1184: Temüjin's wife Börte was kidnapped by Merkits; he called on blood brother Jamukha and Wang Khan for aid, and they rescued her.
- c. 1185: First son Jochi was born; leading to doubt about his paternity later among Genghis' children, because he was born shortly after Börte's rescue from the Merkits.
- 1190: Temüjin united the Mongol tribes, became leader, and devised code of law Yassa.
- 1201: Victory over Jamukha's Jadarans.
- 1202: Adopted as Wang Khan's heir after successful campaigns against Tatars.
- 1203: Victory over Wang Khan's Keraites. Wang Khan himself is killed by accident by allied Naimans.
- 1204: Victory over Naimans (all these confederations are united and become the Mongols).
- 1206: Jamukha was killed. Temüjin was given the title *Genghis Khan* by his followers in a Kurultai (around 40 years of age).
- 1207–1210: Genghis led operations against the Western Xia, which comprises much of northwestern China and parts of Tibet. Western Xia ruler submitted to Genghis Khan. During this period, the Uyghurs also submitted peacefully to the Mongols and became valued administrators throughout the empire.
- 1211: After the kurultai, Genghis led his armies against the Jin Dynasty ruling northern China.
- 1215: Beijing fell; Genghis Khan turned to west and the Khara-Kitan Khanate.
- 1219–1222: Conquered Khwarezm Empire.
- 1226: Started the campaign against the Western Xia for forming coalition against the Mongols, the second battle with the Western Xia.
- 1227: Genghis Khan died after conquering the Tangut people. Cause of death is uncertain, although legend states that he was thrown off his horse in the battle and contracted a deadly fever soon after.



Statue of Genghis Khan at his mausoleum in Ejin Horo Qi, China

## Notes

[1] Chinese: 成吉思汗; pinyin: *Chéng Jí Sī Hán*

**Birth name:**

Temujin /təˈmuːdʒɪn/;

Mongolian: Тэмүжин *Temujin* [tʰemutʃɪŋ] ( listen);

Middle Mongolian: *Temujin*; *Central Asiatic Journal* (O. Harrassowitz) **5**: 239. 1959. <http://books.google.com/books?id=PjjjAAAAMAAJ>. Retrieved July 29, 2011.

traditional Chinese: 鐵木真; simplified Chinese: 铁木真; pinyin: *Tiě mù zhēn*

[2] Rashid al-Din asserts that Genghis Khan lived to the age of 72, placing his year of birth at 1155. The *Yuanshi* (元史, *History of the Yuan dynasty*) records his year of birth as 1162. According to Ratchnevsky, accepting a birth in 1155 would render Genghis Khan a father at the age of 30 and would imply that he personally commanded the expedition against the Tanguts at the age of 72. Also, according to the *Altan Tobci*, Genghis Khan's sister, Temülin, was nine years younger than he; but the Secret History relates that Temülin was an infant during the attack by the Merkits, during which Genghis Khan would have been 18, had he been born in 1155. Zhao Hong reports in his travelogue that the Mongols he questioned did not know and had never known their ages.

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## External links

- Genghis Khan (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00773mr>) on *In Our Time* at the BBC. ( listen now ([http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/console/b00773mr/In\\_Our\\_Time\\_Genghis\\_Khan](http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/console/b00773mr/In_Our_Time_Genghis_Khan)))
- Book Review of Genghis Khan by Leo De Hartog ([http://www.epinions.com/content\\_399273397892](http://www.epinions.com/content_399273397892))
- Genghis Khan and the Mongols (<http://www.fsmitha.com/h3/h11mon.htm>)
- Welcome to The Realm of the Mongols (<http://www.coldsiberia.org/>)
- Parts of this biography were taken from the Area Handbook series at the Library of Congress (<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/mntoc.html>)
- Estimates of Mongol warfare casualties (<http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/warstat0.htm#Mongol>)
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## Gero

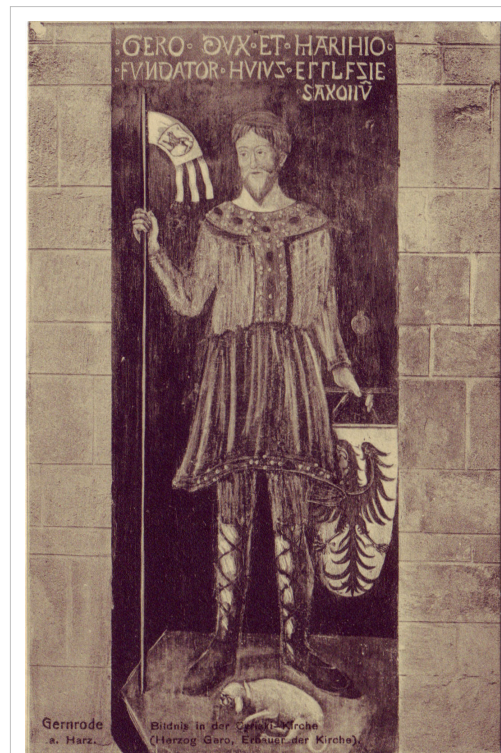
**Gero I** (c. 900 – 20 May 965), called **the Great** (Latin *magnus*),<sup>[1]</sup> ruled an initially modest march centred on Merseburg, which he expanded into a vast territory named after him: the *marca Geronis*.<sup>[2][3]</sup> During the mid-10th century, he was the leader of the Saxon *Drang nach Osten*.

### Succession and early conflicts

Gero was the son of Count Thietmar, tutor of Henry I. He was appointed by King Otto I to succeed his brother, Siegfried, as count and margrave in the district fronting the Wends on the lower Saale in 937. His appointment frustrated Thankmar, the king's half-brother and Siegfried's cousin, and together with Eberhard of Franconia and Wichmann the Elder, he revolted against the king (938).<sup>[4]</sup> Thankmar was dead within a year and his accomplices came to terms with Otto. Gero was kept in his march.

During the insurrection of his opponents, Gero had been prosecuting a losing war against the Slavs in 937–938. The losses his troops sustained could not be made up for by the produce of the land nor by tribute, since the Slavs refused to pay. As an important marcher lord, Gero's command included *milites ad manum Geronis presidis conscripti*, that is, a "military following,"

"warband of vassals or companions," or "specially chosen group of fighters" differentiated from the rest of the army (*exercitus*).<sup>[5]</sup> These men formed the elite of Gero's troops.



14th-century wall painting depicting Gero in the church he founded at Gernrode.

## Slav campaigns

In 939, an Obodrite attack left a German army routed and its margravian leader dead. Gero in revenge invited thirty Slav chieftains to a banquet whereat he killed all but one, who managed to escape by accident.<sup>[6]</sup> In response, the Stodorani revolted against German overlordship and chased the Germans across the Elbe, but Gero was able to reverse this before Otto's arrival in Magdeburg later in the year. He subsequently bribed Tugumir, a baptised Slav prince, to betray his countryman and make his people subject to Germany. Soon after, the Obodrites and the Wilzes made submission.<sup>[6]</sup>

In 954, while Gero was away, the Ukrani (or Ucri) revolted, but Gero returned with Conrad the Red and pacified them.<sup>[6]</sup>

In 955, some Saxon counts rebelled and were banished by Duke Herman. They found refuge in Swetlastrana, a Slav town, location unknown, where the Obodrite chiefs Nakon and Stoinegin (or Stojgnev) resided. There Herman besieged them until an agreement was reached, but an ensuing skirmish spoiled the peace. The Obodrites, Wilzes, Chrepienyani, Redarii, and Dolenzi then banded together to oppose the coming army of Gero, the king, and Liudolf, Duke of Swabia. After negotiations failed because the Germans harsh terms, the Slavs were defeated in battle on the Drosa.<sup>[7]</sup>

Gero participated in general Saxon campaigns against the Slavs in 957, 959, and 960, as well as campaigning against the Wends and forcing Mieszko I of the Polans to pay tribute, grant land lien, and recognise German sovereignty during Otto's absence in Italy (962–963).<sup>[8]</sup> Lusatia, according to Widukind, was subjected "to the last degree of servitude."<sup>[9]</sup> Gero was responsible for subjecting the Liutizi and Milzini (or Milciani) and extending German suzerainty over the whole territory between the Elbe and the Bober.<sup>[12]</sup> In these lands, the native Slavic populace was reduced to serfdom and "tribute-paying peoples" were converted into "census-paying peasants."<sup>[2][10]</sup>



St Cyriacus at Gernrode

## Relationship with Church and family

Gero had a close relationship to Otto I. Otto was godfather to Gero's eldest son, Siegfried, and he granted Siegfried the *villae* of Egelu and Westeregeln in the Schwabengau in 941.<sup>[11]</sup> As an act of devotion, Gero made a pilgrimage to Rome in 959 after Siegfried's death.<sup>[12]</sup> In Siegfried's name, in 960, he also founded a Romanesque monastery in a forest named after him, *Geronisrode* (Gernrode), and left a large part of his great wealth to it on his death.<sup>[13]</sup> This monastery, dedicated to St Cyriacus,<sup>[14]</sup> was later converted into a convent.<sup>[15]</sup>

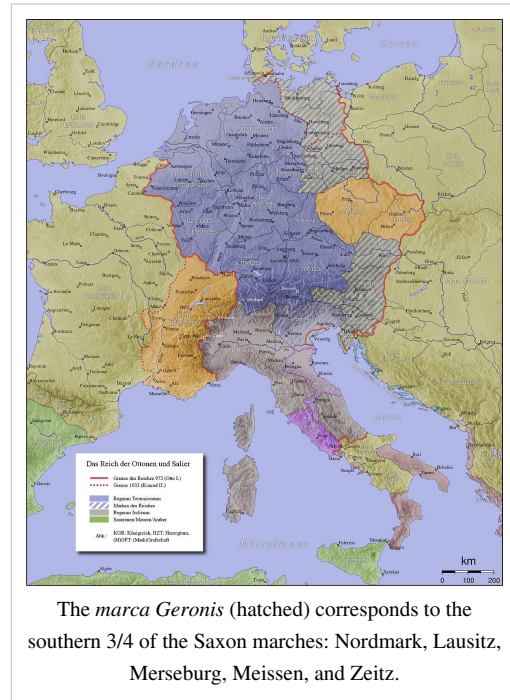
Gero's second son, Gero II, had already died at that point. The name of Gero's wife has to be hypothesised from *libri memoriales*: it was either Judith (Iudita) or Thietsuuind (Thietswind).

## Death and division of territory

At his death, Gero's march extended as far as the Neisse river. He was not popular with the Saxon nobility of his day, because he had a strong sense of moral rectitude and was of low birth.<sup>[16]</sup> Nonetheless, he became celebrated in the *Nibelungenlied* as the *marcgrâve Gêre*, though have disputed whether he was ever officially accorded that title.<sup>[17]</sup> Gero's tomb can still be seen in Gernrode today. A decorative painting was added to it c. 1350. It depicts Gero standing over a vanquished Wend.<sup>[18]</sup>

After his death, the huge territory he had conquered was divided by the Emperor Otto into several different marches: the Northern March (under Dietrich of Haldensleben), the Eastern March (under Odo I), the March of Meissen (under Wigbert), the March of Merseburg (under Günther) and the March of Zeitz (under Wigger I). Later the Northern March was subdivided into the marches of Landsberg, Lusatia, and Brandenburg.

The division of Gero's "super-march" probably had something to do with its immense size and the political consideration of trying to please many without making enemies.<sup>[19]</sup> The subdivisions into which it was divided, however, were natural. As early as 963, Lusatia — and even upper and lower Lusatia — and the Ostmark were distinguishable as governable provinces within Gero's march.<sup>[2]</sup>



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- Genealogie Mittelalter: Mittelalterliche Genealogie im Deutschen Reich bis zum Ende der Staufer. "Die sächsischen Grafen 919-1024." Schölkopf Ruth. <sup>[27]</sup>
- Medieval Lands Project: Meissen. <sup>[28]</sup>



## Notes

- [1] Thompson, 486. Also see Lexikon des Mittelalters. ([http://www.genealogie-mittelalter.de/gero\\_sippe/gero\\_1\\_der\\_grosse\\_markgraf\\_der\\_ostmark\\_965/schoelkopf\\_ruth.html](http://www.genealogie-mittelalter.de/gero_sippe/gero_1_der_grosse_markgraf_der_ostmark_965/schoelkopf_ruth.html))
- [2] Thompson, 639–640.
- [3] *Marca* is also spelled *marcha*. His title in Lang, 625, is "Count of the East March."
- [4] Reuter, 152.
- [5] Leyser, "Henry I," 13.
- [6] Howorth, 218.
- [7] Howorth, 219.
- [8] Reuter, 164. Howorth, 226.
- [9] Leyser, "Ottonian," 740.
- [10] Bernhardt, 38.
- [11] Leyser, "Henry I," 27.
- [12] Leyser, "Henry I," 147.
- [13] Reuter, 241.
- [14] Stokstad, Marilyn (2011). *Art History, 4th Ed.* Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson. pp. 447. ISBN 978-0-205-74420-6.
- [15] Bernhardt, 176 and n243.
- [16] Thompson, 487.
- [17] Dvornik, 138. Thompson, 486. He is referred to as *ducis et marchionis nostri* by Otto I in a charter dated 9 May 946, though Widukind only ever refers to him as *comes* or *praeses*.
- [18] Jakubowska, 64 n16.
- [19] Reuter, 160.
- [20] <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0013-8266%28198110%2996%3A381%3C721%3AOG%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>
- [21] <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0013-8266%28196801%2983%3A326%3C1%3AHIATBO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-L>
- [22] <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0038-7134%28197410%2949%3A4%3C623%3ATFOTMO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-7>
- [23] <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=1474-6913%281943%297%3A3%3C129%3ATFWOTD%3E2.0.CO%3B2-R>
- [24] <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0391-9064%281991%2912%3A23%3C53%3ASMEOL%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y>
- [25] <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0959-5295%281880%299%3C181%3ATSOTSP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-7>
- [26] [http://de.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=ADB:Gero\\_%28Markgraf%29&oldid=165650](http://de.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=ADB:Gero_%28Markgraf%29&oldid=165650)
- [27] [http://www.genealogie-mittelalter.de/gero\\_sippe/gero\\_1\\_der\\_grosse\\_markgraf\\_der\\_ostmark\\_965/schoelkopf\\_ruth.html](http://www.genealogie-mittelalter.de/gero_sippe/gero_1_der_grosse_markgraf_der_ostmark_965/schoelkopf_ruth.html)
- [28] [http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/MEISSEN.htm#\\_Toc155843803](http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/MEISSEN.htm#_Toc155843803)

# Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden

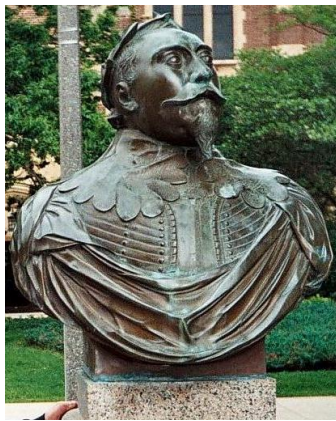
Gustav II Adolf	
King of Sweden	
Reign	30 October 1611 – 6 November 1632
Coronation	12 October 1617
Predecessor	Charles IX
Successor	Christina
Spouse	Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg
Issue	
Christina	
House	House of Vasa
Father	Charles IX
Mother	Christina of Holstein-Gottorp
Born	9 December 1594 <div>Castle Tre Kronor, Sweden</div>
Died	6 November 1632 (aged 37) <div>Lützen, Electorate of Saxony</div>
Burial	22 June 1634 <div>Riddarholmen Church, Stockholm</div>
Religion	Lutheran

**Gustav II Adolf** (born 9 December 1594, died 6 November 1632, O.S.) has been widely known in English by his Latinized name **Gustavus Adolphus Magnus** and variously in historical writings also as *Gustavus*, or *Gustavus the Great*, or *Gustav Adolph the Great* (Swedish: *Gustav Adolf den store*, a formal distinction passed by the Swedish Parliament in 1634). He was King of Sweden (1611–1632) and founder of the Swedish Empire (or *Stormaktstiden* – "*the era of great power*") at the beginning of the Golden Age of Sweden. He led his nation to military supremacy during the Thirty Years War, helping to determine the political as well as the religious balance of power in Europe. He is thereby regarded as one of the greatest military commanders of all time. His most notable military victory was the battle of Breitenfeld. With a superb military machine with good weapons, excellent training, and effective field artillery, backed by an efficient government which could provide necessary funds, Gustavus Adolphus was poised to make himself a major European leader, but he was killed at the battle of Lützen in 1632. He was assisted by Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654), leader of the nobles who also acted as regent after his death.

In an era characterized by almost endless warfare, he led his armies as king from 1611 (at age 17) until his death in battle in 1632 while leading a charge — as Sweden rose from the status of a mere regional power and run-of-the-mill kingdom to one of the great powers of Europe and a model of early modern era government. Within only a few years of his accession Sweden had become the largest nation in Europe after Russia and Spain. Some have called him the "father of modern warfare",<sup>[1]</sup> or the first great modern general. Under his tutelage, Sweden and the Protestant cause developed a number of excellent commanders, such as Lennart Torstensson, who would go on to defeat Sweden's enemies and expand the boundaries and the power of the empire long after Gustav Adolph's death in battle.

He was known by the epithets "The Golden King" and "The Lion of the North" by neighboring sovereigns. Gustavus Adolphus is commemorated today with city squares in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Helsingborg. Gustavus Adolphus College, a Lutheran college in St. Peter, Minnesota is also named for the Swedish king.

## Life



Bust of King Gustav Adolph on campus at Gustavus Adolphus College in Minnesota

Gustavus Adolphus was born in Stockholm as the oldest son of Duke Charles of the Vasa dynasty and his second wife, Christina of Holstein-Gottorp. At the time, the King of Sweden was Gustavus Adolphus' cousin Sigismund. The staunch Protestant Duke Charles forced the Catholic King to let go of the throne of Sweden in 1599, a part of the preliminary religious strife before the Thirty Years' War, and reigned as regent before taking the throne as Charles IX of Sweden in 1604. Crown Prince Gustav Adolph had Gagnef-Floda in Dalecarlia as a duchy from 1610. Upon his father's death in October 1611, a sixteen-year-old Gustavus inherited the throne (declared of age and able to reign himself at seventeen as of 16 December<sup>[2]</sup>), as well as an ongoing succession of occasionally belligerent dynastic disputes with his Polish cousin. Sigismund III wanted to regain the throne of Sweden and tried to force Gustavus Adolphus to renounce the title.

In a round of this dynastic dispute, Gustavus invaded Livonia when he was 31, beginning the Polish-Swedish War (1625–1629). He intervened on behalf of the Lutherans in Germany, who opened the gates to their cities to him. His reign became famous from his actions a few years later when on June 1630 he landed in Germany, continuing Sweden's involvement in the ongoing Thirty Years' War. Gustavus intervened on the anti-Imperial side, which at the time was losing to the Holy Roman Empire and its Catholic allies; the Swedish forces would quickly reverse that situation.

Gustavus was married to Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, the daughter of John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, and chose the Prussian city of Elbing as the base for his operations in Germany. He died in the Battle of Lützen in 1632. His early death was a great loss to the Lutheran side. This resulted in large parts of Germany and other countries, which had been conquered for Lutheranism, to be reconquered for Catholicism (via Counter-Reformation). His involvement in the Thirty Years' War gave rise to the saying that he was the incarnation of "**the Lion of the North**", or as it is called in German "**Der Löwe von Mitternacht**" (*Literally: "The Lion of Midnight"*).

## Issue

Name	Born	Died	Notes
<i>(Illegitimate) By Margareta Slots</i>			
Gustav	24 May 1616 Stockholm	25 October 1653 Wildeshausen	Married Countess Anna Sofia Wied-Runkel and had issue.
<i>By Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg</i> (11 November 1599 – 28 March 1655)			
A daughter	24 July 1621 Stockholm		Stillborn, buried in Riddarholmskyrkan.
Christina	16 October 1623 Stockholm	21 September 1624 Stockholm	Heiress presumptive to the thrones of Sweden and Denmark; buried in Riddarholmskyrkan.
A son	May 1625 Gripsholm Castle		Stillborn, buried in Riddarholmskyrkan.
Christina	8 December 1626 Stockholm	9 April 1689 Rome	Queen of Sweden (1632 – 1652), never married; buried in Basilica of Saint Peter.

## Legacy as a general



*The Lion of the North:* Gustavus Adolphus depicted at the turning point of the Battle of Breitenfeld (1631) against the forces of Count Tilly.

Gustavus Adolphus was an extremely able military commander.<sup>[3][4]</sup> His innovative tactical integration of infantry, cavalry, logistics and particularly his use of artillery, earned him the title of the "Father of Modern Warfare". Future commanders who studied and admired Gustav II Adolf include Napoleon I of France and Carl von Clausewitz. His advancements in military science made Sweden the dominant Baltic power for the next one hundred years (*see Swedish Empire*). He is also the only Swedish monarch to be styled "the Great". This decision was made by the Swedish Estates of the Realm, when they convened in 1633. Thus, by their decision he is officially, to this day, to be called Gustaf Adolf the Great (*Gustavus Adolphus Magnus*).

Gustavus Adolphus was the main figure responsible for the success of Swedish arms during the Thirty Years' War and led his nation to great prestige. As a general, Gustavus Adolphus is famous for employing mobile artillery on the battlefield, as well as very aggressive tactics, where attack was stressed over defense, and mobility and cavalry initiative were emphasized.

Among other innovations, he installed an early form of combined arms in his formations, where the cavalry could attack from the safety of an infantry line reinforced by cannon, and retire again within to regroup after their foray. He adopted much shallower infantry formations than were common in the pike and shot armies of the era, with formations typically fighting in 5 or 6 ranks, occasionally supported at some distance by another such formation—the gaps being the provinces of the artillery and cavalry as noted above. His artillery were themselves different—he would not let himself be hindered by cumbersome heavy cannon, but instead over a course of experimentation settled on smaller, more maneuverable weapons, in effect fielding the first light field artillery in history in significant numbers.

These were grouped in batteries supporting his more linearly deployed formations, replacing the cumbersome and unmaneuverable traditional deep squares (such as the Spanish Tercios that were up to 50 ranks deep) used in other pike and shot armies of the day. In consequence, his forces could redeploy and reconfigure very rapidly, confounding his enemies.

His armies were very well trained for the day, so that his musketeers were widely known for their firing accuracy and reload speed: three times faster than any contemporary rivals. Carl von Clausewitz and Napoleon Bonaparte considered him one of the greatest generals of all time; a sentiment agreed with by George S. Patton and others. He was also renowned for the consistency of purpose and the amity of his troops—no one part of his armies was considered better or received preferred treatment, as was common in other armies where the cavalry were the elite, followed by the artillery, and both disdained the lowly infantry. In Gustavus' army the units were extensively cross trained. Both cavalry and infantry could service the artillery, as his heavy cavalry did when turning captured artillery on the opposing Catholic Tercios at First Breitenfeld. Pikemen could shoot—if not as accurately as those designated musketeers—so a valuable firearm could be kept in the firing line. His infantrymen and gunners were taught to ride, if needed. Napoleon thought highly of the achievement, and copied the tactics.



## Reengineering

Gustavus Adolphus was a very forward thinking military engineer. He reengineered the way in which his army worked, with simple innovations that proved devastating to his adversaries.

One example of this was the Swedish cavalry system. Cavalry had been pushed to the fringes of military worth and had been largely neutralized by the Spanish tercios. They were being ineffectively used to charge the enemy front or flank, fire broadsides with pistols and muskets and then retreat to reload and reform.<sup>[5]</sup> However, Gustavus Adolphus used light cannons (reengineered to have 3 standard calibers, one of which was eventually called "The Regimental Cannon,") along with muskets to eliminate enemy pikemen, then the cavalry would swoop in and cut through enemy lines with sabers.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Military commander

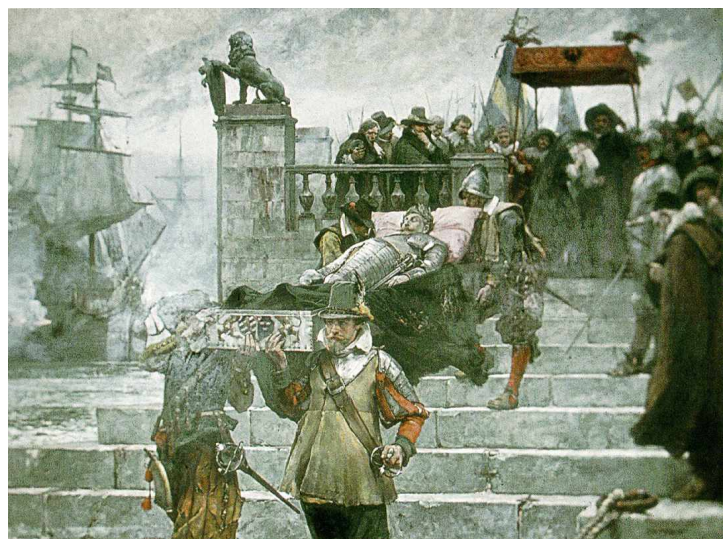
Gustavus Adolphus inherited three wars from his father when he ascended the throne: Against Denmark, which had attacked Sweden earlier in 1611, against Russia, due to Sweden having tried to take advantage of the Russian Time of Troubles, and against Poland, due to King Charles' having deposed King Sigismund III, his nephew, as King of Sweden.

The war against Denmark (Kalmar War) was concluded in 1613 with a peace that did not cost Sweden any territory, but it was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to Denmark (Treaty of Knäred). During this war, Gustavus Adolphus let his soldiers plunder towns and villages and as he met little resistance from Danish forces in Scania, they pillaged and devastated 24 Scanian parishes. His memory in Scania has been negative because of that.

The war against Russia (Ingrian War) ended in 1617 with the Treaty of Stolbovo, which excluded Russia from the Baltic Sea. The final inherited war, the war against Poland, ended in 1629 with the Truce of Altmark which transferred the large province Livonia to Sweden and freed the Swedish forces for the subsequent intervention in the Thirty Years' War in Germany, where Swedish forces had already established a bridgehead in 1628.



Gustavus Adolphus' landing in Pomerania, near Wolgast, 1630



Gustavus Adolphus' body in Wolgast, on transfer to Sweden, 1633



When Gustavus Adolphus began his push into northern Germany in June–July 1630, he had just 4,000 troops. But he was soon able to consolidate the Protestant position in the north, using reinforcements from Sweden and money supplied by France (Treaty of Bärwalde). After Swedish plundering in Brandenburg (1631) endangered the system of retrieving war contributions from occupied territories, "marauding and plundering" by Swedish soldiers was prohibited.<sup>[6]</sup> Meanwhile, a Catholic army under Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly was laying waste to Saxony. Gustavus Adolphus met Tilly's army and crushed it at the First Battle of Breitenfeld in



Gustav Adolph's sarcophagus at Riddarholm Church

September 1631. He then marched clear across Germany, establishing his winter quarters near the Rhine, making plans for the invasion of the rest of the Holy Roman Empire.

In March 1632, Gustavus Adolphus invaded Bavaria, a staunch ally of the Emperor. He forced the withdrawal of his Catholic opponents at the Battle of Rain. This would mark the high point of the campaign. In the summer of that year, he sought a political solution that would preserve the existing structure of states in Germany, while guaranteeing the security of its Protestants. But achieving these objectives depended on his continued success on the battlefield.

Gustavus is reported to have entered battle without wearing any armor, proclaiming, "The Lord God, is my armor!" It is more likely that he simply wore a leather cuirass rather than going into battle wearing no battle protection whatsoever. In 1627, near Dirschau in Prussia, a Polish soldier shot him in the muscles above his shoulders. He survived, but the doctors could not remove the bullet, so from that point on, he could not wear iron armor. Also, two fingers of his right hand were paralyzed.<sup>[7]</sup>

Gustavus Adolphus was killed at the Battle of Lützen, when, at a crucial point in the battle, he became separated from his troops while leading a cavalry charge into a dense smog of mist and gunpowder smoke. After his death, his wife initially kept his body, and later his heart, in the castle of Nyköping for over a year. His remains (including his heart) now rest in Riddarholmskyrkan in Stockholm.

In February 1633, following the death of the king, the Swedish Riksdag of the Estates decided that his name would be styled Gustav Adolf the Great (or *Gustaf Adolf den Store* in Swedish). No such honor has been bestowed on any other Swedish monarch before or since.

The crown of Sweden was inherited in the Vasa family, and from Charles IX's time excluded those Vasa princes who had been traitors or descended from deposed monarchs. Gustavus Adolphus' younger brother had died ten years before, and therefore there were only the King's daughter left as a female heir. Maria Eleonora and the king's ministers took over the government on behalf of Gustavus Adolphus' underage daughter Christina upon her father's death. He left one other known child, his illegitimate son Gustav, Count of Vasaborg.

## Alternative views

The German Socialist Franz Mehring (1846–1919) wrote a biography of Gustavus Adolphus with a Marxist perspective on the actions of the Swedish king during the Thirty Years' War. In it, he makes a case that the war was fought over economics and trade rather than religion.

In his book "Ofredsår" ("Years of Warfare"), the Swedish historian and author Peter Englund argues that there was probably no single all-important reason for the king's decision to go to war. Instead, it was likely a combination of religious, security, as well as economic considerations.

This view is supported by German historian Johannes Burkhardt who writes that Gustavus entered the 30 Years War exactly 100 years after the publication of the *Confessio Augustana*, the core confession of faith of the Lutheran Church, and let himself be praised as its saviour. Yet Gustavus' own "manifesto of war" does not mention any religious motivations at all but speaks of political and economical reasons. Sweden would have to maintain its integrity in the face of several provocations and aggressions by the Habsburgian Empire. The manifesto was written by scholar Johann Adler Salvius in a style common of the time that promotes a "just war". Burkhardt argues that traditional Swedish historiography constructed a defensive interest in security out of that by taking the manifesto's text for granted. But to defend Stockholm, the occupation of the German Baltic territories would have been an extreme advance and the imperial Baltic Sea fleet mentioned as a threat in the manifesto had never reached more than a quarter of the size of the Swedish fleet. Moreover it was never maintained to challenge Sweden but to face the separatist Netherlands. So if ruling the Baltic Sea was a goal of Swedish strategy, the conquests in Germany were not a defensive war but an act of expansion. From Swedish Finland, Gustavus advanced along the Baltic Sea coast and eventually to Augsburg and Munich and he even urged the Swiss Confederacy to join him. This was no longer about Baltic interests but the imperial capital of Vienna and the alpine passes were now in close reach of the Swedish army. Another point mentioned by Burkhardt is the Gothic legacy of the Swedes, which had become a political program. The Swedish king was also "*Rex Gotorum*", (Latin: *King of the Goths*) and the list of kings was traced back to the Gothic rulers to construct continuity. Prior to his embarkment to northern Germany, Gustavus urged the Swedish nobility to follow the example of conquests set by their Gothic ancestors. Had he lived longer, it would have been likely that Gustavus had reached out for the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>[8]</sup>

## Politics

Gustav II Adolf's success in making Sweden one of the great powers of Europe, and perhaps the most important power in the Thirty Years' War after France and Spain, was due not only to his military brilliance, but also to important institutional reforms in Sweden's government. The chief among these reforms was the institution of the first Parish registrations, so that the central government could more efficiently tax and conscript its populace.

Gustav II Adolf's politics in the conquered territory of Estonia also show progressive tendencies. In 1631 he forced the nobility to grant the peasants greater autonomy. He also encouraged education, opening a school in Tallinn in 1631, today known as Gustav Adolf High School (in Estonian: Gustav Adolfs Gümnaasium)<sup>[9]</sup> On 30 June 1632, Gustav II Adolf signed the Foundation Decree of Academia Dorpatensis in Estonia, today known as the University of Tartu.<sup>[10]</sup> With policies that supported the common people, the period of Swedish rule over Estonia initiated by Gustav II Adolf and continued by his successors, is popularly known by Estonians as the "good old Swedish times" (Estonian: vana hea Rootsi aeg).<sup>[11]</sup>

On 27 August 1617, he spoke before his coronation, and his words included these:

I had carefully learned to understand, about that experience which I could have upon things of rule, how fortune is failing or great, subject to such rule in common, so that otherwise I would have had scant reason to desire such a rule, had I not found myself obliged to it through God's bidding and nature. – Now it was of my acquaintance, that inasmuch as God had let me be born a prince, such as I then am born, then my good and my destruction were knotted into one with the common good; for every reason

then, it was now my promise that I should take great pains about their well-being and good governance and management, and thereabout bear close concern.<sup>[12]</sup>

## Timeline

- July 1626. Gustavus Adolphus and his army disembark at Pillau, Prussia, during the Polish–Swedish War (1625–1629).
- 18 August 1627. The King is seriously wounded in the battle of Dirschau (Tczew).
- June 1629 his troops meet up with imperial troops under Hans Georg von Arnim-Boitzenburg, who used to serve under Gustav Adolph, and is ordered by emperor Ferdinand to aid Sigismund III.
- May 1630 and 6 July Gustav Adolph lands in Germany.
- September 1631. At the Battle of Breitenfeld, Gustavus Adolphus decisively defeats the Catholic forces led by Tilly, even after the allied Protestant Saxon army had been routed and fled with the baggage train.
- April 1632. At the Battle of Lech, Gustavus Adolphus defeats Tilly once more, and in the battle Tilly sustains a fatal wound.
- May 1632. Munich yields to the Swedish army.
- September 1632. Gustavus Adolphus attacks the stronghold of Alte Veste, which is under the command of Wallenstein, but is repulsed, marking the first defeat in the Thirty Years' War of the previously invincible Swedes. This leads to defection of some mercenary elements in the Protestant army.
- November 1632. At the Battle of Lützen, Gustavus Adolphus is killed in battle, but the Swedes win the fight thanks to Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, who assumes command and defeats Wallenstein. The Swedish war effort was kept up by generals Gustav Horn, Johan Banér, Lennart Torstensson and chancellor Axel Oxenstierna until the Peace of Westphalia.

A history of Gustavus Adolphus' wars was written by Johann Philipp Abelin.



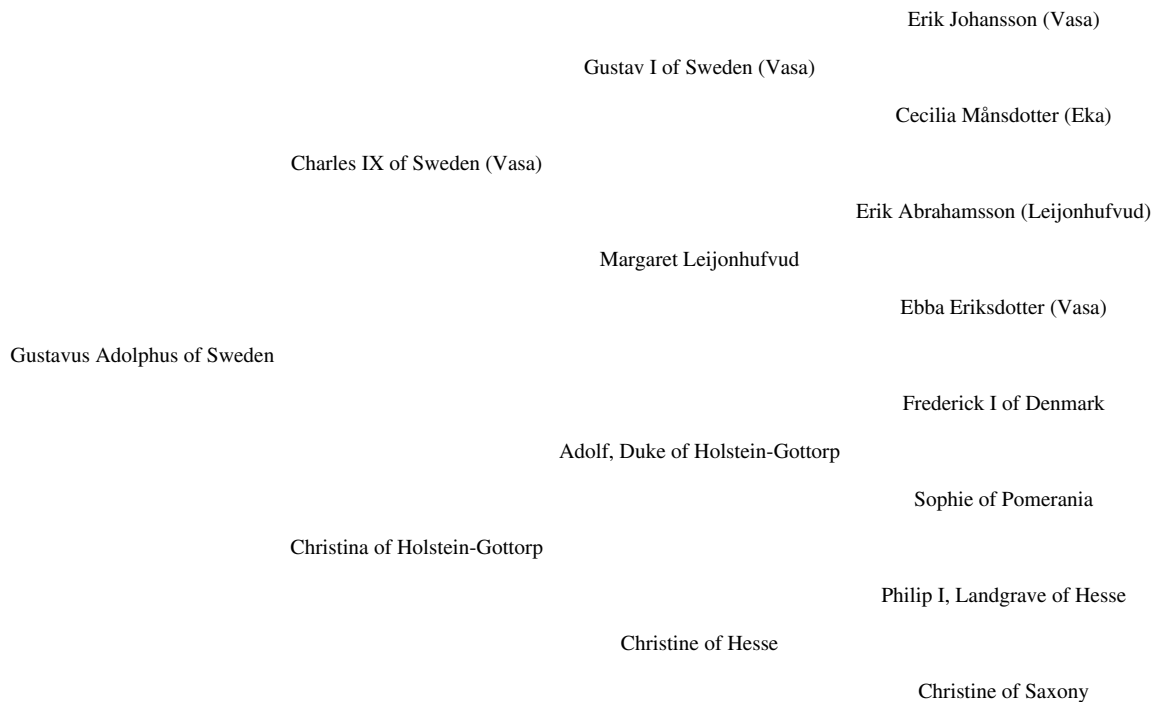
Gustav II Adolf in Polish 'delia' coat, painting by Matthäus Merian, 1632

## Gustavus Adolphus Day

Gustavus Adolphus Day is celebrated in Sweden, Estonia and Finland each year on 6 November. On this day only, a special pastry with a chocolate or marzipan medallion of the king, is sold. The day is also an official flag day in the Swedish calendar. In Finland, the day is celebrated as *svenska dagen* or *ruotsalaisuuden päivä*, "Swedishness Day", and is a customary flag day. In Estonia, the day is known as *Gustav Adolfi päev*. In all three countries, 6 November is the name day for Gustav Adolf, one of the few exceptional name days in the year.

## Ancestors

### Gustavus Adolphus's ancestors in three generations



## In popular culture

- Bertolt Brecht's play *Mother Courage and Her Children* mentions Gustavus Adolphus several times in the earlier scenes during which the characters are traveling with the Protestant Army. The Cook lampoons the "Hero King" by pointing out that first he sought to liberate Poland from the Germans, then sought to liberate Germany from the Germans, and made a profit on the deal. His irreverence for the king also includes the fact that, unlike Mother Courage and the Chaplain, the Cook is a Dutchman not a Swede.
- In the *Ring of Fire* series of novels by Eric Flint and others, Gustavus Adolphus is a major character, having not died in the Battle of Lützen. He helps a community of West Virginians, cosmically transported back into time, bring about a revolution of democracy throughout the Germanies. They in turn help to grow the Swedish empire through their technological knowledge of modern day warfare and the capabilities of mankind. They introduce many ideas to 17th century Europe such as radio, submarines, and airplanes. Gustavus Adolphus is portrayed as a tough, yet compassionate king with tolerant tendencies toward religion and the rights of the people to establish their own civil liberties.

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### Notes

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## External links

- *The Great and Famous Battle of Lutzen...*, transcription (<http://www.aquinas.edu/history/research.html>)
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# Gwanggaeto the Great

Gwanggaeto the Great	
Hangul	광개토태왕
Hanja	廣開土太王
Revised Romanization	Gwanggaeto-taewang
McCune–Reischauer	Kwanggaet'o-taewang
Birth name	
Hangul	고담덕 <i>or</i> 안
Hanja	高談德 <i>or</i> 安
Revised Romanization	Go Damdeok <i>or</i> An
McCune–Reischauer	Ko Tamdŏk <i>or</i> An
Posthumous name	
Hangul	국강상광개토경평안호태왕
Hanja	國岡上廣開土境平安好太王
Revised Romanization	Gukgangsang-gwanggaetogyong-pyeongan-hotaewang
McCune–Reischauer	Kukkangsang-kwanggaet'ogyŏng-p'yŏngan-hot'aewang

Monarchs of Korea Goguryeo
<div><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Dongmyeong 37-19 BCE</li><li>Yuri 19 BCE-18 CE</li><li>Daemosin 18-44</li><li>Minjung 44-48</li><li>Mobon 48-53</li><li>Taejo 53-146</li><li>Chadae 146-165</li><li>Sindae 165-179</li><li>Gogukcheon 179-197</li><li>Sansang 197-227</li><li>Dongcheon 227-248</li><li>Jungcheon 248-270</li><li>Seocheon 270-292</li><li>Bongsang 292-300</li><li>Micheon 300-331</li><li>Gogug-won 331-371</li><li>Sosurim 371-384</li><li>Gogug-yang 384-391</li><li>Gwanggaeto the Great 391-413</li><li>Jangsu 413-490</li><li>Munja 491-519</li><li>Anjang 519-531</li><li>An-won 531-545</li><li>Yang-won 545-559</li><li>Pyeong-won 559-590</li></ul></div>

- Yeong-yang 590-618
- Yeong-nyu 618-642
- Bojang 642-668

**Gwanggaeto the Great of Goguryeo** (374–413) (r. 391–413) was the nineteenth monarch of Goguryeo, the northernmost of the Three Kingdoms of Korea. His full posthumous name roughly means "Very Greatest King, Broad Expander of Territory, buried in Gukgangsang.", sometimes abbreviated to Hotaewang or Taewang. He selected *Yeongnak* as his era name, and was called Emperor **Yeongnak the Great** during his reign.

Under Gwanggaeto, Goguryeo once again became a major power of East Asia, having enjoyed such a status in the 2nd century CE. Upon Emperor Gwanggaeto's death at thirty-nine years of age in 413, Goguryeo controlled all territory between the Amur and Han Rivers (two thirds of modern Korea, Manchuria, and parts of the Russian Maritime province and Inner Mongolia).

In addition, in 399, Silla submitted to Goguryeo for protection from raids from Baekje. Gwanggaeto captured the Baekje capital in present-day Seoul and made Baekje its vassal. Many consider this loose unification under Goguryeo to have been the only true unification of the Three Kingdoms.

Gwanggaeto's accomplishments are recorded on the Gwanggaeto Stele, erected in 414 at the site of his tomb in Ji'an along the present-day Chinese-North Korean border. It is the largest engraved stele in the world.

## Birth and background

At the time of Gwanggaeto's birth, Goguryeo was not as powerful as it once had been. Just prior to his birth, King Geunchogo of Baekje had soundly defeated Goguryeo, slaying Emperor Gogukwon of Goguryeo. Emperor Sosurim of Goguryeo, who succeeded Gogukwon upon the latter's death in 371, kept his foreign policy as isolationist as possible so as to rebuild a state gravely weakened by the Baekje invasion of 371. Gogukyang, who succeeded Sosurim, maintained a similar policy, opting to focus on the rehabilitation and remobilization of Goguryeo forces.

After defeating Goguryeo in 371, Baekje had become a one of the most dominant power in East Asia, whose influence was not limited to the Korean peninsula. That state's Emperor Geunchogo seized several coastal cities of China, notably in Liaoxi and Shandong, to retain its superiority over Goguryeo and a variety of southern Chinese dynasties, which had arisen within the context of extended civil wars caused by the fall of the Han Dynasty in 220 CE and the concomitant invasions of foreign tribes, including but not limited to the Xiongnu and Xianbei (Wu Hu). Baekje under Geunchogo's leadership also seems to have had a close relationship with parts of Wa (Japan) and established good relations with that archipelago's natives. Thus Goguryeo, surrounded by a powerful Baekje's forces to its south and west, was inclined to avoid conflict with its peninsular neighbor while cultivating constructive relations with the Xienpei and Rouran, in order to defend itself from future invasions, and even the possible destruction of its state.

## Rise to power and campaigns against Baekje

Gwanggaeto succeeded his father, Emperor Gogukyang, upon his death in 391. Immediately upon being crowned Emperor of Goguryeo, Gwanggaeto granted himself the title "Supreme King Yeongnak", affirming himself as equal to the rulers of China and the Emperor of Baekje. He then began to rebuild and retrain Goguryeo's cavalry units and naval fleet, and they were put into action the following year, 392, against Baekje.

In 392, with Gwanggaeto in personal command, Goguryeo attacked Baekje with 50,000 cavalry, taking 10 walled cities along the two countries' mutual border. This offensive infuriated King Asin of Baekje and he subsequently planned a counter-offensive against Gwanggaeto, a plan he was forced to abandon when his invasion force was defeated by Goguryeo in 393. King Asin again attacked Goguryeo in 394, and was again defeated. After several heavy defeats, Baekje began to politically crumble and the leadership of Asin came under doubt. Baekje was defeated by Goguryeo again in 395, and was eventually pushed back to a front along the Han River, where

Wiryeseong was, then its capital city located in the southern part of modern day Seoul.

In the following year, Gwanggaeto led his huge fleet in an assault on Wiryeseong, approaching by sea and river. Asin was expecting a ground invasion and was caught with his defenses down. Gwanggaeto's forces burnt about 58 walled fortresses under Baekje control, and defeated the forces of King Asin. Asin surrendered to Gwanggaeto, even handing over his brother as a Goguryeo captive as condition for maintaining his own rule over Baekje. Gwanggaeto had finally gained superiority over its longtime rival Baekje on the Korean peninsula.

## Conquest of the North

In 395, during a campaign against Baekje, the Emperor himself attacked and conquered Beili, a small part of the Khitan tribe located in central Manchuria. Its exact location is not known but it was not very far from the Songhua River.

In 400, Later Yan, founded by the Murong clan of the Xianbei in present-day Liaoning province, attacked Goguryeo. Gwanggaeto responded swiftly, recovering most of the territory seized by the Xianbei and driving most of them from Goguryeo. Then in 402, he decided to launch an attack on Later Yan itself, determined to protect his Kingdom from further threat. In the same year Gwanggaeto defeated the Xienpei, seizing some of their border fortresses. In 404, he invaded Liaodong and took the entire Liaodong Peninsula.

The Xianbei did not watch idly as Goguryeo forces took over their lands. In 405, forces of the Later Yan crossed the Liao River, and attacked Goguryeo but were defeated by Gwanggaeto. The Murong Xianbei invaded once again the following year, but yet again the Goguryeo king was able to repel them. Gwanggaeto led several more campaigns against Xianbei as well as against Khitan tribes in Inner Mongolia, which he brought under his control. In 408, the Emperor sent a peace delegate to Gao Yun, then ruler of Later Yan/Northern Yan, to broker a settlement between the two dynasties, because Gao Yun descended from the Goguryeo royal house as well. Goguryeo control over the Liaoning region remained strong until the Tang Dynasty seized the area as a part of its war against Goguryeo in the late 7th century.

In 410 Gwanggaeto began his conquest of the Dongbuyeo. The Dongbuyeo was no match for the massive army of Goguryeo, and it suffered a series of defeats, finally surrendering to Goguryeo after King Gwanggaeto conquered sixty-four walled cities and more than 1,400 villages. Gwanggaeto also attacked several Malgal and Ainu tribes further north, bringing them under Goguryeo domination.

## Southeastern campaigns

In 400, Silla, another Korean kingdom in the southeast of the peninsula, requested Goguryeo assistance to defend against an alliance of Japanese army, the Baekje kingdom to the west, and the Gaya Confederacy to the southwest. In the same year, Emperor Gwanggaeto responded with 50,000 troops, defeated both Japanese and Gaya cavalry units, and made both Silla and Gaya submit to his authority. In 402, he returned Silseong to Silla, to establish peaceful relationship with the kingdom while he continued the conquest of the north, but Goguryeo forces remained and continued to influence Silla.

## Death and legacy

Emperor Gwanggaeto died of unknown disease in 413, at the age of thirty-nine. Although Gwanggaeto ruled for only twenty-two years and died fairly young, his conquests are said to mark the high tide of Korean history. Except for the period of 200 years beginning with his son and successor, King Jangsu, and the later kingdom of Balhae, Korea never before or since ruled such a vast territory. There is evidence that Goguryeo's maximum extent lay even further west, in present-day Mongolia, bordered by the Rouran and Göktürks. Gwanggaeto is also given credit for establishing the reign titles that were recorded for the first time in Korean history, a symbolic gesture elevating Goguryeo monarchs as equals to their Chinese counterparts.



Entrance to Emperor Gwanggaeto's burial chamber

Today, Emperor Gwanggaeto the Great is one of two rulers of Korea who were given the title 'Great' after their name (the other one being King Sejong the Great of Joseon, who created the Korean alphabet). He is regarded by Koreans as one of the greatest heroes of their history, and is often taken as a potent symbol of Korean nationalism. Recently, the People's Republic of China launched its program of attempting to incorporate the history of Goguryeo within the context of Chinese history, which has been met with indignation from Koreans.

The Gwanggaeto Stele, a six-meter monument erected by Emperor Jangsu in 414, was rediscovered in Manchuria in 1875 by a Chinese scholar. Although the stele gives us a great amount of information of his reign, it also caused a controversy about historical view. This is because it contains several references to Japan. Those stories of Wa (Japan) are:

- in 391 Wa (Japan) crossed the sea and defeated Baekje and Silla and made them subjects.
- in 399 allied armies of Baekje and Wa invaded into Silla. Silla asked Goguryeo for help.
- in 400 Goguryeo expelled Wa from Silla to southern Korea.
- in 404 Wa lost the battle against Goguryeo in the southern Lelang (South Pyongan).

Among them, the story of the year 391 became very controversial as the text of the stele is not clear and it mentions Japan's presence in the Korean Peninsula in the 4th century, which Korean scholars reject. Also, Japan's presence in Korean peninsula with power in 391 is not possible for every Silla and Baekje based historical literature indicates that this did not occur. Most people find it odd that an artifact dedicated to the great achievements of Goguryeo would mention a Japanese achievement not related to Goguryeo or King Gwanggaeto. Also, historians indicate the substantial technological difference between Japan and Korea at that time. It would have been impossible for Japan to have subjugated a country which had superior technology over an ocean barrier. Korean scholars claim that the stele was intentionally damaged by the Imperial Japanese Army to provide historical precedent for the Japanese occupation of Korea. This is highly possible since Japan has manipulated several historical documents during its Imperial era in early 20th century. The Korean scholars claim that the passage should be interpreted as:

- in 391 Wa (Japan) crossed the sea. However, Goguryeo defeated Baekje and Wa (Japan) and made them [Baekje, Silla, Gaya, and Wa] subjects.

It is currently almost impossible to have consensus over this issue between Korean and Japanese scholars due to nationalism. This disagreement subsequently affected the project of writing a common history textbook among Korea, Japan, and China.

## Depiction in arts and media

Recently a new fantasy historical drama Taewang Sasingi finished broadcasting in Korea based on the life of Gwanggaeto the Great, with Bae Yong-Joon playing the title role. This drama became a huge success in Korea due to its high-profile lead actor, Bae Yong-Joon, and its amazing CGI effects that incorporated Korean legend with the history. The drama spanned the time period from the birth of Gwanggaeto the Great, to the mid-point of his reign at the end of the 4th century AD. The drama, which was aired on TV stations all over Asia, was specifically banned in the People's Republic of China based on its view of Chinese and Korean history which deviates from the "one China" idea promoted by the PRC. [1]

The further legacy of Gwanggaeto is his immortalisation as the eponymous ITF Taekwondo Tul (pattern) created by General Choi Hong-Hi along with the creative influence of his right hand-man, Nam Tae-Hi. [2]

In 2011, a drama based on his life was aired on KBS, with the title *Gwanggaeto, The Great Conqueror*. [3]

## External links

- (Korean) Campaigns of Gwanggaeto The Great <sup>[4]</sup>
- Picture of Gwanggaeto The Great <sup>[5]</sup>
- (Korean) An Attempt to Reconstruct the King's Southerly Conquest <sup>[6]</sup>
- (Korean) <sup>[7]</sup>

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# Hanno the Great

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There were three leaders of ancient Carthage who were known as *Hanno the Great*, according to two historians (the Picards).<sup>[1]</sup> These figures they call for convenience: Hanno I the Great, Hanno II the Great, and Hanno III the Great.<sup>[2]</sup> According to another historian (Warmington), there were three ancients of Carthage called *Hanno* "given the same nickname", that is *the Great*, but he conjectures that it was a family nickname or a term not well understood by the ancient Greek or Roman writers. Warmington discusses only two of them (I and II), but he does not use the "I" or "II".<sup>[3]</sup> Another historian (Lancel) mentions only one Hanno the Great, namely Hanno "I" the Great. The one already referred to here as "Hanno II the Great" he discusses but calls him simply "Hanno".<sup>[4]</sup> Of course, it is an anomaly for multiple people to be called *Hanno the Great*. In all, there were many historical figures named Hanno in ancient Carthage.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Hanno I the Great

**Hanno the Great** was a politician and military leader of the 4th century BC.

His title, according to Justin,<sup>[6]</sup> was *princeps Cathaginiensium*. It is considered more likely that the title signifies *first among equals*, rather than being a title of nobility or royalty.<sup>[7][8]</sup>

His rival Suniatus was called the *potentissimus Poenorum*, or "the most powerful of the Carthaginians", in the year 368. Several years later Suniatus was accused of high treason (for correspondence with Syracuse) and probably executed.<sup>[9][10]</sup>

In 367 Hanno the Great commanded a fleet of 200 ships which won a decisive naval victory over the Greeks of Sicily. His victory effectively blocked the plans of Dionysius I of Syracuse to attack Lilybaeum, a city allied to Carthage in western Sicily.<sup>[11]</sup>

For about twenty years Hanno the Great was the leading figure of Carthage, and perhaps the wealthiest. In the 340s he schemed to become the tyrant. After distributing food to the populace, the time for a show of force came and he utilized for that purpose the native slaves and a Berber chieftain. Although not a military threat to Carthage, Hanno the Great was captured, found to be a traitor, and tortured to death. Many members of his family were also put to death.<sup>[12]</sup>

Yet later his son Gisgo was given the command of seventy ships of Carthage manned by Greek mercenaries and sent to Lilybaeum, after which peace was negotiated by Carthage with Timoleon of Syracuse, c. 340. Thereafter, this family's prestige and influence at Carthage would tell in later generations.<sup>[13]</sup>

Hanno I the Great was probably an ancestor of Hanno II the Great.<sup>[14][15]</sup>

## Hanno II the Great

**Hanno the Great** was a wealthy Carthaginian aristocrat in the 3rd century BC.

Hanno's wealth was based on the land he owned in Africa and the Iberian Peninsula, and during the First Punic War he led the faction in Carthage that was opposed to continuing the war against Roman Republic. He preferred to continue conquering territory in Africa rather than fight a naval war against Rome that would bring him no personal gain. In these efforts, he was opposed by the Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca. Hanno demobilized the Carthaginian navy in 244 BC, giving Rome time to rebuild its navy and finally defeat Carthage by 241 BC.

After the war, Hanno refused to pay the mercenaries who had been promised money and rewards by Hamilcar. The mercenaries revolted, and Hanno took control of the Carthaginian army to attempt to defeat them. His attempt failed and he gave control of the army back to Hamilcar. Eventually, they both cooperated to crush the rebels in 238 BC.

His nickname "the Great" was apparently earned because of his conquests among the African enemies of Carthage,<sup>[16]</sup> and he continued to oppose war with Rome, which would necessarily involve naval engagements.

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During the Second Punic War, he led the anti-war faction in Carthage, and is blamed for preventing reinforcements from being sent to Hamilcar's son Hannibal after his victory at the Battle of Cannae. After Carthage's defeat at the Battle of Zama in 202 BC, he was among the ambassadors to negotiate peace with the Romans.

## Hanno III the Great

The third **Hanno the Great** was an ultra-conservative politician at Carthage during the 2nd century BC.<sup>[17][18]</sup>

## References

- [1] Gilbert Charles Picard and Colette Picard. These two historians are husband and wife, yet each is an independent scholar in the field, with their own prior publications.
- [2] Gilbert Charles Picard and Colette Picard, *Vie et mort de Carthage* (Paris: Hachett); translated as *Life and Death of Carthage* (New York: Taplinger 1968), at 358 [index]; at 8, 129, 131-141 [Hanno I]; at 198-199, 205, 210 [Hanno II]; at 264, 286 [Hanno III].
- [3] B.H.Warmington, *Carthage* (Robert Hale 1960; Penguin 1964) at 119 [three with nickname]; at 282 [index]; at 115-123 [Hanno the Great, "I"]; at 86, 195-197, 201-206, 209 [Hanno the Great, "II"].
- [4] Serge Lancel, *Carthage* (Librairie Artheme Fayard 1992); translated as *Carthage. A history* (Blackwell 1995) at 470 [index]; at 115 [Hanno the Great, aka "I"]; at 259, 272-275 [Hanno, aka "Hanno II the Great"].
- [5] There is evidently some difficulty by the above historians in coordinating a coherent view of the many ancients of Carthage called Hanno. According to their books' indexes, there were eight or more.
- [6] Justin was a Roman who in the 2nd century/\* Hanno I the Great \*/ AD condensed a work of the Roman historian Pompeius Trogus written in the 1st century BC. Picard, *Life and Death of Carthage* (1968) at 30-31.
- [7] Picard, *Life and Death of Carthage* (1968) at 131-132.
- [8] Serge Lancel, *Carthage. A history* (1992; Blackwell 1995) at 115.
- [9] Picard, *Life and Death of Carthage* (1968) at 132, 133.
- [10] Warmington, *Carthage* (1964) at 117.
- [11] Warmington, *Carthage* (1964) at 115-116.
- [12] Warmington, *Carthage* (1960, 1964) at 119-120.
- [13] Warmington, *Carthage* (1964) at 120, 123.
- [14] Picard, *Life and Death of Carthage* (1968) at 198.
- [15] Cf., Warmington, *Carthage* (1964) at 119.
- [16] Who's Who in The Roman World, Routledge ([http://www.credoreference.com/entry/routwwromwor/hanno\\_late\\_3rd\\_century\\_bc](http://www.credoreference.com/entry/routwwromwor/hanno_late_3rd_century_bc)) retrieved 15th March 2011
- [17] Picard, *Life and Death of Carthage* (1968), at 264, 286.
- [18] Cf., Warmington, *Carthage* (1960, 1964) , at 119.

## External links

- Hanno II the Great ([http://www.livius.org/ha-hd/hanno/hanno\\_4.html](http://www.livius.org/ha-hd/hanno/hanno_4.html))

# Henry I, Duke of Burgundy

**Eudes-Henry** (also **Odo**, or *Eudes-Henri*) (946 – 15 October 1002), called **the Great**, was Count of Autun, Avallon, and Beaune and Duke of Burgundy from 965 to his death. He was the second son of Hugh the Great, Count of Paris, and Hedwige of Saxony and thus the younger brother of King Hugh Capet.

As Odo, he entered the church at a young age and was a cleric at the time of the death of his brother Otto, Duke of Burgundy, on 22 February 965. He was elected by the Burgundian counts to succeed his brother and they gave him the name Henry.

In 973, he married Gerberga of Mâcon, the widow of Adalbert II of Italy, who had sought refuge at Autun. Through Gerberga, he had a stepson named Otto William. He married a second time to Gersenda, daughter of William II of Gascony.

He died without any children of his own by his two wives and was succeeded by his stepson, Otto-William. His illegitimate children may be the progenitors of the line of the counts of Vergy.

# Henry IV of France

Henry IV of France	
<b>King of France</b>	
<b>Reign</b>	2 August 1589 to 14 May 1610
<b>Coronation</b>	27 February 1594
<b>Predecessor</b>	Henry III
<b>Successor</b>	Louis XIII
<b>King of Navarre</b>	
<b>Reign</b>	9 June 1572 – 14 May 1610
<b>Predecessor</b>	Jeanne III
<b>Successor</b>	Louis II
<b>Spouse</b>	Margaret of France Marie de' Medici
<b>Issue</b>	Louis XIII of France Elisabeth, Queen of Spain Christine, Duchess of Savoy Nicholas Henri, Duke of Orléans Gaston, Duke of Orléans Henrietta Maria, Queen of England and Scotland
<b>House</b>	House of Bourbon
<b>Father</b>	Antoine of Navarre
<b>Mother</b>	Jeanne III of Navarre
<b>Born</b>	13 December 1553 Pau, Kingdom of Navarre (Lower Navarre)
<b>Died</b>	14 May 1610 (aged 56) Paris, France

<b>Burial</b>	Saint Denis Basilica, France
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**Henry IV** (13 December 1553 – 14 May 1610), *Henri-Quatre*, was King of France from 1589 to 1610 and King of Navarre from 1572 to 1610. He was the first monarch of the Bourbon branch of the Capetian dynasty in France.

As a Huguenot, Henry was involved in the Wars of Religion before ascending the throne in 1589. Before his coronation as King of France at Chartres, he changed his faith from Calvinism to Catholicism, and, in 1598, he enacted the Edict of Nantes, which guaranteed religious liberties to the Protestants, thereby effectively ending the civil war. One of the most popular French kings, both during and after his reign, Henry showed great care for the welfare of his subjects and displayed an unusual religious tolerance for the time. He was assassinated by François Ravaillac, a fanatical Catholic.<sup>[1]</sup>

He is the inspiration behind King Ferdinand of Navarre in William Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*.

## Life When Young

### Early life

**Henri de Bourbon** was born in Pau, the capital of the French province of Béarn.<sup>[2]</sup> His parents were Queen Jeanne III and King Antoine of Navarre.<sup>[3]</sup> Although baptised as a Roman Catholic, Henry was raised as a Protestant by his mother; Jeanne declared Calvinism the religion of Navarre. As a teenager, Henry joined the Huguenot forces in the French Wars of Religion. On June 9, 1572, upon Jeanne's death, he became King Henry III of Navarre.<sup>[4]</sup>



Henry III on his deathbed designating Henri de Navarre as his successor in 1589.

### First marriage and Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre

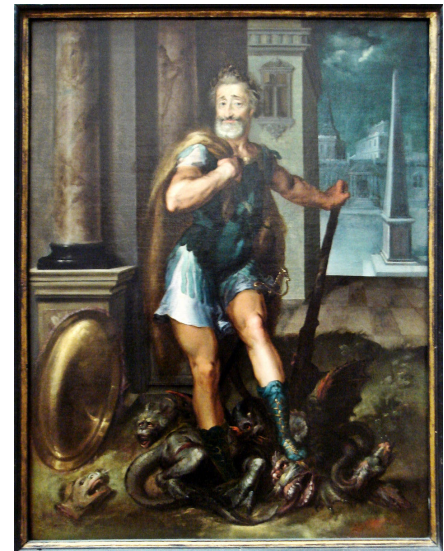
It had been arranged, before Jeanne's death, that Henry would marry Margaret of Valois, daughter of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici. The wedding took place in Paris on 18 August 1572<sup>[5]</sup> on the parvis of Notre Dame Cathedral. On 24 August, the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre began in Paris and several thousand Protestants who had come to Paris for Henry's wedding were killed, as well as thousands more throughout the country in the days that followed. Henry narrowly escaped death thanks to the help of his wife and promised to convert to Catholicism. He was made to live at the court of France, but escaped in early 1576; on 5 February of that year, he formally abjured Catholicism at Tours and rejoined the Protestant forces in the military conflict.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Wars of Religion

Henry of Navarre became the legal heir to the French throne in 1584 upon the death of Francis, Duke of Alençon, brother and heir to the Catholic King Henry III, who had succeeded Charles IX in 1574. Because Henry of Navarre was the next senior agnatic descendant of King Louis IX, King Henry III had no choice but to recognise him as the legitimate successor.<sup>[7]</sup> Salic law disinherited the king's sisters and all others who could claim descent by the distaff line. However, since Henry of Navarre was a Huguenot, this set off the War of the Three Henries phase of the French Wars of Religion. The third Henry, the Duke of Guise, pushed for complete suppression of the Huguenots, and had much support among Catholic loyalists. This set off a series of campaigns and counter-campaigns culminating in the battle of Coutras.<sup>[8]</sup> In December 1588, Henry III had Henry I of Guise murdered,<sup>[9]</sup> along with his brother, Louis Cardinal de Guise.<sup>[10]</sup> This increased the tension further and Henry III was assassinated shortly thereafter by a fanatic monk.<sup>[11]</sup>

Upon the death of Henry III on 2 August 1589, Henry of Navarre nominally became king of France. But the Catholic League, strengthened by support from outside, especially from Spain, was strong enough to force him to the south. He had to set about winning his kingdom by military conquest, aided by money and troops sent by Elizabeth I of England. Henry's Catholic uncle, Charles, Cardinal de Bourbon, was proclaimed king by the League, but the Cardinal himself was Henry's prisoner.<sup>[12]</sup> Henry was victorious at Ivry and Arques, but failed to take Paris after laying siege to the city in 1590.<sup>[13]</sup>

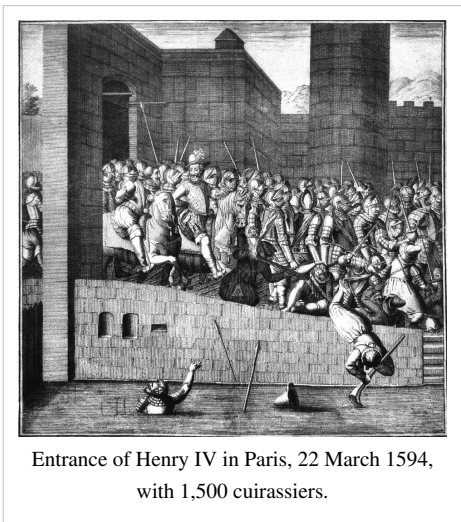
After the death of the old Cardinal in 1590, the League could not agree on a new candidate. While some supported various Guise candidates, the strongest candidate was probably Isabella Clara Eugenia, the daughter of Philip II of Spain, whose mother Elisabeth had been the eldest daughter of Henry II of France.<sup>[14]</sup> The prominence of her candidacy hurt the League, which became suspect as agents of the foreign Spanish. Nevertheless Henry remained unable to take control of Paris.



Henry IV, as Hercules vanquishing the Lernaean Hydra (i.e. the Catholic League), by Toussaint Dubreuil, circa 1600.



Henry IV at the Battle of Ivry, by Peter Paul Rubens



"Paris is well worth a Mass"

On 25 July 1593, with the encouragement of the great love of his life, Gabrielle d'Estrées, Henry permanently renounced Protestantism, thus earning the resentment of the Huguenots and of his former ally, Queen Elizabeth I of England. He was said to have declared that *Paris vaut bien une messe* ("Paris is well worth a Mass"),<sup>[15][16][17]</sup> though there is some doubt whether he said this himself or the statement was attributed to him by his contemporaries.<sup>[18][19]</sup> His entrance into the Roman Catholic Church secured for him the allegiance of the vast majority of his subjects and he was crowned King of France at the Cathedral of Chartres on 27 February 1594. In 1598, however, he declared the Edict of Nantes, which gave circumscribed toleration to the Huguenots.<sup>[20]</sup>

Royal styles of <b>King Henry IV</b> <b>Par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de France et de Navarre</b>	
	
Reference style	His Most Christian Majesty
Spoken style	Your Most Christian Majesty
Alternative style	Sire

Second marriage

Henry's first marriage was not a happy one, and the couple remained childless. Henry and Margaret had separated even before Henry had succeeded to the throne in August 1589, and Margaret lived for many years in the château of Usson in Auvergne. After Henry became king of France, it was of the utmost importance that he provide an heir to the crown in order to avoid the problem of a disputed succession. Henry himself favoured the idea of obtaining an annulment of his marriage to Margaret, and taking as a bride Gabrielle d'Estrées, who had already borne him three children. Henry's councilors strongly opposed this idea, but the matter was resolved unexpectedly by Gabrielle's sudden death in the early hours of 10 April 1599, after she had given birth to a premature stillborn son. His marriage to Margaret was annulled in 1599, and he then married Marie de' Medici in 1600.

For the royal entry of Marie into Papal Avignon, 19 November 1600, the Jesuit scholars bestowed on Henry the title of the *Hercule Gaulois* ("Gallic Hercules", *illustration*), justifying the extravagant flattery with a genealogy that traced the origin of the House of Navarre to a nephew of Hercules' son Hispalus.<sup>[21]</sup>

Achievements of his reign

During his reign, Henry IV worked through his faithful right-hand man, the minister Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully (1560–1641), to regularise state finance, promote agriculture, drain swamps to create productive crop lands, undertake many public works, and encourage education, as with the creation of the *Collège Royal Henri-le-Grand* in La Flèche (today Prytanée Militaire de la Flèche). He and Sully protected forests from further devastation, built a new system of tree-lined highways, and constructed new bridges and canals. He had a 1200 m canal built in the park



at the royal Château at Fontainebleau (which can be fished today), and ordered the planting of pines, elms, and fruit trees.

The king renewed Paris as a great city, with the Pont Neuf,<sup>[22]</sup> which still stands today, constructed over the Seine river to connect the Right and Left Banks of the city. Henry IV also had the *Place Royale* built (since 1800 known as Place des Vosges), and added the *Grande Galerie* to the Louvre. More than 400 metres long and thirty-five metres wide, this huge addition was built along the bank of the Seine River, and at the time was the longest edifice of its kind in the world. King Henry IV, a promoter of the arts by all classes of people, invited hundreds of artists and craftsmen to live and work on the building's lower floors. This tradition continued for another two hundred years, until Emperor Napoleon I banned it. The art and architecture of his reign have since become known as the "Henry IV style".

King Henry's vision extended beyond France, and he financed several expeditions of Pierre Dugua, Sieur de Monts, and Samuel de Champlain to North America that saw France lay claim to Canada.<sup>[23]</sup>

## International relations under Henry IV

The reign of Henry IV saw the continuation of the rivalry between France and the Habsburgs of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire for the mastery of Western Europe, which would only be resolved after the end of the Thirty Years' War.

### Spain and Italy

During Henry's struggle for the crown, Spain had been the principal backer of the Catholic League, trying to thwart Henry. A Spanish army from the Spanish Netherlands, under Alexander Farnese, intervened in 1590 against Henry and foiled his siege of Paris. Another Spanish army helped the nobles opposing Henry to win the Battle of Craon against his troops in 1592.

After Henry's coronation, the war continued as an official tug-of-war between the French and Spanish states, until terminated by the Peace of Vervins in 1598.

This enabled Henry to turn his attention to Savoy, fighting a war against this duchy, that was ended by the Treaty of Lyon in 1601 which effected territorial exchanges between France and the Duchy of Savoy.

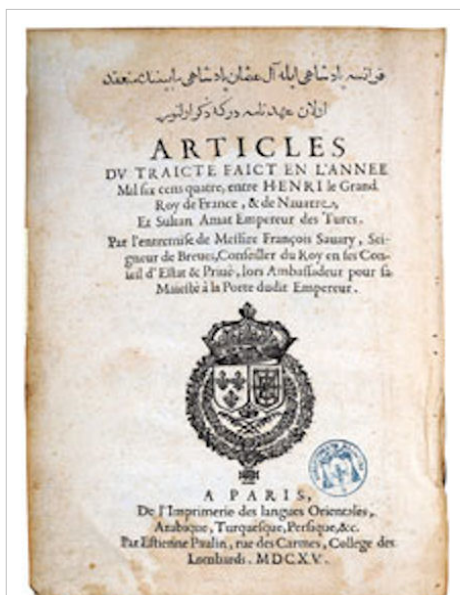
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## Germany

In 1609 Henry's intervention helped to settle diplomatically the War of the Jülich succession.

It was widely believed that in 1610 Henry was preparing for a war against the Holy Roman Empire. However, the preparations were terminated by his assassination and the subsequent rapprochement with Spain under the regency of Marie de' Medici.

## Ottoman Empire



Bilingual Franco-Turkish translation of the 1604 Franco-Ottoman Capitulations between Sultan Ahmed I and Henry IV of France, published by François Savary de Brèves in 1615.<sup>[24]</sup>

Even before Henry's accession to the French throne, the French Huguenots were in contact with the Moriscos in plans against Habsburg Spain in the 1570s.<sup>[25]</sup> Around 1575, plans were made for a combined attack of Aragonese Moriscos and Huguenots from Béarn under Henri de Navarre against Spanish Aragon, in agreement with the king of Algiers and the Ottoman Empire, but these projects foundered with the arrival of John of Austria in Aragon and the disarmament of the Moriscos.<sup>[26][27]</sup> In 1576, a three-pronged fleet from Constantinople was planned to disembark between Murcia and Valencia while the French Huguenots would invade from the north and the Moriscos accomplish their uprising, but the Ottoman fleet failed to arrive.<sup>[26]</sup>

After his crowning, Henry IV continued the policy of Franco-Ottoman alliance and received an embassy from Mehmed III in 1601.<sup>[28][29]</sup> In 1604, a "Peace Treaty and Capitulation" was signed between Henry IV and the Ottoman Sultan Ahmet I, giving numerous advantages to France in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>[29]</sup>

In 1606–7, Henry IV sent Arnoult de Lisle as Ambassador to Morocco, in order to obtain the observance of past friendship treaties. An embassy was sent to Tunisia in 1608, led by Savary de Brèves.<sup>[30]</sup>

## Far-East Asia

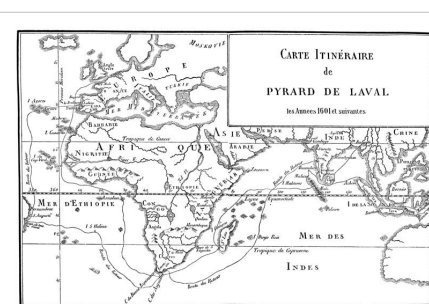
Further information: France-Asia relations



Coin of Henry IV, demi écu, Saint Lô, 1589.

During the reign of Henry IV, various enterprises were set up to develop trade to faraway lands. In December 1600, a company was formed through the association of Saint-Malo, Laval and Vitré to trade with the Moluccas and Japan.<sup>[31]</sup> Two ships, the *Croissant* and the *Corbin*, were sent around the Cape in May 1601. One was wrecked in the Maldives, leading to the adventure of François Pyrard de Laval, who managed to return to France in 1611.<sup>[31][32]</sup> The second ship, onboard which was François Martin de Vitré, reached Ceylon and traded with Aceh in Sumatra, but was captured by the Dutch on the return leg at Cape Finisterre.<sup>[31][32]</sup> François Martin de Vitré was the first Frenchman to write an account of travels to the Far East in 1604, at the request of Henry IV, and from that time numerous accounts on Asia would be published.<sup>[33]</sup>

From 1604 to 1609, following the return of François Martin de Vitré, Henry IV of France developed a strong enthusiasm for travel to Asia and attempted to set up a French East India Company on the model of England and the Netherlands.<sup>[32][33][34]</sup> On 1 June 1604, he issued letters patent to Dieppe merchants to form the Dieppe Company, giving them exclusive rights to Asian trade for 15 years. No ships were sent, however, until 1616.<sup>[31]</sup> In 1609, another adventurer, Pierre-Olivier Malherbe, returned from a circumnavigation and informed Henry IV of his adventures.<sup>[33]</sup> He had visited China and in India had an encounter with Akbar.<sup>[33]</sup>



Itinerary of François Pyrard de Laval, from 1601 to 1611.



Henry IV, Versailles Museum.

## Character

Henry IV proved to be a man of vision and courage. Instead of waging costly wars to suppress opposing nobles, Henry simply paid them off. As king, he adopted policies and undertook projects to improve the lives of all subjects, which made him one of the country's most popular rulers ever.

A declaration often attributed to him is:

*Si Dieu me prête vie, je ferai qu'il n'y aura point de laboureur en mon royaume qui n'ait les moyens d'avoir le dimanche une poule dans son pot! (If God keeps me, I will make sure that there is no working man in my kingdom who does not have the means to have a chicken in the pot every Sunday!)*

This statement epitomizes the peace and relative prosperity Henry brought to France after decades of religious war, and demonstrates how well he understood the plight of the French worker or peasant farmer. This real concern for the living conditions of the 'lowly' population – who in the final analysis provided the economic basis on which the power of the king and the great nobles rested – was perhaps without parallel among the Kings of France. It also made Henry IV extremely popular with the population.

Henry's forthright manner, physical courage and military successes also contrasted dramatically with the sickly, effete languor of the last tubercular Valois kings, as evinced by his blunt assertion that he ruled with "weapon in hand and arse in the saddle" (*on a le bras armé et le cul sur la selle*). He was also a great womanizer, fathering many children by a number of his mistresses.



Henry IV of France by Frans Pourbus the younger

## Nicknames

Henry was nicknamed **Henry the Great** (*Henri le Grand*), and in France is also called *le bon roi Henri* ("the good king Henry") or *le vert galant* ("The Green Gallant").<sup>[35]</sup> In English he is most often referred to as Henry of Navarre.

## Assassination

Although he was a man of kindness, compassion and good humor, and was much loved by his people, Henry was the subject of attempts on his life by Pierre Barrière in August 1593<sup>[36]</sup> and Jean Châtel in December 1594.<sup>[37]</sup>

King Henry IV was ultimately assassinated in Paris on 14 May 1610 by a Catholic fanatic, François Ravaillac, who stabbed the king to death in Rue de la Ferronnerie, while his coach's progress was stopped by traffic congestion for the Queen's coronation ceremony,<sup>[38][39]</sup> as depicted in the engraving by Gaspar Bouttats. Hercule de Rohan, duc de Montbazon was with him when he was killed; Montbazon himself was wounded but survived. Henry was buried at the Saint Denis Basilica.

His widow, Marie de' Medici, served as regent for their 9-year-old son, Louis XIII, until 1617.<sup>[40]</sup>



François Ravaillac, assassin of King Henry IV, brandishing his dagger, in a 17th-century engraving





Assassination of Henry IV, an engraving by  
Gaspar Bouttats



Henri IV, Marie de' Medici and family

## Legacy

The reign of Henry IV had a lasting impact on the French people for generations afterwards. A statue of him was built in his honor at the *Pont Neuf* in 1614, only four years after his death. Although this statue—as well as those of all the other French kings—was torn down during the French Revolution, it was the first to be rebuilt, in 1818, and it stands today on the *Pont Neuf*. A cult surrounding the personality of Henry IV emerged during the Restoration. The restored Bourbons were keen to play down the contested reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI and instead emphasised the reign of the benevolent Henry IV. The song "Vive Henri IV" ("Long Live Henry IV") was used during the Restoration as an unofficial anthem of France, played in the absence of the king. In addition, when Princess Caroline of Naples and Sicily (a descendant of his) gave birth to a male heir to the throne of France, seven months after the assassination of her husband Charles Ferdinand, duc de Berry by a Republican fanatic, the boy was conspicuously named *Henri*, in reference to his



Royal Monogram

forefather Henry IV. The boy was also baptised in the traditional way of Béarn/Navarre, with a spoon of Jurançon wine and some garlic, as had been done when Henry IV was baptised in Pau (although this custom had not been followed by any later Bourbon king).

Henry IV's popularity continued, when the first edition (in French) of his biography, *Histoire du Roy Henry le Grand*, was published in Amsterdam in 1661. It was written by Hardouin de Péréfixe de Beaumont, successively Bishop of Rhodéz and Archbishop of Paris, primarily for the edification of Louis XIV, grandson of Henry IV. A translation into English was made by James Dauncey for another grandson, King Charles II of England. An English edition came of this, published at London two years later in 1663. Numerous French editions have been published. However, only one more (with disputable accuracy) English edition was published, before 1896, when a new translation was published.

He also gave his name to the Henry IV style of architecture, which he patronised. He is the eponymous subject of the royal anthem of France, "Marche Henri IV".

## Missing head

The head of his embalmed body was lost after revolutionaries ransacked the Basilica of St Denis and desecrated his grave in 1793.<sup>[41]</sup> An embalmed head, reputed to be that of Henry IV, was passed among private collectors until French journalist Stephane Gabet followed leads to track down the head to the attic of a retired tax collector, Jacques Bellanger, in January 2010. According to Gabet, a couple purchased the head at a Paris auction in the early 1900s, and Bellanger bought it from the wife in 1955.<sup>[42]</sup> In 2010, a multidisciplinary team led by Philippe Charlier, a forensic medical examiner at Raymond Poincaré University Hospital in Garches, confirmed that it was the lost head of Henry IV, using a combination of anthropological, paleopathological, radiological, and forensic techniques.<sup>[41][43]</sup> The head had a light brown colour and excellent preservation.<sup>[41]</sup> A lesion just above the nostril, a hole in the right earlobe indicating a long-term use of an earring, and a healed facial wound, which Henry IV would have received from a previous assassination attempt by Jean Châtel in 1594, were among the identifying factors.<sup>[41][43]</sup> Radiocarbon dating gave a date of between 1450 and 1650, which fits the year of Henry IV's death, 1610.<sup>[41]</sup> The team was not able to recover uncontaminated mitochondrial DNA sequences from the head, so no comparison was possible with other remains from the king and his female-line relatives.<sup>[41]</sup> Bellanger donated the king's head to Louis Alphonse, Duke of Anjou,<sup>[44]</sup> the king's senior descendant. Anjou had decided to reinter the head in the Cathedral Basilica of Saint Denis after a national Mass and funeral in 2011.<sup>[43][44]</sup>

## Genealogy

Henry IV was the son of Antoine de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme and Queen Jeanne III of Navarre. He was born in the Château de Pau, Pyrénées-Atlantiques, in the southwest of France (former province of Béarn). Henry's mother was the daughter of Marguerite de Navarre, a sister of King Francis I of France, making him a second cousin of Kings Francis II, Charles IX and Henry III. It was to his father, however, a ninth-generation descendant of King Louis IX, that Henry owed his succession to the throne of France: in application of the Salic Law, which disregarded all female lines, Henry was the senior descendant of the senior-surviving legitimate male line of the Capetian dynasty. Upon the death of Henry III of France, who had no son to succeed him, the crown passed to Henry IV. The new king, however, had to fight for some years to be recognised as the legitimate king of France by the Catholics, who were opposed to his Protestant faith.



## Marriages and legitimate children

On 18 August 1572, Henry married his second cousin Margaret of Valois; their childless marriage was annulled in 1599. His subsequent marriage to Marie de' Medici on 17 December 1600 produced six children:

Name	Birth	Death	Notes
Louis XIII, King of France	27 September 1601	14 May 1643	Married Anne of Austria in 1615.
Elisabeth, Queen of Spain	22 November 1602	6 October 1644	Married Philip IV, King of Spain, in 1615.
Christine Marie, Duchess of Savoy	12 February 1606	27 December 1663	Married Victor Amadeus I, Duke of Savoy, in 1619.
Nicolas Henri, Duke of Orléans	16 April 1607	17 November 1611	.
Gaston, Duke of Orléans	25 April 1608	2 February 1660	Married (1) Marie de Bourbon, Duchess of Montpensier, in 1626. Married (2) Marguerite of Lorraine in 1632.
Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, Queen of Scots and Queen of Ireland	25 November 1609	10 September 1669	Married Charles I, King of England, King of Scots and King of Ireland, in 1625.

## Notes

- [1] Baird, Henry M., *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, Vol. 2, (Charles Scribner's Sons:New York, 1886), 486 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=oKRWAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA486#v=onepage&q&f=false>).
- [2] de La Croix, 175.
- [3] de La Croix, René, Duc de Castries, *The Lives of the Kings & Queens of France*, (Alfred A. Knopf:New York, 1979), 175.
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- [5] "Margaret of Valois" in *The New Encyclopædia Britannica* (15th edition, Chicago, 1991) 7:836:1a.
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- [7] Baird, Henry M., *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, Vol. 1, (Charles Scribner's Sons:New York, 1886), 269.
- [8] Baird, Vol 1, 431.
- [9] Baird, Vol 2, 96 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=oKRWAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA96#v=onepage&q&f=false>).
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- [11] Baird, Vol. 2, 156–157 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=oKRWAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA156#v=onepage&q&f=false>).
- [12] Baird, Vol. 2, 180 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=oKRWAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA180#v=onepage&q&f=false>).
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- [17] Janel Mueller & Joshua Scodel, eds, *Elizabeth I*, University of Chicago Press, 2009
- [18] G. de Berthier de Savigny in his *Histoire de France* (1977 p.167) claims that the Calvinists in revenge attributed the phrase to him.
- [19] Paul Desalmand & Yves Stallini, *Petit Inventaire des Citations Malmenées*, 2009.
- [20] de La Croix, 179–180.
- [21] The official account, *Labyrinthe royal...* quoted in Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, (B.F. Sessions, tr.) 1995:26.
- [22] One of the anecdote told of Henry IV is that when the piers to support the Pont Neuf had been built, but before the connecting superstructures were in place the athletic king one day decided to assume himself by jumping from one to the another. One of his ministers watching this and anxious that king might kill himself and enbroil France in another succession crisis pointed out to him that a number of Parisian youths had already died jumping from one pier to another, to which the king responded, "Ah, but they were not kings."
- [23] de La Croix, 182.
- [24] '*The Encyclopaedia of Islam: Fascicules 111–112 : Masrah Mawlid*', by Clifford Edmund Bosworth p.799 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=PvwUAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA799>). Google Books. . Retrieved 19 December 2010.
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Herod the Great

Herod the Great or Herod	
Basileus (King)	
Reign	37–4 BCE
Born	73/74 BCE
Died	4 BCE (aged 70)
Place of death	Jericho, Samaria
Buried	Herodium, Judea
Predecessor	Antigonus II Mattathias
Successor	Herod Archelaus, Herod Antipas Philip the Tetrarch
Wives	Doris Mariamne I Mariamne II Malthace Cleopatra of Jerusalem
Offspring	Antipater II Prince Alexander Prince Aristobulus IV Princess Salampsio Herod Philip I Herod Antipas Herod Archelaus Olympias the Herodian Prince Herod Herod Philip II
Dynasty	Herodian Dynasty
Father	Antipater the Idumaeen
Mother	Cypros
Religious beliefs	Second Temple Judaism

**Herod** (Hebrew: הורדוס, *Hordos*, Greek: Ἡρώδης, *Hērōdēs*), also known as **Herod the Great** (born 73 or 74 BCE, died 4 BCE in Jericho<sup>[1]</sup>), was a Roman client king of Judea.<sup>[2][3][4]</sup> His epithet of "the Great" is widely disputed as he is described as "a madman who murdered his own family and a great many rabbis."<sup>[5][6][7]</sup> He is also known for his colossal building projects in Jerusalem and elsewhere, including his expansion of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (sometimes referred to as Herod's Temple) and the construction of the port at Caesarea Maritima. Important details of his biography are gleaned from the works of the 1st century CE Roman-Jewish historian Josephus Flavius.

The Romans made Herod's son Herod Archelaus ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea (biblical Edom) from 4 BCE to 6 CE, referred to as the tetrarchy of Judea. Archelaus was judged incompetent by the Roman emperor Augustus who then combined Samaria, Judea proper and Idumea into Iudaea province<sup>[8]</sup> under rule of a prefect until 41. Herod's other son Herod Antipas was tetrarch of Galilee from 4 BCE – 39 CE.

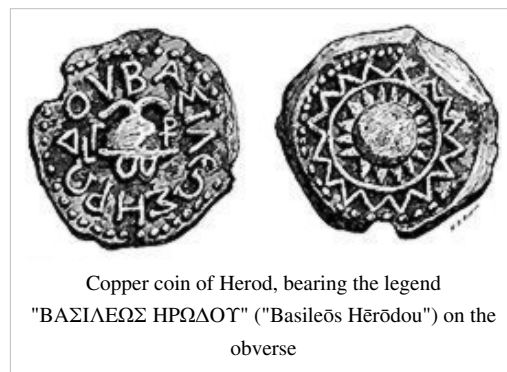
## Biography

Herod was born around 74 BCE in the south (Idumea was the most southern region).<sup>[9][10]</sup> He was the second son of Antipater the Idumaean, a high-ranked official under Ethnarch Hyrcanus II, and Cypros, a Nabatean. Herod was a practicing Jew, as the Edomites and many Nabateans had been converted to Judaism by the Hasmoneans.<sup>[11]</sup> A loyal supporter of Hyrcanus II, Antipater appointed Herod governor of Galilee at 25, and his elder brother, Phasael, governor of Jerusalem. He enjoyed the backing of Rome but his brutality was condemned by the Sanhedrin.<sup>[12]</sup>

In 43 BCE, following the chaos caused by Antipater offering financial support to Caesar's murderers, Antipater was poisoned. Herod, backed by the Roman Army, executed his father's murderer. After the battle of Philippi towards the end of 42 BCE, he convinced Mark Antony and Octavian that his father had been forced to help Caesar's murderers. After Antony marched into Asia, Herod was named tetrarch of Galilee by the Romans.

Two years later Antigonus, Hyrcanus' nephew, took the throne from his uncle with the help of the Parthians. Herod fled to Rome to plead with the Romans to restore him to power. There he was elected "King of the Jews" by the Roman Senate.<sup>[13]</sup> Josephus puts this in the year of the consulship of Calvinus and Pollio (40 BCE), but Appian places it in 39 BCE.<sup>[10]</sup> Herod went back to Judea to win his kingdom from Antigonus and at the same time he married the teenage niece of Antigonus, Mariamne (known as Mariamne I), in an attempt to secure a claim to the throne and gain some Jewish favor. However, Herod already had a wife, Doris, and a three-year-old son, Antipater, and chose therefore to banish Doris and her child.

Three years later, Herod and the Romans finally captured Jerusalem and executed Antigonus. Herod took the role as sole ruler of Judea and the title of *basileus* (Gr. βασιλευς, king) for himself, ushering in the Herodian Dynasty and ending the Hasmonean Dynasty. Josephus reports this as being in the year of the consulship of Agrippa and Gallus (37 BCE), but also says that it was exactly 27 years after Jerusalem fell to Pompey, which would indicate 36 BCE. (Cassius Dio also reports that in 37 "the Romans accomplished nothing worthy of note" in the area.<sup>[14]</sup>) According to Josephus, he ruled for 37 years, 34 years of them after capturing Jerusalem.



As Herod's family had converted to Judaism, his religious commitment had come into question by some elements of Jewish society.<sup>[15]</sup> When John Hyrcanus conquered the region of Idumaea (the Edom of the Hebrew Bible) in 140–130 BCE, he required all Idumaeans to obey Jewish law or to leave; most Idumaeans thus converted to Judaism, which meant that they had to be circumcised.<sup>[16]</sup> While King Herod publicly identified himself as a Jew and was considered as such by some,<sup>[17]</sup> this religious identification was undermined by the decadent lifestyle of the Herodians, which would have earned them the antipathy of observant Jews.<sup>[18]</sup>



Model of Herod's Temple

Herod later executed several members of his own family, including his wife Mariamne.

## Architectural achievements

Herod's most famous and ambitious project was the expansion of the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

In the eighteenth year of his reign (20–19 BCE), Herod rebuilt the Temple on "a more magnificent scale".<sup>[19]</sup> Although work on out-buildings and courts continued another eighty years,<sup>[19]</sup> the new Temple was finished in a year and a half. To comply with religious law, Herod employed 1,000 priests as masons and carpenters in the rebuilding.<sup>[19]</sup> The finished temple, which was destroyed in 70 CE, is sometimes referred to as Herod's Temple. Today, only the four retaining walls remain standing, including the Wailing Wall or Western Wall. These walls created a flat platform (the Temple Mount) upon which the Temple was then constructed.

Some of Herod's other achievements include the development of water supplies for Jerusalem, building fortresses such as Masada and Herodium, and founding new cities such as Caesarea Maritima and the enclosures of Cave of the Patriarchs and Mamre in Hebron. He and Cleopatra owned a monopoly over the extraction of asphalt from the Dead Sea, which was used in ship building. He leased copper mines on Cyprus from the Roman emperor.

## Discovery of quarry

On September 25, 2007, Yuval Baruch, archaeologist with the Israeli Antiquities Authority announced his discovery of a quarry compound which provided King Herod with the stones to renovate the Second Temple. Coins, pottery and iron stakes found proved the date of the quarrying to be about 19 BCE. Archaeologist Ehud Netzer confirmed that the large outlines of the stone cuts is evidence that it was a massive public project worked on by hundreds of slaves.<sup>[20]</sup>

## New Testament references

Herod the Great appears in the Gospel according to Matthew (Ch. 2), which describes an event known as the Massacre of the Innocents. According to this account, after the birth of Jesus, Magi from the East visited Herod to inquire the whereabouts of "the one having been born king of the Jews", because they had seen his star in the east and therefore wanted to pay him homage. Herod, as King of the Jews, was alarmed at the prospect of a usurper. Herod assembled the chief priests and scribes of the people and asked them where the "Anointed One" (the Messiah, Greek: *ὁ Χριστός* (*ho christos*)) was to be born. They answered, in Bethlehem, citing Micah 5:2. Herod therefore sent the Magi to Bethlehem, instructing them to search for the child and, after they had found him, to "report to me, so that I too may go and worship him". However, after they had found Jesus, the Magi were warned in a dream not to



report back to Herod. Similarly, Joseph was warned in a dream that Herod intended to kill Jesus, so he and his family fled to Egypt. When Herod realized he had been outwitted by the Magi, he gave orders to kill all boys of the age of two and under in Bethlehem and its vicinity. Joseph and his family stayed in Egypt until Herod's death, then moved to Nazareth in Galilee in order to avoid living under Herod's son Archelaus.

Regarding the Massacre of the Innocents, although Herod was certainly guilty of many brutal acts, including the killing of his wife and two of his sons, no other known source from the period makes any reference to such a massacre.<sup>[21]</sup> Since Bethlehem was a small village, the number of male children under the age of two might not exceed 20. This may be the reason for the lack of other sources for this history,<sup>[22]</sup> although Herod's order in Matthew 2:16 includes those children in Bethlehem's vicinity making the massacre larger numerically and geographically. Modern biographers of Herod tend to doubt the event took place.<sup>[23]</sup>

## Death



Coin of Herod the Great

Since the work of Emil Schürer in 1896<sup>[24]</sup> most scholars have agreed that Herod died at the end of March or early April in 4 BCE.<sup>[25]</sup> However, Schürer's consensus has not gone unchallenged in the 20th century, with several scholars endorsing 1 BCE as the year of Herod's death.<sup>[26][27]</sup>

Evidence for the 4 BCE date is provided by the fact that Herod's sons, between whom his kingdom was divided, dated their rule from 4 BCE,<sup>[28]</sup> and Archilaus apparently also exercised royal authority during Herod's lifetime.<sup>[29]</sup> Josephus states that Philip

the Tetrarch's death took place after a 37-year reign, in the 20th year of Tiberius (34 CE).<sup>[30]</sup>

Josephus tells us that Herod died after a lunar eclipse.<sup>[31]</sup> He gives an account of events between this eclipse and his death, and between his death and Passover. A partial eclipse<sup>[32]</sup> took place on March 13, 4 BCE<sup>[33]</sup>, about 29 days before Passover, and this eclipse is usually taken to be the one referred to by Josephus.<sup>[34]</sup> There were however three other, *total*, eclipses around this time, and there are proponents of both 5 BCE<sup>[35]</sup> – with two total eclipses,<sup>[36][37]</sup> and 1 BCE.<sup>[10]</sup>

Josephus wrote that Herod's final illness – sometimes named as "Herod's Evil"<sup>[38]</sup> – was excruciating.<sup>[39]</sup> From Josephus' descriptions, some medical experts propose that Herod had chronic kidney disease complicated by Fournier's gangrene.<sup>[40]</sup> Modern scholars agree he suffered throughout his lifetime from depression and paranoia.<sup>[41]</sup> More recently, others report that the visible worms and putrefaction described in his final days are likely to have been scabies; the disease might have accounted for both his death and psychiatric symptoms.<sup>[42]</sup> Similar symptoms attended the death of his grandson Agrippa I in CE 44.

Josephus also stated that Herod was so concerned that no one would mourn his death, that he commanded a large group of distinguished men to come to Jericho, and he gave order that they should be killed at the time of his death so that the displays of grief that he craved would take place<sup>[43]</sup>. Fortunately for them, Herod's son Archilaus and sister Salome did not carry out this wish<sup>[44]</sup>.

After Herod's death, his kingdom was divided among three of his sons by Augustus. Augustus "appointed Archilaus, not indeed to be the king of the whole country, but ethnarch or one half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he



Bronze coin of Herod the Great, minted at Samaria.

divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Herod Antipas, that Herod Antipas who disputed with Archilaus for the whole kingdom. Now, to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, while Batanea with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a certain part of what was called House of Lenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria, paid tribute to Archilaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Caesar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude."<sup>[45]</sup> Archilaus became ethnarch of the tetrarchy of Judea, Herod Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and Philip became tetrarch of territories east of the Jordan.

## Tomb discovery

The location of Herod's tomb is documented by Josephus, who writes, "And the body was carried two hundred furlongs, to Herodium, where he had given order to be buried."<sup>[46]</sup> Josephus provides more clues about Herod's tomb which he calls Herod's monuments:

So they threw down all the hedges and walls which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees, and cut down all the fruit trees that lay between them and the wall of the city, and filled up all the hollow places and the chasms, and demolished the rocky precipices with iron instruments; and thereby made all the place level from

Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoined to the pool called the Serpent's Pool.<sup>[47]</sup>



Aerial photo of Herodium from the southwest

Professor Ehud Netzer, an archaeologist from Hebrew University, read the writings of Josephus and focused his search on the vicinity of the pool and its surroundings at the Winter Palace of Herod in the Judean desert. An article of the New York Times states,

Lower Herodium consists of the remains of a large palace, a race track, service quarters, and a monumental building whose function is still a mystery. Perhaps, says Ehud Netzer, who excavated the site, it is Herod's mausoleum. Next to it is a pool, almost twice as large as modern Olympic-size pools.<sup>[48]</sup>

It took 35 years for Netzer to identify the exact location, but on May 7, 2007, an Israeli team of archaeologists of the Hebrew University led by Netzer, announced they had discovered the tomb.<sup>[49][50][51][52]</sup> The site is located at the exact location given by Flavius Josephus, atop of tunnels and water pools, at a flattened desert site, halfway up the hill to Herodium, 12 kilometers (7.5 mi) south of Jerusalem.<sup>[53]</sup> The tomb contained a broken sarcophagus but no remains of a body.

The Israel Nature and Parks Authority and the Gush Etzion Regional Council intend to recreate the tomb out of a light plastic material.<sup>[54]</sup>

## Chronology

Further information: Herodian kingdom

### 30s BCE

- 39–37 BCE– War against Antigonus. After the conquest of Jerusalem and victory over Antigonus, Mark Antony executes Antigonus.
- 36 BCE– Herod makes his 17-year-old brother-in-law, Aristobulus III, high priest, fearing that the Jews would appoint Aristobulus III "King of the Jews" in his place.
- 35 BCE– Aristobulus III is drowned at a party, on Herod's orders.
- 32 BCE– The war against Nabatea begins, with victory one year later.
- 31 BCE– Israel suffers a devastating earthquake. Octavian defeats Mark Antony, so Herod switches allegiance to Octavian, later known as Augustus.
- 30 BCE– Herod is shown great favor by Octavian, who at Rhodes confirms him as King of Judea.

### 20s BCE

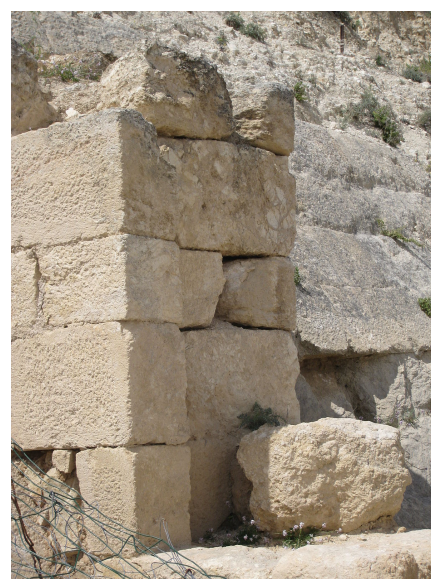
- 29 BCE– Josephus writes that Herod had great passion and also great jealousy concerning his wife, Mariamne I. She learns of Herod's plans to murder her, and stops sleeping with him. Herod puts her on trial on a charge of adultery. His sister, Salome I, was chief witness against her. Mariamne I's mother Alexandra made an appearance and incriminated her own daughter. Historians say her mother was next on Herod's list to be executed and did this only to save her own life. Mariamne was executed, and Alexandra declared herself Queen, stating that Herod was mentally unfit to serve. Josephus wrote that this was Alexandra's strategic mistake; Herod executed her without trial.
- 28 BCE– Herod executed his brother-in-law Kostobar<sup>[55]</sup> (husband of Salome, father to Berenice) for conspiracy. Large festival in Jerusalem, as Herod had built a theatre and an amphitheatre.
- 27 BCE– An assassination attempt on Herod was foiled. To honor Augustus, Herod rebuilt Samaria and renamed it Sebaste.
- 25 BCE– Herod imported grain from Egypt and started an aid programme to combat the widespread hunger and disease that followed a massive drought. He also waives a third of the taxes.
- 23 BCE– Herod built a palace in Jerusalem and the fortress Herodion (Herodium) in Judea. He married his third wife, Mariamne II, the daughter of the priest Simon Boethus; immediately Herodes deprived Jesus the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon.<sup>[56]</sup>
- 22 BCE– Herod began construction on Caesarea Maritima and its harbour. The Roman emperor Augustus grants him the regions Trachonitis, Batanaea and Auranitis to the northeast.
- Circa 20 BCE– Expansion started on the Temple Mount; Herod completely rebuilt the Second Temple of Jerusalem (see Herod's Temple).

### 10s BCE

- Circa 18 BCE– Herod travelled for the second time to Rome.
- 14 BCE– Herod supported the Jews in Anatolia and Cyrene. Owing to the prosperity in Judaea he waived a quarter of the taxes.
- 13 BCE– Herod made his first-born son Antipater (his son by Doris) first heir in his will.
- 12 BCE– Herod suspected both his sons (from his marriage to Mariamne I) Alexander and Aristobulus of threatening his life. He took them to Aquileia to be tried. Augustus reconciled the three. Herod supported the financially strapped Olympic Games and ensured their future. Herod amended his will so that Alexander and Aristobulus rose in the royal succession, but Antipater would be higher in the succession.
- Circa 10 BCE– The newly expanded temple in Jerusalem was inaugurated. War against the Nabateans began.

## First decade BCE

- 9 BCE—Caesarea Maritima was inaugurated. Owing to the course of the war against the Nabateans, Herod fell into disgrace with Augustus. Herod again suspected Alexander of plotting to kill him.
- 8 BCE— Herod accused his sons by Mariamne I of high treason. Herod reconciled with Augustus, who also gave him the permission to proceed legally against his sons.
- 7 BCE— The court hearing took place in Berytos (Beirut) before a Roman court. Mariamne I's sons were found guilty and executed. The succession changed so that Antipater was the exclusive successor to the throne. In second place the succession incorporated (Herod) Philip, his son by Mariamne II.
- 6 BCE— Herod proceeded against the Pharisees.
- 5 BCE— Antipater was brought before the court charged with the intended murder of Herod. Herod, by now seriously ill, named his son (Herod) Antipas (from his fourth marriage with Malthace) as his successor.
- 4 BCE— Young disciples smashed the golden eagle over the main entrance of the Temple of Jerusalem after the Pharisee teachers claimed it was an idolatrous Roman symbol. Herod arrested them, brought them to court, and sentenced them. Augustus approved the death penalty for Antipater. Herod then executed his son, and again changed his will: Archelaus (from the marriage with Malthace) would rule as ethnarch over the tetrachy of Judea, while Antipas (by Malthace) and Philip (from the fifth marriage with Cleopatra of Jerusalem) would rule as tetrarchs over Galilee and Peraea (Transjordan), also over Gaulanitis (Golan), Trachonitis (Hebrew: Argob), Batanaea (now Ard-el-Bathanyeh) and Panias. Salome I was also given a small toparchy in the Gaza region. As Augustus did not confirm his will, no one received the title of King; however, the three sons were granted rule of the stated territories.



Tomb of Herod the Great

## Marriages and children

### Herod's marriages and children

Wife	Children
Doris	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Son Antipater II, executed 4 BCE</li> </ul>
Mariamne I, daughter of Hasmonean Alexandros	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Son Alexander, executed 7 BCE</li> <li>• Son Aristobulus IV, executed 7 BCE</li> <li>• Daughter Salampsio</li> <li>• Daughter Cypros</li> </ul>
Mariamne II, daughter of High-Priest Simon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Son Herod II <i>Boethus</i></li> </ul>
Malthace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Son Herod Archelaus - Ethnarch</li> <li>• Son Herod Antipas - Tetrarch</li> <li>• Daughter Olympias</li> </ul>
Cleopatra of Jerusalem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Son Herod Philip II - Tetrarch</li> <li>• Son Herod</li> </ul>
Pallas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Son Phasael</li> </ul>
Phaidra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daughter Roxanne</li> </ul>
Elpis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daughter Salome, daughter of Herod I</li> </ul>

A cousin (name unknown)	<div><div></div><div>no known children</div></div>
A niece (name unknown)	<div><div></div><div>no known children</div></div>

It is very probable that Herod had more children, especially with the last wives, and also that he had more daughters, as female births at that time were often not recorded.<sup>[57]</sup>

Family trees

Marriages and descendants

Herod the Great + Doris

|

Antipater II

d. 4 BCE?

Herod the Great + Mariamne I, d. 29 BCE?, dt. of Alexandros.

|

Aristobulus

d. 7 BCE?

m. Berenice

|

Alexander

d. 7 BCE?

|

Salampsio + Phasael II

Cypros

|

|

Cypros

m. Antipater(2)

Mariamne III

m. her uncle

Archelaus ?

Herod V

King of Chalcis

Herodias

+

m. 1. Herod II Boethus

her uncle

2. Herod Antipas

her uncle

Herod Agrippa

King of Judea

Herod Agrippa II

Aristobulus V

Herod the Great + Mariamne II, dt. of Simon the High-Priest.

|

Herod II

Boethus

Herod the Great + Malthace (a Samaritan)

|

Herod Antipas

b. 20 BCE?

+ Phasaelis,

dt. of Aretas IV, king of Arabia

"divorced" to marry:

+ Herodias,

dt. of Aristobulus (son of Herod the Great)

Archelaus

Olympias





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- [8] HH Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People*, Harvard University Press, 1976, ISBN 0-674-39731-2, p. 246: "When Archelaus was deposed from the ethnarchy in 6 CE, Judea proper, Samaria and Idumea were converted into a Roman province under the name Iudaea."
- [9] "Encyclopædia Britannica" (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/263437/Herod>).
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- [12] Jewish Encyclopedia: Herod I (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=630&letter=H>): "He was of commanding presence; he excelled in physical exercises; he was a skilful diplomatist; and, above all, he was prepared to commit any crime in order to gratify his unbounded ambition."
- [13] Jewish War 1 (<http://earlyjewishwritings.com/text/josephus/war1.html>).14.4: Mark Antony " ...then resolved to get him made king of the Jews... told them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was separated, Antony and Caesar went out, with Herod between them; while the consul and the rest of the magistrates went before them, in order to offer sacrifices [to the Roman gods], and to lay the decree in the Capitol. Antony also made a feast for Herod on the first day of his reign;"
- [14] Dio, Roman History 49.23.1-2.
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- [22] World Biblical Commentary: Matthew 1-13 page 35, Word INC, 1993
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- [28] Josephus, *War*, 1.631-632.
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- [30] Harold Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, (Zondervan, 1980) page 251.
- [31] (Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 17.6.4)
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## External links

- Resources > Second Temple and Talmudic Era > Herod and the Herodian Dynasty (<http://www.dinur.org/resources/resourceCategoryDisplay.aspx?categoryid=431&rsid=478>) The Jewish History Resource Center - Project of the Dinur Center for Research in Jewish History, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- Halachic Status of Herod ([http://www.shaftek.org/publications/herodian\\_dynasty.html](http://www.shaftek.org/publications/herodian_dynasty.html))
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- Jewish Encyclopedia: Herod I (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=630&letter=H>)

### Tomb

- Tomb Found (<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3397066,00.html>)
- Herod's Tomb -images ([http://www.pbase.com/marrozik/herods\\_tomb\\_\\_herodion\\_national\\_park](http://www.pbase.com/marrozik/herods_tomb__herodion_national_park))
- King Herod's Tomb Found (<http://www.bib-arch.org/online-exclusives/herod-tomb-01.asp>) Biblical Archaeology Review

# Hugh the Great

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Hugh the Great	
<b>Spouse(s)</b>	Judith of Maine Eadchild of England Hedwige of Saxony
<b>Noble family</b>	Robertians
<b>Father</b>	Robert I of France
<b>Mother</b>	Béatrice of Vermandois
<b>Born</b>	898 Paris
<b>Died</b>	16 June 956 Dourdan

**Hugh the Great** or **Hugues le Grand** (898 – 16 June 956) was duke of the Franks and count of Paris, son of King Robert I of France and nephew of King Odo. He was born in Paris, Île-de-France, France. His eldest son was Hugh Capet who became King of France in 987. His family is known as the Robertians.

Hugh's first wife was Judith, daughter of Roger Comte du Maine & his wife Rothilde

Hugh's second wife was Eadchild, daughter of Edward the Elder, king of England, and sister of King Athelstan. At the death of Rudolph, duke of Burgundy, in 936, Hugh was in possession of nearly all of the region between the Loire and the Seine, corresponding to the ancient Neustria, with the exception of the territory ceded to the Normans in 911. He took a very active part in bringing Louis IV (*d'Outremer*) from the Kingdom of England in 936, but in the same year Hugh married Hedwige of Saxony, a daughter of Henry the Fowler of Germany and Matilda of Ringelheim, and soon quarrelled with Louis.

Hugh even paid homage to the Emperor Otto the Great, and supported him in his struggle against Louis. When Louis fell into the hands of the Normans in 945, he was handed over to Hugh, who released him in 946 only on condition that he should surrender the fortress of Laon. At the council of Ingelheim (948) Hugh was condemned, under pain of excommunication, to make reparation to Louis. It was not, however, until 950 that the powerful vassal became reconciled with his suzerain and restored Laon. But new difficulties arose, and peace was not finally concluded until 953.

On the death of Louis IV, Hugh was one of the first to recognize Lothair as his successor, and, at the intervention of Queen Gerberga, was instrumental in having him crowned. In recognition of this service Hugh was invested by the new king with the duchies of Burgundy (his suzerainty over which had already been nominally recognized by Louis IV) and Aquitaine. But his expedition in 955 to take possession of Aquitaine was unsuccessful. In the same year, however, Gisbert, duke of Burgundy, acknowledged himself his vassal and betrothed his daughter to Hugh's son Otto. At Gisbert's death (8 April 956) Hugh became effective master of the duchy, but died soon afterwards, on the 16 or 17 June 956, in Dourdan.

Hugh's daughter Beatrice married Frederick I, Duke of Upper Lorraine, thus making Hugh an ancestor of the Habsburg family. From their son Hugh Capet sprung forth the Capetian dynasty, one of the most powerful dynasties in Europe.

In the *Divine Comedy* Dante meets the soul of Duke Hugh in Purgatory, lamenting the avarice of his descendants.

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- This article incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain: Chisholm, Hugh, ed. (1911). *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Hugh Magnus

Hugh Magnus	
King of France (more...)	
Reign	19 June 1017 – 17 September 1025
Coronation	19 June 1017, church of St Corneille, Compiègne
Successor	Henry I
House	House of Capet
Father	Robert II
Mother	Constance of Arles
Born	1007
Died	17 September 1025 <div>Compiègne</div>
Burial	St Corneille

**Hugh Magnus** (French: *Hugues le Grand*) (1007 – 17 September 1025) was co-King of France under his father, Robert II, from 1017 until his death in 1025. He was a member of the House of Capet, a son of Robert II by his third wife, Constance of Arles.

The first Capetian King of France, Hugh Capet, had ensured his family's succession to the throne by having his son, Robert II, crowned and accepted as King during his own lifetime; father and son had ruled together as King thenceforth until Hugh Capet's death. Robert II, when his son was old enough, determined to do the same. Hugh Magnus was thus crowned King of France on 9/19 June 1017,<sup>[1]</sup> and thenceforth ruled beside his father. However, when older, he rebelled against Robert.

Hugh died, perhaps of a fall from his horse,<sup>[2]</sup> at Compiègne in 1025/1026 while preparing a rebellion against his father, aged around 18 years old.<sup>[1]</sup>

Rodulfus Glaber was fulsome in his praise of the young king, writing: "My pen cannot express all of the great and good qualities that he showed...in all things he was better than the best. No elegy can ever equal his merits."

As a King of France, he would be numbered **Hugh II**; however, he is rarely referred to as such.

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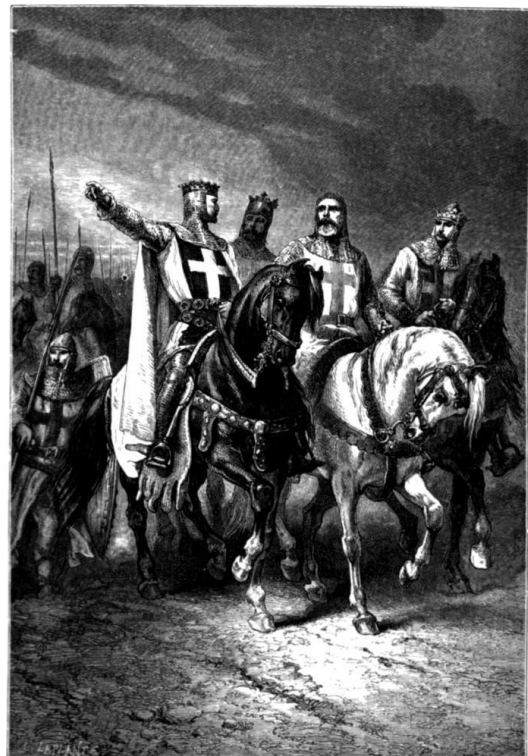
# Hugh I, Count of Vermandois

**Hugh I of Vermandois** (1057 – October 18, 1101),<sup>[1]</sup> called *Magnus* or **the Great**, was a younger son of Henry I of France and Anne of Kiev and younger brother of Philip I. He was in his own right Count of Vermandois, but an ineffectual leader and soldier, great only in his boasting. Indeed, Steven Runciman is certain that his nickname *Magnus* (greater or elder), applied to him by William of Tyre, is a copyist's error, and should be *Minus* (younger), referring to Hugh as younger brother of the King of France.

In early 1096 Hugh and Philip began discussing the First Crusade after news of the Council of Clermont reached them in Paris. Although Philip could not participate, as he had been excommunicated, Hugh was said to have been influenced to join the Crusade after an eclipse of the moon on February 11, 1096.

That summer Hugh's army left France for Italy, where they would cross the Adriatic Sea into territory of the Byzantine Empire, unlike the other Crusader armies who were travelling by land. On the way, many of the soldiers led by fellow Crusader Emicho joined Hugh's army after Emicho was defeated by the Hungarians, whose land he had been pillaging.

Hugh crossed the Adriatic from Bari in Southern Italy, but many of his ships were destroyed in a storm off the Byzantine port of Dyrrhachium.



Hugh was one of the knightly leaders of the First Crusade





Hugh and most of his army were rescued and escorted to Constantinople, where they arrived in November 1096. Prior to his arrival, Hugh sent an arrogant, insulting letter to Eastern Roman Emperor Alexius I Comnenus. According to the Emperor's biography written by his daughter Anna Comnena (the Alexiad), he demanded that Alexius meet with him:

*"Know, O King, that I am King of Kings, and superior to all, who are under the sky. You are now permitted to greet me, on my arrival, and to receive me with magnificence, as befits my nobility."*<sup>[2]</sup>

Alexius was already wary of the armies about to arrive, after the unruly mob led by Peter the Hermit had passed through earlier in the year. Alexius kept Hugh in custody in a monastery until Hugh swore an oath of vassalage to him.

After the Crusaders had successfully made their way across Seljuk territory and, in 1098, captured Antioch, Hugh was sent back to Constantinople to appeal for reinforcements from Alexius. Alexius was uninterested\*(see below), however, and Hugh, instead of returning to Antioch to help plan the siege of Jerusalem, went back to France. There he was scorned for not having fulfilled his vow as a Crusader to complete a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and Pope Paschal II threatened to excommunicate him. He joined the minor Crusade of 1101, but was wounded in battle with the Turks in September, and died of his wounds in October in Tarsus.

- In "Urban's Crusade--Success or Failure"(Key, 1948) it is argued, indeed to the contrary, that the emperor was disturbed by Hugh's report and the disquieting rumors emitting from Antioch (on Bohemond's intent and conduct) and promptly set out to prepare another expedition: "...Alexius immediately began preparations for another expedition, and he furthermore sent envoys to the crusaders to announce its coming."

## Family and children

He married Adelaide of Vermandois, the daughter of Herbert IV, Count of Vermandois and Alice, Countess of Valois. They had nine children:

- Matilda (1080–1130), married Ralph I of Beaugency
- Elizabeth of Vermandois, Countess of Leicester (1081–1131)
- Beatrice (1082 – after 1144), married Hugh III of Gournay
- Ralph I (1085–1152)
- Constance (born 1086, date of death unknown), married Godfrey de la Ferté-Gaucher
- Agnes (1090–1125), married Boniface del Vasto
- Henry (1091–1130), Lord of Chaumont en Vexin
- Simon (1093–1148)
- William (c. 1094 – c. 1096)

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# Humphrey I de Bohun

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**Humphrey I de Bohun** (died c.1123) was an Anglo-Norman aristocrat, the youngest son of Humphrey with the Beard, who had taken part in the Norman conquest of England in 1066. He married Maud, a daughter of the Anglo-Saxon landholder Edward of Salisbury, through whom he acquired an honour in Wiltshire with its seat at Trowbridge. He was succeeded by his son Humphrey II, who with his mother founded the Cluniac priory of Monkton Farleigh to fulfill the late Humphrey's wishes. By his marriage he was "the founder of the fortunes of his family" and for this reason is usually enumerated "Humphrey I" even though he was the second Humphrey de Bohun in England.<sup>[1]</sup> He has even been called **Humphrey the Great**.<sup>[2]</sup>

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## Notes

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-

# Ivan III of Russia

Ivan III (The Great)	
Grand Prince of All Russia	
Grand Prince of Moscow	
Reign	5 April 1462 – 27 October 1505
Coronation	14 April 1502
Predecessor	Vasily II
Successor	Vasily III
Consort	
Maria of Tver Sophia Paleologue	
Issue	
Ivan Ivanovich Vasili Ivanovich Yury Ivanovich Dmitry Ivanovich Simeon Ivanovich Andrey Ivanovich Elena Ivanovna Feodosia Ivanovna Eudokia Ivanovna	
Full name	
Ivan Vasilyevich	
Dynasty	Rurik
Father	Vasily II
Mother	Maria of Borovsk
Born	22 January 1440 Moscow, Grand Duchy of Moscow
Died	27 October 1505 (aged 65) Moscow, Grand Duchy of Moscow
Religion	Eastern Orthodox

**Ivan III (The Great) Vasilyevich** (Russian: Иван III Васильевич) (22 January 1440, Moscow – 27 October 1505, Moscow), also known as **Ivan the Great**,<sup>[1][2]</sup> was a Grand Prince of Moscow and "Grand Prince of all Rus" (Великий князь всея Руси). Sometimes referred to as the "gatherer of the Russian lands", he tripled the territory of his state, ended the dominance of the Golden Horde over the Rus, renovated the Moscow Kremlin, and laid the foundations of the Russian state. He was one of the longest-reigning Russian rulers in history.

## Background



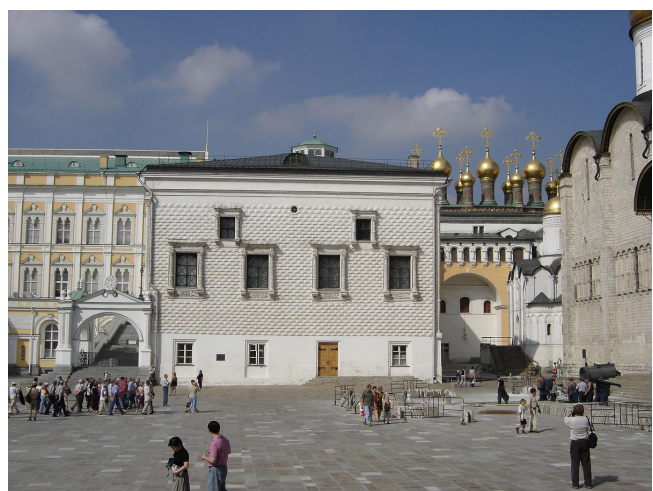
"Albus rex" Ivan III

Ivan was born to Vasily II the Blind and Yelena of Borovsk. He was co-regent with his disabled father during the later years of the latter's life. Ivan was only 22 years old when his father died. Ivan tenaciously pursued the unifying policy of his predecessors. Nevertheless, he was cautious to the point of timidity. He avoided as far as possible any violent collision with his neighbors until all the circumstances were exceptionally favorable, always preferring to attain his ends gradually and circuitously. The Grand Duchy of Moscow had by this time become a compact and powerful state, whilst her rivals had grown weaker, a state of affairs very favorable to the speculative activity of a statesman of Ivan III's peculiar character. Before he died he made an impressive program for, centered around and directed by, Italian artists and craftsmen. His plan was able to make new buildings in the Kremlin and the walls were strengthened and furnished with towers and gates. Ivan III reigned for forty three years, dying on 27 October 1505 and he left his empire to his son Vasili.

## Gathering of Russian lands

His first enterprise was a war with the Republic of Novgorod, which had fought a series of wars stretching back to at least the reign of Dmitry Donskoi over Moscow's religious and political sovereignty more generally and over Moscow's efforts to seize land in the Northern Dvina region more specifically.<sup>[3]</sup> Alarmed at Moscow's growing power, Novgorod had negotiated with Lithuania in the hope of placing itself under the protection of Casimir IV, King of Poland and Grand Prince of Lithuania, a would-be alliance regarded by Moscow as an act of apostasy from orthodoxy.<sup>[4]</sup> Ivan took the field against Novgorod in 1470, and after his generals had twice defeated the forces of the republic, at the Battle of Shelon River and on the Northern Dvina, both in the summer of 1471, the Novgorodians were forced to sue for peace, agreeing to abandon their overtures to Lithuania and ceding a considerable portion of their northern territories, and paying a war indemnity of 15,500 rouble.

Ivan visited Novgorod Central several times in the next several years, persecuting a number of pro-Lithuanian boyars and confiscating their lands. In 1477, two Novgorodian envoys, claiming to have been sent by the archbishops and the entire city, addressed Ivan in public audience as *Gosudar* (sovereign) instead of the usual *Gospodin* (sir).<sup>[5]</sup> Ivan at once seized upon this as a recognition of his sovereignty, and when the Novgorodians repudiated the envoys (indeed, one was killed at the veche and several others of the pro-Moscow faction were killed with him) and swore openly in front of the Moscow ambassadors that they would turn to Lithuania again, he marched against them.



The Palace of Facets (1487–91) was commissioned by Ivan from Italian architects.

Deserted by Casimir IV and surrounded on every side by the Moscow armies, that occupied the major monasteries around the city, Novgorod recognized Ivan's direct rule over the city and its vast hinterland in a document signed and sealed by Archbishop Feofil of Novgorod (1470–1480) on 15 January 1478.<sup>[6]</sup>



Destruction of Novgorod's assembly by Ivan III

Ivan dispossessed Novgorod of over four-fifths of its land, keeping half for himself and giving the other half to his allies.<sup>[7]</sup> Subsequent revolts (1479–1488) were punished by the removal en masse of the richest and most ancient families of Novgorod to Moscow, Vyatka, and other central Russian cities. Archbishop Feofil, too, was removed to Moscow for plotting against the grand prince.<sup>[8]</sup> The rival republic of Pskov owed the continuance of its own political existence to the readiness with which it assisted Ivan against its ancient enemy. The other principalities were virtually absorbed, by conquest, purchase or marriage contract: Yaroslavl in

1463, Rostov was bought in 1474, Tver in 1485, Vyatka 1489.

Ivan's refusal to share his conquests with his brothers, and his subsequent interference with the internal politics of their inherited principalities, involved him in several wars with them, from which, though the princes were assisted by Lithuania, he emerged victorious. Finally, Ivan's new rule of government, formally set forth in his last will to the effect that the domains of all his kinsfolk, after their deaths, should pass directly to the reigning grand duke instead of reverting, as hitherto, to the princes' heirs, put an end once and for all to these semi-independent princelings.

Ivan had four brothers. The eldest, Iurii died childless 12 September 1472. He only had a draft of a will which said nothing about his land. Ivan seized the land, much to the surviving brothers' fury. He placated them with some land. Boris and Andrei the elder signed treaties with Basil in February and September 1473. They agreed to protect each others' land and not have secret dealings with foreign states. They broke this clause in 1480, fleeing to Lithuania. It is unknown if Andrei the younger signed a treaty. He died in 1481 leaving his lands to Ivan. In 1491 Andrei the elder was arrested by Ivan for refusing to aid the Crimean Tatars against the Golden Horde. He died in prison in 1493, Ivan seized his land. In 1494 Boris died, the only brother able to pass his land to his sons Ivan and Fedor. However, their land reverted to the Tsar upon their deaths in 1503 and 1515 respectively.<sup>[9]</sup>

There was one semi-autonomous prince in Muscovy when Ivan acceded: Prince Mikhail Andreevich of Vereia, who had been awarded a Appanage by Basil II. In 1478 he was pressured into giving Belozersk to Ivan who got all of Mikhail's land on his death in 1486.<sup>[10]</sup>



## Domestic policy



The character of the government of Moscow under Ivan III changed essentially and took on a new autocratic form. This was due not merely to the natural consequence of the hegemony of Moscow over the other Russian lands but to new imperial pretensions. After the fall of Constantinople, orthodox canonists were inclined to regard the Grand Princes of Moscow as the successors by the Byzantine emperors. Ivan himself appeared to welcome the idea, and he began to style himself tsar in foreign correspondence.

This movement coincided with a change in the family circumstances of Ivan III. After the death of his first consort, Maria of Tver (1467), at the suggestion of Pope Paul II (1469), who hoped thereby to bind Russia to the Holy See, Ivan III wedded Sophia Paleologue (also known under her original Greek and Orthodox name of Zoe), daughter of Thomas Palaeologus, despot of Morea, who claimed the throne of Constantinople as the brother of Constantine XI, last Byzantine emperor. Frustrating the Pope's hopes of re-uniting the two faiths, the princess endorsed Orthodoxy. Due to her family traditions, she

encouraged imperial ideas in the mind of her consort. It was through her influence that the ceremonious etiquette of Constantinople (along with the imperial double-headed eagle and all that it implied) was adopted by the court of Moscow.

Ivan's son with Maria of Tver, Ivan the Young, died in 1490, leaving from his marriage with Helen of Moldavia an only child, Dmitry the Grandson. The latter was crowned as successor by his grandfather on 15 February 1491, but later Ivan reverted his decision in favor of Sophia's elder son Vasily who was ultimately crowned co-regent with his father (14 April 1502). The decision was dictated by the crisis connected with the Sect of Skhariya the Jew as well as by the imperial prestige of Sophia's descendants. Dmitry the Grandson was put into prison where he died, unmarried and childless, in 1509, already under the rule of his uncle.

The grand duke increasingly held aloof from his boyars. The old patriarchal systems of government vanished. The boyars were no longer consulted on affairs of state. The sovereign became sacrosanct, while the boyars were reduced to dependency on the will of the sovereign. The boyars naturally resented this revolution and struggled against it.

It was in the reign of Ivan III that the new Russian Sudebnik, or law code, was compiled by the scribe Vladimir Gusev. Ivan did his utmost to make his capital a worthy successor to Constantinople, and with that object invited many foreign masters and artificers to settle in Moscow. The most noted of these was the Italian Ridolfo di Fioravante, nicknamed "Aristotle" because of his extraordinary knowledge, who built several cathedrals and palaces in the Kremlin. This extraordinary monument of the Moscow art remains a lasting symbol of the power and glory of Ivan III.



## Foreign policy

It was in the reign of Ivan III that Russia rejected the Tatar yoke. In 1476 Ivan refused to pay the customary tribute to the grand Khan Ahmed. All through the autumn the Russian and Tatar hosts confronted each other on opposite sides of the Ugra, till the 11th of November 1480, when Ahmed retired into the steppe.

In the following year the Grand Khan, while preparing a second expedition against Moscow, was suddenly attacked, routed and slain by Ivak, the Khan of the Nogay Horde, whereupon the Golden Horde suddenly fell to pieces. In 1487 Ivan reduced the khanate of Kazan one of the offshoots of the Horde to the condition of a vassal-state, though in his later years it broke away from his suzerainty. With the other Muslim powers, the Khan of the Crimean Khanate and the sultans of Ottoman Empire, Ivan's relations were pacific and even amicable. The Crimean Khan, Meñli I Giray, helped him against the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and facilitated the opening of diplomatic intercourse between Moscow and Istanbul, where the first Russian embassy appeared in 1495.



*Ivan III tearing the khan's letter to pieces*

It was in Ivan's reign that the Christian rulers in the Caucasus began to see the Russian monarchs as their natural allies against the Muslim regional powers. The first attempt at forging an alliance was made by Alexander I, king of a small Georgian kingdom of Kakheti, who dispatched two embassies, in 1483 and 1491, to Moscow. However, as the Russians were still too far from the Caucasus, neither of these missions had any effect on the course of events in the region. From Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, gun-founders, gold- and silversmiths and (Italian) master builders were requested by Ivan.<sup>[11]</sup>

In Nordic affairs, Ivan III concluded an offensive alliance with Hans of Denmark and maintained a regular correspondence with Emperor Maximilian I, whom called him a "brother". He built a strong citadel in Ingria named Ivangorod after himself, situated on the Russian-Estonian border opposite the fortress of Narva held by the Livonian Confederation. In the Russo-Swedish War (1495–1497) Ivan III unsuccessfully attempted to conquer Viborg from Sweden but this attempt was checked by the Swedish garrison in Viborg Castle led by Lord Knut Posse.

The further extension of the Moscow dominion was facilitated by the death of Casimir IV in 1492, when Poland and Lithuania once more parted company. The throne of Lithuania was now occupied by Casimir's son Alexander, a weak and lethargic prince so incapable of defending his possessions against the persistent attacks of the Russians that he attempted to save them by a matrimonial compact, and wedded Helena, Ivan's daughter. But the clear determination of Ivan to appropriate as much of Lithuania as possible at last compelled Alexander in 1499 to take up arms against his father-in-law. The Lithuanians were routed at Vedrosha (14 July 1500), and in 1503 Alexander was glad to purchase peace by ceding to Ivan Chernigov, Starodub, Novgorod-Seversky and sixteen other towns.

- Much information on Ivan III and his court is contained in Sigismund von Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (1549).

## Timeline

- **1462** – Becomes Tsar after his father's death
- **1463** – Annexes Yaroslavl
- **1465** – Sends an expedition to the Arctic
- **1471** – Invades Novgorod, which becomes a puppet state
- **1472** – Eldest brother, Iurii died childless; Ivan takes the land
- **1474** – Buys Rostov
- **1476** – Refuses to pay tribute to Khan Ahmed of the Golden Horde
- **1478** – Annexes the Republic of Novgorod
- **1480** – Golden Horde advances to the Ugra River but retreats (the last attempt to force Muscovy to pay tribute)
- **1481** – Younger brother Andrei dies, leaving Ivan his land
- **1483** – 1st Georgian emissary
- **1484** – 1st purge of Novgorod
- **1485** – Annexes Tver
- **1486** – The only autonomous Muscovite prince, Mikhail Andreevich of Vereia dies; Ivan takes his land.
- **1487** – Kazan Khanate becomes a Muscovite puppet state

2nd purge of Novgorod

- **1489** – Annexes Republic of Vyatka
- 3rd purge of Novgorod: 1,000 expelled.
- **1491** – Ivan's elder brother Andrei imprisoned for not helping the Crimean Khanate against the Golden Horde

2nd Georgian emissary

- **1492** – War with Lithuania started August
- **1493** – Andrei the elder dies in prison; Ivan takes his land
- **1494** – Last brother, Boris, dies and leaves his land to his sons, Ivan and Fedor

February – Lithuanian war ends

Muscovy annexes Vyazma and a sizable region in the upper reaches of the Oka River

- **1499** – Lithuania invaded
- **1503** – Ivan takes the land of his nephew Ivan on the latter's death

Chernigov, Starodub, Novgorod-Seversky, and sixteen other towns ceded by Lithuania to Muscovy, ending the war

- **1505** – Ivan dies, leaving Muscovy to his son Vasili

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- [9] Donald Ostowski, The Cambridge History of Russia vol. I pages 222–3

[10] Donald Ostowski, The Cambridge History of Russia vol. I page 224

[11] <http://www.scitech.mtesz.hu/51landmark>

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## External links

- Sudebnik (<http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/sudebnik.html>)

# John I of Portugal

John I <div>João I</div>	
King of Portugal and the Algarve	
Reign	6 April 1385 – 14 August 1433
Predecessor	Ferdinand I
Successor	Edward
Spouse	Philippa of Lancaster
Issue	Edward, King of Portugal <div>Peter, Duke of Coimbra</div> <div>Henry the Navigator</div> <div>Infanta Isabella, Duchess of Burgundy</div> <div>John, Lord of Reguengos de Monsaraz</div> <div>Fernando, the Saint Prince</div> <div>Afonso, 1st Duke of Braganza (natural son)</div> <div>Beatrice, Countess of Arundel (natural daughter)</div>
House	House of Aviz
Father	Peter I of Portugal
Mother	Teresa Lourenço
Born	11 April 1358 <div>Lisbon, Kingdom of Portugal</div>
Died	14 August 1433 (aged 75) <div>Lisbon, Kingdom of Portugal</div>
Burial	Chapel of the Founder, Monastery of Batalha, Batalha, District of Leiria, Portugal
Religion	Roman Catholicism

**John I** KG (Portuguese: **João I** [ʒuˈɐ̃w̃]; Lisbon, São João da Praça (extinct), 11 April 1358 – Lisbon, 14 August 1433) was King of Portugal and the Algarve in 1385–1433. He was called *the Good* (sometimes *the Great*) or *of Happy Memory*, more rarely and outside Portugal, in Spain, *the Bastard*, and was the first to use the title Lord of Ceuta.

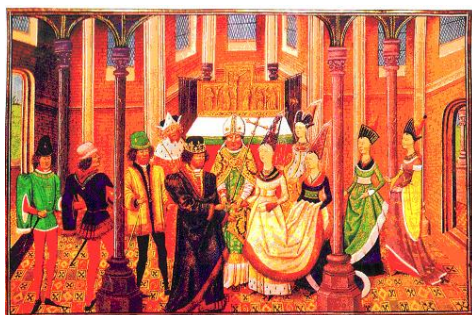
## Biography

John was the natural son of Peter I by a woman named Teresa, who, according to Fernão Lopes, was a noble Galician. In the eighteenth century, António Caetano de Sousa found a document on Torre do Tombo, of the sixteenth century, where she was named Teresa Lourenço. In 1364, by request of D. Nuno Freire de Andrade, a Galician Grand Master of the Order of Christ, he was created Grand Master of the Order of Aviz, by which title he was known. He became king in 1385, after the 1383–1385 Crisis.

On the death of his half-brother Ferdinand I without a male heir in October 1383, strenuous efforts were made to secure the succession for Princess Beatrice, Ferdinand's only daughter. As heiress presumptive, Beatrice had married king John I of Castile, but popular sentiment was against an arrangement in which Portugal would have become virtually annexed by Castile. The 1383–1385 Crisis followed, a period of political anarchy, when no monarch ruled the country.

On 6 April 1385, the Council of the Kingdom (the Portuguese Cortes) met in Coimbra and declared John, then Master of Aviz, King of Portugal. This was followed by the liberation of almost all of the Minho in only two months, on the war against Castile and its claims to the Portuguese throne. Soon after, the King of Castile again invaded Portugal with the purpose of conquering Lisbon and removing John I from the throne. John I of Castile was accompanied by French allied cavalry while English troops and generals took the side of John (see Hundred Years' War). John I and Nuno Álvares Pereira, his loyal Constable and talented supporter, repelled the attack on the decisive Battle of Aljubarrota (14 August 1385), where the Castilian army was virtually annihilated. John I of Castile then retreated. The Castilian forces abandoned Santarém, Torres Vedras, Torres Novas, many other towns were delivered to John I by Portuguese nobles from the Castilian side and the stability of the Portuguese throne was permanently secured.

On 11 February 1387, John I married Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, who had proved to be a worthy ally, consolidating the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance that endures to the present day.



The wedding of João I of Portugal, 11 February 1387 with Philippa of Lancaster, by XV Century painter and manuscript illuminator from around Lille, now in France, the Master of Wavrin, a.k.a. Master of Jean Wavrin

After the death of John I of Castile in 1390, without leaving issue by Beatrice, John I of Portugal ruled in peace and pursued the economic development of the country. The only significant military action was the siege and conquest of the city of Ceuta in 1415. By this step he aimed to control navigation of the African coast. But in the broader perspective, this was the first step opening the Arabian world to medieval Europe, which in fact led to the Age of Discovery with Portuguese explorers sailing across the whole world.

Contemporaneous writers describe John as a man of wit, very keen on concentrating power on himself, but at the same time with a benevolent and kind personality. His youthful education as master of a religious order made him an unusually learned king for the

Middle Ages. His love for knowledge and culture was passed to his sons, often collectively referred to by Portuguese historians as the "illustrious generation" (*Ínclita Geração*): Edward, the future king, was a poet and a writer; Peter, the Duke of Coimbra, was one of the most learned princes of his time; and Prince Henry the Navigator, the duke of Viseu, invested heavily in science and the development of nautical pursuits. In 1430, John's only surviving daughter, Isabella, married Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and enjoyed an extremely refined court culture in his lands; she was the mother of Charles the Bold.

## Marriages and descendants

John I married in Porto on 2 February 1387 Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, 1st Duke of Lancaster and Blanche of Lancaster. From that marriage were born several famous princes and princesses of Portugal (*infantes*) that became known as the Illustrious Generation<<Dudenha>> (Portuguese: *Ínclita Geração*).

Name	Birth	Death	Notes
<b>By Philippa of Lancaster</b> (1359– 19 July 1415; married on 2 February 1387)			
Infanta Blanche	13 July 1388	6 March 1389	
Infante Afonso	30 July 1390	22 December 1400	
King Edward	31 October 1391	13 September 1438	Who succeeded him as King of Portugal.
Infante Peter	9 December 1392	20 May 1449	Duke of Coimbra. Died in the Battle of Alfarrobeira.
Infante Henry	4 March 1394	13 November 1460	Known as Henry the Navigator. Duke of Viseu and Grand-Master of the Order of Christ.
Infanta Isabella	21 February 1397	11 December 1471	Duchess Consort of Burgundy by marriage to Philip III, Duke of Burgundy.
Infanta Blanche	11 April 1398	27 July 1398	
Infante John	13 January 1400	18 October 1442	Constable of the Kingdom and grandfather of Isabella I of Castile.
Infante Ferdinand	29 September 1402	5 June 1443	Grand Master of the Order of Aviz. Died in captivity in Fes, Morocco.
<b>By Inês Peres</b> (c. 1350–1400?)			
Afonso	10 August 1377	15 December 1461	Natural son and 1st Duke of Braganza.
Branca	1378	1379	Natural daughter.
Beatrice	c. 1382	25 October 1439	Natural daughter. Countess of Arundel by marriage to Thomas Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel. Countess of Huntingdon by marriage to John Holland, 2nd Earl of Huntingdon, later Duke of Exeter.


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# John II of Aragon

John II	
	
Sixteenth-century portrait of John II	
King of Aragon	
Reign	27 June 1458 – 20 January 1479
Predecessor	Alfonso V
Successor	Ferdinand II
<i>jure uxoris</i> , later <i>de facto</i> King of Navarre	
Reign	8 September 1425 – 20 January 1479
Coronation	15/18 May 1429 (Pamplona)
Predecessor	Blanche I
Successor	Eleanor
Consort	Blanche I of Navarre Juana Enríquez
<i>among others...</i>	
Issue	
Charles IV of Navarre Blanche II of Navarre Eleanor I of Navarre Ferdinand II of Aragon Joanna, Queen of Naples	
House	House of Trastámara
Father	Ferdinand I of Aragon
Mother	Eleanor of Alburquerque
Born	29 June 1398 Medina del Campo
Died	20 January 1479 (aged 81) Barcelona
Burial	Poblet Monastery
Religion	Roman Catholicism

**John II the Faithless**<sup>[1]</sup>, also known as the Great (29 June 1398 – 20 January 1479)<sup>[2]</sup> was the King of Aragon from 1458 until 1479, and *jure uxoris* King of Navarre from 1425 until his death. He was the son of Ferdinand I and his

wife Eleanor of Albuquerque. John is regarded as one of the most memorable and most unscrupulous kings of the 15th century.

## Biography



A Sicilian–Athenian–Neopatrian *carlino* of John II.

John was born at Medina del Campo.

In his youth he was one of the *infantes* (princes) of Aragon who took part in the dissensions of Castile during the minority and reign of John II. Till middle life he was also lieutenant-general in Aragon for his brother and predecessor Alfonso V, whose reign was mainly spent in Italy. In his old age he was engaged in incessant conflicts with his Aragonese and Catalan subjects, with Louis XI of France, and in preparing the way for the marriage of his son Ferdinand with Isabella I of Castile which brought about the union of the crowns of Aragon and

Castile, that was to create the Kingdom of Spain. His trouble with his subjects were closely connected with the tragic dissension in his own family.

John was first married to Blanche I of Navarre of the house of Évreux. By right of Blanche he became king of Navarre, and on her death in 1441 he was left in possession of the kingdom for his lifetime. But a son, Charles, given the title "Prince of Viana" as heir of Navarre, had been born of the marriage. John quickly came to regard his son with jealousy. After his second marriage, to Juana Enríquez, this grew into absolute hatred and was encouraged by Juana. John tried to deprive his son of his constitutional right to act as lieutenant-general of Aragon during his father's absence. Charles's cause was taken up by the Aragonese, and the king's attempt to make his second wife lieutenant-general was set aside.

There followed the long Navarrese Civil War, with alternations of success and defeat, ending only with the death of the prince of Viana, perhaps by poison given him by his stepmother, in 1461. The Catalans, who had adopted the cause of Charles and who had grievances of their own, called in a succession of foreign pretenders in a War against John II. John spent his last years contending with these. He was forced to pawn Roussillon, his possession on the north-east of the Pyrenees, to King Louis XI of France, who refused to part with it.

In his old age John was blinded by cataracts, but recovered his eyesight by the operation of couching conducted by his physician Abiathar Crescas, a Jew. The Catalan revolt was pacified in 1472, but John carried on a war, in which he was generally unfortunate, with his neighbor the French king till his death in 1479. He was succeeded by Ferdinand, his son by his second marriage, who was already married to Isabella I of Castile. With his death and son's accession to the throne of Aragon, the unification of Spain under one royal house began in earnest.

## Marriages and Issue

From his first marriage to Blanche of Navarre, John had the following children:

- *King* Charles IV of Navarre (1421–1461)
- *Infanta* Juana (1423 – 22 August 1425)
- *Queen* Blanche II of Navarre (1424–1464)
- *Queen* Eleanor of Navarre

From his second marriage to Juana Enríquez, John had the following children:

- Ferdinand II of Aragon
- Joanna of Aragon (1454–1517). Married Ferdinand I of Naples.

Illegitimate children:

- Alfonso de Aragón y de Escobar, Duke of Villahermosa

- Juan de Aragón, Archbishop of Zaragoza
- [[Phillipe del Radona

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Rome to the Empire after being under barbarian control for over half a century.

The prefect Liberius reclaimed most of southern Iberia, establishing the province of Spania. These campaigns re-established Roman control over the western Mediterranean, increasing the Empire's annual revenue by over a million solidi.<sup>[3]</sup> During his reign Justinian also subdued the *Tzani*, a people on the east coast of the Black Sea that had never been under Roman rule before.<sup>[4]</sup>

A still more resonant aspect of his legacy was the uniform rewriting of Roman law, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, which is still the basis of civil law in many modern states. His reign also marked a blossoming of Byzantine culture, and his building program yielded such masterpieces as the church of Hagia Sophia, which was to be the center of Eastern Orthodox Christianity for many centuries.

A devastating outbreak of bubonic plague (see Plague of Justinian) in the early 540s marked the end of an age of splendor. The Empire entered a period of territorial decline not to be reversed until the ninth century.

Procopius provides the primary source for the history of Justinian's reign. The Syriac chronicle of John of Ephesus, which does not survive, was used as a source for later chronicles, contributing many additional details of value. Both historians became very bitter towards Justinian and his empress, Theodora.<sup>[5]</sup> Other sources include the histories of Agathias, Menander Protector, John Malalas, the Paschal Chronicle, the chronicles of Marcellinus Comes and Victor of Tunnuna.

Justinian is considered a saint amongst Orthodox Christians, and is also commemorated by some Lutheran Churches.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Life

### Summary

Justinian was born in Tauresium<sup>[7]</sup> around 482.<sup>[8]</sup> His Latin-speaking peasant family is believed to have been of Thraco-Roman or Illyro-Roman origins.<sup>[9][10][11]</sup>

The cognomen *Iustinianus* which he took later is indicative of adoption by his uncle Justin.<sup>[12]</sup> During his reign, he founded Justiniana Prima not far from his birthplace, today in South East Serbia.<sup>[13][14][15]</sup> His mother was Vigilantia, the sister of Justin. Justin, who was in the imperial guard (the Excubitors) before he became emperor,<sup>[16]</sup> adopted Justinian, brought him to Constantinople, and ensured the boy's education.<sup>[16]</sup> As a result, Justinian was well educated in jurisprudence, theology and Roman history.<sup>[16]</sup> Justinian served for some time with the

Excubitors but the details of his early career are unknown.<sup>[16]</sup> Chronicler John Malalas, who lived during the reign of Justinian, tells of his appearance that he was short, fair skinned, curly haired, round faced and handsome. Another contemporary chronicler, Procopius, compares Justinian's appearance to that of tyrannical Emperor Domitian, although this is probably slander.<sup>[17]</sup>



The ancient town of Tauresium, the birthplace of Justinian I, located in today's Republic of Macedonia.



When Emperor Anastasius died in 518, Justin was proclaimed the new Emperor, with significant help from Justinian.<sup>[16]</sup> During Justin's reign (518–527), Justinian was the Emperor's close confidant. Justinian showed much ambition, and it has been thought that he was functioning as virtual regent long before Justin made him associate Emperor on 1 April 527, although there is no conclusive evidence for this.<sup>[18]</sup> As Justin became senile near the end of his reign, Justinian became the *de facto* ruler.<sup>[16]</sup> Justinian was appointed consul in 521, and later commander of the army of the east.<sup>[16][19]</sup> Upon Justin I's death on 1 August 527, Justinian became the sole sovereign.<sup>[16]</sup>



Monument in downtown of Skopje, close to his birth place



Tremissis of Emperor Justinian.

As a ruler, Justinian showed great energy. He was known as "the Emperor who never sleeps" on account of his work habits. Nevertheless, he seems to have been amenable and easy to approach.<sup>[20]</sup> Justinian's family came from a lowly and provincial background, and therefore he had no power base in the traditional aristocracy of Constantinople. Instead, he surrounded himself with men and women of extraordinary talent, whom he selected not on the basis of aristocratic origin, but on the

basis of merit.

Around 525 he married in Constantinople his mistress Theodora, who was by profession a courtesan about 20 years his junior. Justinian would have, in earlier times, been unable to marry her because of her class, but his uncle Emperor Justin I had passed a law allowing intermarriage between social classes.<sup>[21] [22]</sup> Theodora would become very influential in the politics of the Empire, and later emperors would follow Justinian's precedent in marrying outside the aristocratic class. The marriage caused a scandal, but Theodora would prove to be very intelligent, "street smart", a good judge of character and Justinian's greatest supporter. Other talented individuals included Tribonian, his legal adviser; Peter the Patrician, the diplomat and longtime head of the palace bureaucracy; his finance ministers John the Cappadocian and Peter Barsymes, who managed to collect taxes more efficiently than any before, thereby funding Justinian's wars; and finally, his prodigiously talented general Belisarius.

Justinian's rule was not universally popular; early in his reign he almost lost his throne during the Nika riots, and a conspiracy against the Emperor's life by dissatisfied businessmen was discovered as late as 562.<sup>[23]</sup>

Justinian was struck by the plague in the early 540s but recovered. Theodora died in 548, perhaps of cancer,<sup>[24]</sup> at a relatively young age; Justinian outlived her by almost twenty years. Justinian, who had always had a keen interest in theological matters and actively participated in debates on Christian doctrine,<sup>[25]</sup> became even more devoted to religion during the later years of his life. When he died, on 14 November of the year 565,<sup>[8]</sup> he left no children. He was succeeded by Justin II, who was the son of his sister Vigilantia, and married to Sophia, the niece of Empress Theodora. Justinian's body was entombed in a specially built mausoleum in the Church of the Holy Apostles.



## Legislative activities

Justinian achieved lasting fame through his judicial reforms, particularly through the complete revision of all Roman law,<sup>[26]</sup> something that had not previously been attempted. The total of Justinian's legislature is known today as the *Corpus juris civilis*. It consists of the *Codex Iustinianus*, the *Digesta* or *Pandectae*, the *Institutiones*, and the *Novellae*.

Early in his reign, Justinian appointed the *quaestor* Tribonian to oversee this task. The first draft of the *Codex Iustinianus*, a codification of imperial constitutions from the 2nd century onward, was issued on 7 April 529. (The final version appeared in 534.) It was followed by the *Digesta* (or *Pandectae*), a compilation of older legal texts, in 533, and by the *Institutiones*, a textbook explaining the principles of law. The *Novellae*, a collection of new laws issued during Justinian's reign, supplements the *Corpus*. As opposed to the rest of the corpus, the *Novellae* appeared in Greek, the common language of the Eastern Empire.

The *Corpus* forms the basis of Latin jurisprudence (including ecclesiastical Canon Law) and, for historians, provides a valuable insight into the concerns and activities of the later Roman Empire. As a collection it gathers together the many sources in which the *leges* (laws) and the other rules were expressed or published: proper laws, senatorial consults (*senatusconsulta*), imperial decrees, case law, and jurists' opinions and interpretations (*responsa prudentum*).

Tribonian's code ensured the survival of Roman law. It formed the basis of later Byzantine law, as expressed in the *Basilika* of Basil I and Leo VI the Wise. The only western province where the Justinianic code was introduced was Italy (after the conquest, by the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of 554),<sup>[27]</sup> from where it was to pass to Western Europe in the 12th century and become the basis of much European law code. It eventually passed to Eastern Europe where it appeared in Slavic editions, and it also passed on to Russia.<sup>[28]</sup> It remains influential to this day.

He passed laws to protect prostitutes from exploitation and women being forced into prostitution. Rapists were treated severely. Women charged with major crimes should be guarded by other women to prevent sexual abuse. After a woman got widowed, her dowry should be returned and a husband could not take on a major debt without his wife giving her consent twice.<sup>[29]</sup>

## Nika riots

Justinian's habit of choosing efficient, but unpopular advisers nearly cost him his throne early in his reign. In January 532, partisans of the chariot racing factions in Constantinople, normally divided among themselves, united against Justinian in a revolt that has become known as the Nika riots. They forced him to dismiss Tribonian and two of his other ministers, and then attempted to overthrow Justinian himself and replace him by the senator Hypatius, who was a nephew of the late emperor Anastasius. While the crowd was rioting in the streets, Justinian considered fleeing the capital, but he remained in the city on the stirring words of Theodora (according to Procopius, she said "For an Emperor to become a fugitive is not a thing to be endured...I hold with the old saying that the purple makes an excellent shroud".) In the next two days, he ordered the brutal suppression of the riots by his generals Belisarius and



The Barberini Ivory, which is thought to portray either Justinian or Anastasius I

Mundus. Procopius relates that 30,000<sup>[30]</sup> unarmed civilians were killed in the Hippodrome. On Theodora's insistence, and apparently against his own judgment,<sup>[31]</sup> Justinian had Anastasius' nephews executed.<sup>[32]</sup>

The destruction that had taken place during the revolt provided Justinian with an opportunity to tie his name to a series of splendid new buildings, most notably the architectural innovation of the domed Hagia Sophia.

## Military activities

One of the most spectacular features of Justinian's reign was the recovery of large stretches of land around the Western Mediterranean basin which had slipped out of Imperial control in the 5th century.<sup>[33]</sup> As a Christian Roman emperor, Justinian considered it his divine duty to restore the Roman Empire to its ancient boundaries. Although he never personally took part in military campaigns, he boasted of his successes in the prefaces to his laws and had them commemorated in art.<sup>[34]</sup> The re-conquests were in large part carried out by his general Belisarius.<sup>[35]</sup>

## War with the Sassanid Empire, 527–532

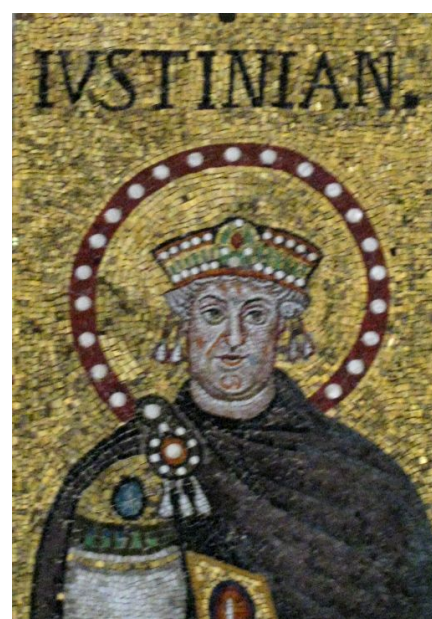
From his uncle, Justinian inherited ongoing hostilities with the Sassanid Empire.<sup>[36]</sup> In 530 a Persian army was defeated at Dara, but the next year saw the defeat of Roman forces under Belisarius near Callinicum. When king Kavadh I of Persia died (September 531), Justinian concluded an "Eternal Peace" (which cost him 11,000 pounds of gold)<sup>[37]</sup> with his successor Khosrau I (532). Having thus secured his eastern frontier, Justinian turned his attention to the West, where Arian Germanic kingdoms had been established in the territories of the former Western Roman Empire.

## Conquest of North Africa, 533–534

The first of the western kingdoms Justinian attacked was that of the Vandals in North Africa. King Hilderic, who had maintained good relations with Justinian and the North African Catholic clergy, had been overthrown by his cousin Gelimer in 530. Imprisoned, the deposed king appealed to Justinian.

In 533, Belisarius with a fleet of 92 dromons escorting 500 transports, landed at Caput Vada (modern Ras Kaboudia) in modern Tunisia with an army of about 15,000 men, as well as a number of barbarian troops. They defeated the Vandals, who were caught completely off-guard, at Ad Decimum on 14 September 533 and Tricamarum in December; Belisarius took Carthage. King Gelimer fled to Mount Pappua in Numidia, but surrendered the next spring. He was taken to Constantinople, where he was paraded in a triumph. Sardinia and Corsica, the Balearic Islands, and the stronghold Septem near Gibraltar were recovered in the same campaign.<sup>[38]</sup>

An African prefecture, centered in Carthage, was established in April 534,<sup>[39]</sup> but it would teeter on the brink of collapse during the next 15 years, amidst warfare with the Moors and military mutinies. The area was not completely pacified until 548,<sup>[40]</sup> but remained peaceful thereafter and enjoyed a measure of prosperity. The recovery of Africa cost the empire about 100,000 pounds of gold.<sup>[41]</sup>



An older Justinian; mosaic in Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (possibly a modified portrait of Theodoric).

### War in Italy, first phase, 535–540

As in Africa, dynastic struggles in Ostrogothic Italy provided an opportunity for intervention. The young king Athalaric had died on 2 October 534, and an usurper, Theodahad, had imprisoned queen Amalasuntha, Theodoric's daughter and mother of Athalaric, on the island of Martana in Lake Bolsena, where he had her assassinated in 535. Thereupon Belisarius with 7,500 men<sup>[42]</sup> invaded Sicily (535) and advanced into Italy, sacking Naples and capturing Rome on 9 December 536. By that time Theodahad had been deposed by the Ostrogothic army, who had elected Vitigis as their new king. He gathered a large army and besieged Rome from February 537 to March 538 without being able to retake the city.

Justinian sent another general, Narses, to Italy, but tensions between Narses and Belisarius hampered the progress of the campaign. Milan was taken, but was soon recaptured and razed by the Ostrogoths. Justinian recalled Narses in 539. By then the military situation had turned in favour of the Romans, and in 540 Belisarius reached the Ostrogothic capital Ravenna. There he was offered the title of Western Roman Emperor by the Ostrogoths at the same time that envoys of Justinian were arriving to negotiate a peace which would leave the region north of the Po River in Gothic hands. Belisarius feigned to accept the offer, entered the city in May 540, and reclaimed it for the Empire.<sup>[43]</sup> Then, having been recalled by Justinian, Belisarius returned to Constantinople, taking the captured Vitigis and his wife Matasuntha with him.

### War with the Sassanid Empire, 540–562



Modern or early modern drawing of a medallion celebrating the reconquest of Africa, c. 535

Belisarius had been recalled in the face of renewed hostilities by the Persians. Following a revolt against the Empire in Armenia in the late 530s and possibly motivated by the pleas of Ostrogothic ambassadors, King Khosrau I broke the "Eternal Peace" and invaded Roman territory in the spring of 540.<sup>[44]</sup> He first sacked Beroea and then Antioch (allowing the garrison of 6,000 men to leave the city),<sup>[45]</sup> besieged Daras, and then went on to attack the small but strategically significant satellite kingdom of Lazica near

the Black Sea, exacting tribute from the towns he passed along his way. He forced Justinian I to pay him 5,000 pounds of gold, plus 500 pounds of gold more each year.<sup>[45]</sup>

Belisarius arrived in the East in 541, but, after some success, was again recalled to Constantinople in 542. The reasons for his withdrawal are not known, but it may have been instigated by rumours of disloyalty on behalf of the general reaching the court.<sup>[46]</sup> The outbreak of the plague caused a lull in the fighting during the year 543. The following year Khosrau defeated a Byzantine army of 30,000 men,<sup>[47]</sup> but unsuccessfully besieged the major city of Edessa. Both parties made little headway, and in 545 a truce was agreed upon for the southern part of the Roman-Persian frontier. After that the Lazic War in the North continued for several years, until a second truce in 557, followed by a Fifty Years' Peace in 562. Under its terms, the Persians agreed to abandon Lazica in exchange for an annual tribute of 400 or 500 pounds of gold (30,000 *solidi*) to be paid by the Romans.<sup>[48]</sup>

### War in Italy, second phase, 541–554

While military efforts were directed to the East, the situation in Italy took a turn for the worse. Under their respective kings Ildibad and Eraric (both murdered in 541) and especially Totila, the Ostrogoths made quick gains. After a victory at Faenza in 542, they reconquered the major cities of Southern Italy and soon held almost the entire peninsula. Belisarius was sent back to Italy late in 544, but lacked sufficient troops. Making no headway, he was relieved of his command in 548. Belisarius succeeded in defeating a Gothic fleet with 200 ships. During this period the city of Rome changed hands three more times, first taken and depopulated by the Ostrogoths in December 546, then reconquered by the Byzantines in 547, and then again by the Goths in January 550. Totila also plundered Sicily and attacked the Greek coastlines.

Finally, Justinian dispatched a force of approximately 35,000 men (2,000 men were detached and sent to invade southern Visigothic Spain) under the command of Narses.<sup>[49]</sup> The army reached Ravenna in June 552, and defeated the Ostrogoths decisively within a month at the battle of Busta Gallorum in the Apennines, where Totila was slain. After a second battle at Mons Lactarius in October that year, the resistance of the Ostrogoths was finally broken. In 554, a large-scale Frankish invasion was defeated at Casilinum, and Italy secured for the Empire, even though it would take Narses several years to reduce the remaining Gothic strongholds. At the end of the war, Italy was garrisoned with an army of 16,000 men.<sup>[50]</sup> The recovery of Italy cost the empire about 300,000 pounds of gold.<sup>[41]</sup>

### Other campaigns



Spanish Visigothic gold tremisses in the name of emperor Justinian I, 7th century. The Christian cross on the breast defines the Visigothic attribution. British Museum.

In addition to the other conquests, the Empire established a presence in Visigothic Spain, when the usurper Athanagild requested assistance in his rebellion against king Agila I. In 552, Justinian dispatched a force of 2,000 men; according to the historian Jordanes, this army was led by the octogenarian Liberius.<sup>[51]</sup> The Byzantines took Cartagena and other cities on the southeastern coast and founded the new province of Spania before being checked by their former ally Athanagild, who had by now become king. This campaign marked the apogee of Byzantine expansion.

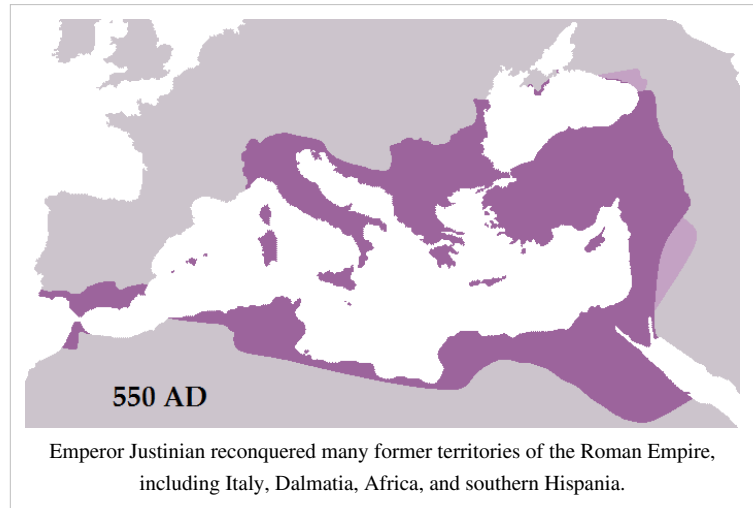
During Justinian's reign, the Balkans suffered from several incursions by the Turkic and Slavic peoples who lived north of the Danube. Here, Justinian resorted mainly to a combination of diplomacy and a system of defensive works. In 559 a particularly dangerous invasion of Sklavinoi and Kutrigurs under their khan Zabergan threatened Constantinople, but they were repulsed by the aged general Belisarius.



## Results

Justinian's ambition to restore the Roman Empire to its former glory was only partly realised. In the West, the brilliant early military successes of the 530s were followed by years of stagnation. The dragging war with the Goths was a disaster for Italy, even though its long-lasting effects may have been less severe than is sometimes thought.<sup>[52]</sup> The heavy taxes that the administration imposed upon its population were deeply resented. While the final victory in Italy and the conquest of the coast of southern Spain significantly enlarged the area over which the Empire could project its

power and influence, and while they must have contributed to the Empire's prestige, most of the conquests proved ephemeral. The greater part of Italy would be lost to the invading Lombards three years after Justinian's death (568), the newly founded province of Spania was completely recovered by the Spanish Visigoths in 624 under the leadership of Suintila, and within a century and a half Africa would be forever lost for the empire to the Rashidun and Umayyad Caliphates during the Muslim conquests.



Events of the later years of the reign showed that Constantinople itself was not safe from barbarian incursions from the north, and even the relatively benevolent historian Menander Protector felt the need to explain the Emperor's failure to protect the capital from the weakness of his body in his old age.<sup>[53]</sup> In his efforts to renew the Roman Empire, Justinian dangerously stretched the resources of the Roman Empire while failing to take into account the changed realities of 6th-century Europe.<sup>[54]</sup> Paradoxically, the grand scale of Justinian's military successes probably contributed in part to the Empire's subsequent decline.<sup>[55]</sup>

## Religious activities

Justinian saw the orthodoxy of his empire threatened by diverging religious currents, especially Monophysitism, which had many adherents in the eastern provinces of Syria and Egypt. Monophysite doctrine had been condemned as a heresy by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and the tolerant policies towards Monophysitism of Zeno and Anastasius I had been a source of tension in the relationship with the bishops of Rome. Justin reversed this trend and confirmed the Chalcedonian doctrine, openly condemning the Monophysites. Justinian, who continued this policy, tried to impose religious unity on his subjects by forcing them to accept doctrinal compromises that might appeal to all parties, a policy which proved unsuccessful as he satisfied none of them.

Near the end of his life, Justinian became ever more inclined towards the Monophysite doctrine, especially in the form of Aphthartodocetism, but he died before being able to issue any legislation which would have elevated its teachings to the status of dogma. The empress Theodora sympathized with the Monophysites and is said to have been a constant source of pro-Monophysite intrigues at the court in Constantinople in the earlier years. In the course of his reign Justinian, who had a genuine interest in matters of theology, authored a small number of theological treatises.<sup>[56]</sup>

## Religious policy

As with his secular administration, despotism appeared also in the Emperor's ecclesiastical policy. He regulated everything, both in religion and in law.

At the very beginning of his reign, he deemed it proper to promulgate by law the Church's belief in the Trinity and the Incarnation; and to threaten all heretics with the appropriate penalties;<sup>[57]</sup> whereas he subsequently declared that he intended to deprive all disturbers of orthodoxy of the opportunity for such offense by due process of law.<sup>[58]</sup> He made the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan creed the sole symbol of the Church,<sup>[59]</sup> and accorded legal force to the canons of the four ecumenical councils.<sup>[60]</sup> The bishops in attendance at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 recognized that nothing could be done in the Church contrary to the emperor's will and command;<sup>[61]</sup> while, on his side, the emperor, in the case of the Patriarch Anthimus, reinforced the ban of the Church with temporal proscription.<sup>[62]</sup> Justinian protected the purity of the church by suppressing heretics. He neglected no opportunity for securing the rights of the Church and clergy, for protecting and extending monasticism. He granted the monks the right to inherit property from private citizens and the right to receive solemnities or annual gifts from the Imperial treasury or from the taxes of certain provinces and he prohibited lay confiscation on monastic estates.



Justinian I, depicted on an AE Follis coin

Although the despotic character of his measures is contrary to modern sensibilities, he was indeed a "nursing father" of the Church. Both the *Codex* and the *Novellae* contain many enactments regarding donations, foundations, and the administration of ecclesiastical property; election and rights of bishops, priests and abbots; monastic life, residential obligations of the clergy, conduct of divine service, episcopal jurisdiction, etc. Justinian also rebuilt the Church of Hagia Sophia (which cost 20,000 pounds of gold),<sup>[63]</sup> the original site having been destroyed during the Nika riots. The new Hagia Sophia, with its numerous chapels and shrines, gilded octagonal dome, and mosaics, became the centre and most visible monument of Eastern Orthodoxy in Constantinople.

## Religious relations with Rome

From the middle of the fifth century onward increasingly arduous tasks confronted the emperors of the East in ecclesiastical matters. For one thing, the radicals on all sides felt themselves constantly repelled by the creed adopted by the Council of Chalcedon to defend the biblical doctrine of the nature of Christ and bridge the gap between the dogmatic parties. The letter of Pope Leo I to Flavian of Constantinople was widely considered in the East as the work of Satan; so that nobody cared to hear of the Church of Rome. The Emperors, however, had a policy of preserving the unity between Constantinople and Rome; and this remained possible only if they did not swerve from the line defined at Chalcedon. In addition, the factions in the East which had become stirred up and disaffected because of Chalcedon needed restraining and pacifying. This problem proved the more difficult because, in the East, the dissenting groups exceeded supporters of Chalcedon both in numerical strength and in intellectual ability. Tension from the incompatibility of the two aims grew: whoever chose Rome and the West must renounce the East, and vice versa.



Justinian entered the arena of ecclesiastical statecraft shortly after his uncle's accession in 518, and put an end to the Monophysite schism that had prevailed between Rome and Constantinople since 483. The recognition of the Roman see as the highest ecclesiastical authority<sup>[64]</sup> remained the cornerstone of his Western policy. Offensive as it was to many in the East, nonetheless Justinian felt himself entirely free to take a Despotic stance toward the popes such as Silverius and Vigilius. While no compromise could ever be accepted by the dogmatic wing of the church, his sincere efforts at reconciliation gained him the approval of the major body of the church. A

signal proof was his attitude in the Theopaschite controversy. At the outset he was of the opinion that the question turned on a quibble of words. By degrees, however, Justinian came to understand that the formula at issue not only appeared orthodox, but might also serve as a conciliatory measure toward the Monophysites, and he made a vain attempt to do this in the religious conference with the followers of Severus of Antioch, in 533.

Again, Justinian moved toward compromise in the religious edict of 15 March 533,<sup>[65]</sup> and congratulated himself that Pope John II admitted the orthodoxy of the imperial confession.<sup>[66]</sup> The serious blunder that he had made at the beginning by abetting a severe persecution of the Monophysite bishops and monks and thereby embittering the population of vast regions and provinces, he remedied eventually. His constant aim now remained to win over the Monophysites, yet not to surrender the Chalcedonian faith. For many at court, he did not go far enough: Theodora especially would have rejoiced to see the Monophysites favored unreservedly. Justinian, however, felt restrained by the complications that would have ensued with the West. But in the condemnation of the *Three Chapters* Justinian tried to satisfy both the East and the West, but succeeded in satisfying neither. Although the pope assented to the condemnation, the West believed that the Emperor had acted contrary to the decrees of Chalcedon. Though many delegates emerged in the East subservient to Justinian, many, especially the Monophysites, remained unsatisfied; all the more bitter for him because during his last years he took an even greater interest in theological matters.

## Suppression of religions



Justinian was one of the first Roman Emperors to be depicted wielding the cross on the obverse of a coin.



Consular diptych displaying Justinian's full name (Constantinople 521)

Justinian's religious policy reflected the Imperial conviction that the unity of the Empire unconditionally presupposed unity of faith; and it appeared to him obvious that this faith could be only the Orthodox (Nicæan). Those of a different belief had to recognize that the process of consolidation, which imperial legislation had effected from the time of Constantius II, would now vigorously continue. The *Codex* contained two statutes<sup>[67]</sup> which decreed the total

destruction of paganism, even in private life; these provisions were zealously enforced. Contemporary sources (John Malalas, Theophanes, John of Ephesus) tell of severe persecutions, even of men in high position.

Perhaps the most noteworthy event occurred in 529 when the Neoplatonic Academy of Athens was placed under state control by order of Justinian, effectively strangling this training-school for Hellenism. Paganism was actively suppressed. In Asia Minor alone, John of Ephesus claimed to have converted 70,000 pagans.<sup>[68]</sup> Other peoples also accepted Christianity: the Heruli,<sup>[69]</sup> the Huns dwelling near the Don,<sup>[70]</sup> the Abasgi,<sup>[71]</sup> and the Tzanni in Caucasia.<sup>[72]</sup>

The worship of Amun at Augila in the Libyan desert was abolished;<sup>[73]</sup> and so were the remnants of the worship of Isis on the island of Philae, at the first cataract of the Nile.<sup>[74]</sup> The Presbyter Julian<sup>[75]</sup> and the Bishop Longinus<sup>[76]</sup> conducted a mission among the Nabataeans, and Justinian attempted to strengthen Christianity in Yemen by despatching a bishop from Egypt.<sup>[77]</sup>

The civil rights of Jews were restricted<sup>[78]</sup> and their religious privileges threatened.<sup>[79]</sup> Justinian also interfered in the internal affairs of the synagogue.<sup>[80]</sup>, and he encouraged the Jews to use the Greek Septuagint in their synagogues in Constantinople.<sup>[81]</sup>

The Emperor had much trouble with the Samaritans, resisting conversion to Christianity and repeatedly in insurrection. He opposed them with rigorous edicts, but yet could not prevent hostilities towards Christians from taking place in Samaria toward the close of his reign. The consistency of Justinian's policy meant that the Manicheans too suffered severe persecution, experiencing both exile and threat of capital punishment.<sup>[82]</sup> At Constantinople, on one occasion, not a few Manicheans, after strict inquisition, were executed in the emperor's very presence: some by burning, others by drowning.<sup>[83]</sup>

## Architecture, learning, art and literature

Justinian was a prolific builder; the historian Procopius bears witness to his activities in this area.<sup>[84]</sup> Under Justinian's patronage the San Vitale in Ravenna, which features two famous mosaics representing Justinian and Theodora, was completed.<sup>[16]</sup> Most notably, he had the Hagia Sophia, originally a basilica style church that had been burnt down during the Nika riots, splendidly rebuilt according to a completely different ground plan, under the architectural supervision of Isidore of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles. According to Procopius, Justinian stated at the completion of this edifice, "Solomon I have outdone thee" (in reference to the 1st Jewish temple). This new cathedral, with its magnificent dome filled with mosaics, remained the centre of eastern Christianity for centuries.

Another prominent church in the capital, the Church of the Holy Apostles, which had been in a very poor state near the end of the 5th century, was likewise rebuilt.<sup>[85]</sup> Works of embellishment were not confined to churches alone: excavations at the site of the Great Palace of Constantinople have yielded several high-quality mosaics dating from Justinian's reign, and a column topped by a bronze statue of Justinian on horseback and dressed in a military costume was erected in the Augustaeum in Constantinople in 543.<sup>[86]</sup> Rivalry with other, more established patrons from the Constantinopolitan and exiled Roman aristocracy (like Anicia Juliana) may have enforced Justinian's building activities in the capital as a means of strengthening his dynasty's prestige.<sup>[87]</sup>

Justinian also strengthened the borders of the Empire from Africa to the East through the construction of fortifications, and ensured Constantinople of its water supply through construction of underground cisterns (see Basilica Cistern). To prevent floods from damaging the strategically important border town Dara, an advanced arch dam was built. During his reign the large Sangarius Bridge was built in Bithynia, securing a major military supply route to the east. Furthermore, Justinian restored cities damaged by earthquake or war and built a new city near his place of birth called Justiniana Prima, which was intended to replace Thessalonica as the political and religious center of the Illyricum.

In Justinian's era, and partly under his patronage, Byzantine culture produced noteworthy historians, including Procopius and Agathias, and poets such as Paul the Silentiary and Romanus the Melodist flourished during his reign.

On the other hand, centers of learning as the Platonic Academy in Athens and the famous law school of Beirut<sup>[88]</sup> lost their importance during his reign. Despite Justinian's passion for the glorious Roman past, the practice of choosing Roman consul was allowed to lapse after 541.<sup>[89]</sup>

## Economy and administration

Further information: Byzantine silk

As was the case under Justinian's predecessors, the Empire's economic health rested primarily on agriculture. In addition, long-distance trade flourished, reaching as far north as Cornwall where tin was exchanged for Roman wheat.<sup>[90]</sup> Within the Empire, convoys sailing from Alexandria provided Constantinople with wheat and grains. Justinian made the traffic more efficient by building a large granary on the island of Tenedos for storage and further transport to Constantinople.<sup>[91]</sup> Justinian also tried to find new routes for the eastern trade, which was suffering badly from the wars with the Persians.

One important luxury product was silk, which was imported and then processed in the Empire. In order to protect the manufacture of silk products, Justinian granted a monopoly to the imperial factories in 541.<sup>[92]</sup> In order to bypass the Persian landroute, Justinian established friendly relations with the Abyssinians, whom he wanted to act as trade mediators by transporting Indian silk to the Empire; the Abyssinians, however, were unable to compete with the Persian merchants in India.<sup>[93]</sup> Then, in the early 550s, two monks succeeded in smuggling eggs of silk worms from Central Asia back to Constantinople,<sup>[94]</sup> and silk became an indigenous product.

Gold and silver were mined in the Balkans, Anatolia, Armenia, Cyprus, Egypt and Nubia.<sup>[95]</sup>



Scene from daily life on a mosaic from the Great Palace of Constantinople, early 6th century

in the Greek towns.<sup>[97]</sup> It has been estimated that before Justinian I's reconquests the state had an annual revenue of 5,000,000 *solidi* in AD 530, but after his reconquests, the annual revenue was increased to 6,000,000 *solidi* in AD 550.<sup>[41]</sup>

Throughout Justinian's reign, the cities and villages of the East prospered, although Antioch was struck by two earthquakes (526, 528) and sacked and evacuated by the Persians (540). Justinian had the city rebuilt, but on a slightly smaller scale.<sup>[98]</sup> Some consider Justinian the "Last of the Romans," for he was the last Roman Emperor to speak Latin.



Gold coin of Justinian I (527–565 CE) excavated in India probably in the south, an example of Indo-Roman trade during the period.

Despite all these measures, the Empire suffered several major setbacks in the course of the 6th century. The first one was the plague, which lasted from 541 to 543 and, by decimating the Empire's population, probably created a scarcity of labor and a rising of wages.<sup>[99]</sup> The lack of manpower also led to a significant increase in the number of "barbarians" in the Byzantine armies after the early 540s.<sup>[100]</sup> The protracted war in Italy and the wars with the Persians themselves laid a heavy burden on the Empire's resources, and Justinian was criticized for curtailing the government-run post service, which he limited to only one eastern route of military importance.<sup>[101]</sup>

## In art and popular culture

Justinian was portrayed by Orson Welles in the 1968 German film *Kampf um Rom I*, directed by Robert Siodmak.

## Notes

- [1] The Inheritance of Rome, Chris Wickham, Penguin Books Ltd. 2009, ISBN 978-0-670-02098-0 (page 90)
- [2] J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century* (Cambridge, 2003), 17–19.
- Because of his restoration activities, Justinian has sometimes been called the "Last Roman" in modern historiography, for instance by G.P. Baker (*Justinian*, New York 1938), or in the *Outline of Great Books* series (*Justinian the Great*).
- [3] K.W. Harl (1998) "Finances under Justinian" (<http://www.tulane.edu/~august/H303/handouts/Finances.htm>) Retrieved 5 Apr 2011.
- [4] Evans, J. A. S., *The Age of Justinian: the circumstances of imperial power*. p 93-94
- [5] While he glorified Justinian's achievements in his panegyric and his *Wars*, Procopius also wrote a hostile account, *Anekdota* (the so-called *Secret History*), in which Justinian is depicted as a cruel, venal, and incompetent ruler.
- [6] In the Eastern Orthodox Church, Justinian is commemorated on 14 November according to the Julian calendar, which currently equals to 27 November on the Gregorian calendar. He is commemorated on 14 November of the Calendar of Saints of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod and the Lutheran Church - Canada
- [7] The precise location of this site is disputed; the possible locations include Justiniana Prima near the modern town of Lebane in southern Serbia and Taor near Skopje, Republic of Macedonia.
- [8] Cawley, Charles (14 February 2011). "Medieval Lands: Byzantium 395–1057" ([http://www.fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTIUM.htm#\\_Toc204564466](http://www.fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTIUM.htm#_Toc204564466)). *Foundation for Medieval Genealogy*. fmg.ac. . Retrieved 20 February 2012.
- [9] Justinian referred to Latin as being his native tongue in several of his laws. See Moorhead (1994), p. 18.
- [10] The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian by Michael Maas ([http://books.google.com/books?id=9AvjaThtrKYC&pg=PA74&dq=Justinian++latin-speaking+Illyrians&sig=zYSvdt6GBz5kP\\_raKw6g6XLafDc](http://books.google.com/books?id=9AvjaThtrKYC&pg=PA74&dq=Justinian++latin-speaking+Illyrians&sig=zYSvdt6GBz5kP_raKw6g6XLafDc))
- [11] Justinian and Theodora Robert Browning, Gorgias Press LLC, 2003, ISBN 1-59333-053-7, p. 23. ([http://books.google.bg/books?id=gOIMSWMtw0C&pg=PA21&lpg=PA21&dq=Justinian+I+thracian&source=bl&ots=wRCZjFIgQo&sig=Es-SK0XcI-26zfecE7eFUA5tfE4&hl=bg&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&resnum=1&ct=result#PPA23,M1](http://books.google.bg/books?id=gOIMSWMtw0C&pg=PA21&lpg=PA21&dq=Justinian+I+thracian&source=bl&ots=wRCZjFIgQo&sig=Es-SK0XcI-26zfecE7eFUA5tfE4&hl=bg&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=1&ct=result#PPA23,M1))
- [12] The sole source for Justinian's full name, *Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus* (sometimes called *Flavius Anicius Iustinianus*), are consular diptychs of the year 521 bearing his name.
- [13] The Serbs by Sima M. Ćirković ([http://books.google.com/books?id=KilicLbr\\_QQC&pg=PA5&dq=Justiniana+Prima+Leskovac&sig=HIJsYX8oOiEa91xevY1RefCoSIA](http://books.google.com/books?id=KilicLbr_QQC&pg=PA5&dq=Justiniana+Prima+Leskovac&sig=HIJsYX8oOiEa91xevY1RefCoSIA))
- [14] The Dictionary of Art by Jane Turner (<http://books.google.com/books?um=1&q=Justiniana+Prima+Site+of+an+early+Byzantine+city+located+30+km+south-west+of+Leskovac+in+Serbia&btnG=Search+Books>)
- [15] Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life by Nevra Necipoğlu ([http://books.google.com/books?id=tG0p\\_sZH-fEC&pg=PA37&dq=Justiniana+Prima+Leskovac&sig=-aCQO9ruihPJyOqkbBfsVfwIJT4](http://books.google.com/books?id=tG0p_sZH-fEC&pg=PA37&dq=Justiniana+Prima+Leskovac&sig=-aCQO9ruihPJyOqkbBfsVfwIJT4))
- [16] Robert Browning. "Justinian I" in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, volume VII (1986).
- [17] Cambridge Ancient History p. 65
- [18] Moorhead (1994), pp. 21–22, with a reference to Procopius, *Secret History* 8.3.
- [19] This post seems to have been titular; there is no evidence that Justinian had any military experience. See A.D. Lee, "The Empire at War", in: Michael Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2005), pp. 113–133 (pp. 113–114).
- [20] See Procopius, *Secret history*, ch. 13.
- [21] M. Meier, *Justinian*, p. 57.
- [22] P N Ure, Justinian and his age, p. 200.
- [23] See De Imperatoribus Romanis: Justinian (<http://www.roman-emperors.org/justinia.htm>).
- [24] Robert Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (1987), 129; James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian* (2002), 104
- [25] Theological treatises authored by Justinian can be found in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 86.
- [26] <http://www.constitution.org/sps/sps.htm>
- [27] Kunkel, W. (translated by J.M. Kelly) *An introduction to Roman legal and constitutional history*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966; 168

- [28] Russia and the Roman law ([http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=1049-7544\(195702\)16:1<1:RATRL>2.0.CO;2-4](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=1049-7544(195702)16:1<1:RATRL>2.0.CO;2-4))
- [29] Garland. pp. 16–17.
- [30] J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, 200
- [31] Diehl, Charles. *Theodora, Empress of Byzantium* ((c) 1972 by Frederick Ungar Publishing, Inc., transl. by S.R. Rosenbaum from the original French *Theodora, Imperatrice de Byzance*), 89.
- [32] Vasiliev (1958), p. 157.
- [33] For an account of Justinian's wars, see Moorhead (1994), pp. 22–24, 63–98, and 101–9.
- [34] See A.D. Lee, "The Empire at War", in: Michael Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2005), pp. 113–33 (pp. 113–14). For Justinian's own views, see the texts of *Codex Iustinianus* 1.27.1 and *Novellae* 8.10.2 and 30.11.2.
- [35] Justinian himself took the field only once, during a campaign against the Huns in 559, when he was already an old man. This enterprise was largely symbolic and although no battle was fought, the emperor held a triumphal entry in the capital afterwards. (See Browning, R. *Justinian and Theodora*. London 1971, 193.)
- [36] See Geoffrey Greatrex, "Byzantium and the East in the Sixth Century" in: Michael Maas (ed.), *Age of Justinian* (2005), pp. 477–509.
- [37] J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, 195.
- [38] Moorhead (1994), p. 68.
- [39] Moorhead (1994), p. 70.
- [40] Procopius, "ILXXVIII", *De Bello Vandalico*
- [41] *Early Medieval and Byzantine Civilization: Constantine to Crusades* (<http://www.tulane.edu/~august/H303/handouts/Finances.htm>), Tulane,
- [42] J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, 215
- [43] Moorhead (1994), pp. 84–86.
- [44] See for this section Moorhead (1994), p. 89 ff., Greatrex (2005), p. 488 ff., and especially H. Börm, "Der Perserkönig im Imperium Romanum", in: *Chiron* 36, 2006, p. 299 ff.
- [45] J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, 229
- [46] Procopius mentions this event both in the *Wars* and in the *Secret History*, but gives two entirely different explanations for it. The evidence is briefly discussed in Moorhead (1994), pp. 97–98.
- [47] J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, 235
- [48] Moorhead ((1994), p. 164) gives the lower, Greatrex ((2005), p. 489) the higher figure.
- [49] J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, 251
- [50] J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, 233
- [51] *Getica*, 303
- [52] See Lee (2005), p. 125 ff.
- [53] W. Pohl, "Justinian and the Barbarian Kingdoms", in: Maas (2005), pp. 448–476; 472
- [54] See Haldon (2003), pp. 17–19.
- [55] See Pohl, *ibidem*.
- [56] Treatises written by Justinian can be found in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 86.
- [57] *Cod.*, I., i. 5.
- [58] *MPG*, lxxxvi. 1, p. 993.
- [59] *Cod.*, I., i. 7.
- [60] *Novellae*, cxxxi.
- [61] Mansi, *Concilia*, viii. 970B.
- [62] *Novellae*, xlii.
- [63] P. Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians*, 283
- [64] cf. *Novellae*, cxxxi.
- [65] *Cod.*, L, i. 6.
- [66] *Cod.*, I., i. 8.
- [67] *Cod.*, I., xi. 9 and 10.
- [68] F. Nau, in *Revue de l'orient chretien*, ii., 1897, 482.
- [69] Procopius, *Bellum Gothicum*, ii. 14; Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 20
- [70] Procopius, iv. 4; Evagrius, iv. 23.
- [71] Procopius, iv. 3; Evagrius, iv. 22.
- [72] Procopius, *Bellum Persicum*, i. 15.
- [73] Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, vi. 2.
- [74] Procopius, *Bellum Persicum*, i. 19.
- [75] *DCB*, iii. 482
- [76] John of Ephesus, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 5 sqq.
- [77] Procopius, *Bellum Persicum*, i. 20; Malalas, ed. Niebuhr, Bonn, 1831, pp. 433 sqq.
- [78] *Cod.*, I., v. 12
- [79] Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, 28;



- [80] *Nov.*, cxlvi., 8 February, 553
- [81] Michael Maas (2005), *The Cambridge companion to the Age of Justinian* (<http://books.google.com/books?id=9AvjaThtrKYC&pg=PA16>), Cambridge University Press, pp. 16–, ISBN 9780521817462, , retrieved 18 August 2010
- [82] *Cod.*, I., v. 12.
- [83] F. Nau, in *Revue de l'orient*, ii., 1897, p. 481.
- [84] See Procopius, *Buildings*.
- [85] Vasiliev (1952), p. 189
- [86] Brian Croke, "Justinian's Constantinople", in: Michael Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2005), pp. 60–86 (p. 66)
- [87] See Croke (2005), p. 364 ff., and Moorhead (1994).
- [88] Following a terrible earthquake in 551, the school at Beirut was transferred to Sidon and had no further significance after that date. (Vasiliev (1952), p. 147)
- [89] Vasiliev (1952), p. 192.
- [90] John F. Haldon, "Economy and Administration", in: Michael Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2005), pp. 28–59 (p. 35)
- [91] John Moorhead, *Justinian* (London/New York 1994), p. 57
- [92] Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (London 1971), pp. 157–158
- [93] Vasiliev (1952), p. 167
- [94] See Moorhead (1994), p. 167; Procopius, *Wars*, 8.17.1–8
- [95] Dan Oancea: Justinian's Gold Mines <http://technology.infomine.com/articles/1/3707/justinian-gold.roman-mines.egypt-gold/justinian%E2%80%99s.gold.mines.aspx>
- [96] Haldon (2005), p. 50
- [97] Brown (1971), p. 157
- [98] Kenneth G. Holum, "The Classical City in the Sixth Century", in: Michael Maas (ed.), *Age of Justinian* (2005), pp. 99–100
- [99] Moorhead (1994), pp. 100–101
- [100] John L. Teall, "The Barbarians in Justin's Armies", in: *Speculum*, vol. 40, No. 2, 1965, 294–322. The total strength of the Byzantine army under Justinian is estimated at 150,000 men (J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, 259).
- [101] Brown (1971), p. 158; Moorhead (1994), p. 101

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- This article incorporates text from the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religion*.

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## External links

- St Justinian the Emperor (<http://ocafs.oca.org/FeastSaintsViewer.asp?SID=4&ID=1&FSID=103301>) Orthodox Icon and Synaxarion (14 November)
- The *Anekdotai* ("Secret history") of Procopius in English translation. (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/procop-anec.html>)
- The *Buildings* of Procopius in English translation. (<http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Procopius/Buildings/home.html>)
- *The Roman Law Library* by Professor Yves Lassard and Alexandr Koptev (<http://web.upmf-grenoble.fr/Haiti/Cours/Ak>)
- Lecture series covering 12 Byzantine Rulers, including Justinian ([http://www.anders.com/lectures/lars\\_brownworth/12\\_byzantine\\_rulers/](http://www.anders.com/lectures/lars_brownworth/12_byzantine_rulers/)) – by Lars Brownworth
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- Preface to the *Digest* of Emperor Justinian ([http://faculty.cua.edu/pennington/Law508/Roman Law/PrefacesDigest.htm](http://faculty.cua.edu/pennington/Law508/Roman%20Law/PrefacesDigest.htm))
- Annotated Justinian Code (University of Wyoming website) (<http://uwacadweb.uwyo.edu/blume&justinian/>)

# Kamehameha I

Kamehameha I	
	
King of the Hawaiian Islands (more...)	
Reign	July 1782 – May 8, 1819
Successor	Kamehameha II
Spouse	<div>Kaʻahumanu</div> <div>Keōpūolani</div> <div>Kalola-a-Kumukoʻa</div> <div>Peleuli</div> <div>Kalākua Kaheiheimālie</div> <div>Namahana Piʻia</div> <div>Kahakuhaʻakoi Wahinepio</div> <div>Kekāuluohi</div> <div>Kekikipaa</div> <div>Manono II</div> <div>Kānekapōlei (unmarried)</div>
Issue	<div>Liholiho (Kamehameha II)</div> <div>Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III)</div> <div>Nāhiʻenaʻena</div> <div>Kamāmalu</div> <div>Kīnaʻu (Kaʻahumanu II)</div> <div>Kahōʻanokū Kīnaʻu</div> <div>Pauli Kaʻōleiokū (illegitimate)</div>
Full name	Kalani Paiʻea Wohi o Kaleikini Kealiʻikui Kamehameha o ʻIolani i Kaiwikapu kaui Ka Liholiho Kūnuiākea
House	House of Kamehameha
Father	Keōua
Mother	Kekuiapoiwa II
Born	<div>c. 1758</div> <div>Kapakai Kokoiki Heiau, Kohala, Hawaiʻi Island</div>
Died	<div>May 8, 1819 (aged 61?)</div> <div>Kailua-Kona, Hawaiʻi island</div>
Burial	unknown

**Kamehameha I** (Hawaiian pronunciation: [kəməhəˈmɛhə]; ca. 1758 – May 8, 1819), also known as **Kamehameha the Great**, conquered the Hawaiian Islands and formally established the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi in 1810. By developing

alliances with the major Pacific colonial powers, Kamehameha preserved Hawai'i's independence under his rule. Kamehameha is remembered for the *Kanawai Mamalahoe*, the "Law of the Splintered Paddle", which protects human rights of non-combatants in times of battle. Kamehameha's full Hawaiian name is **Kalani Pai'ea Wohi o Kaleikini Keali'ikui Kamehameha o 'Iolani i Kaiwikapu kaui Ka Liholiho Kūnuiākea**.

## Legendary birth

Although there is some debate as to the precise year of his birth, Hawaiian legends claimed that a great king would one day unite the islands, and that the sign of his birth would be a comet. Halley's comet was visible from Hawai'i in 1758 and it is likely Kamehameha was born shortly after its appearance. Traditional chants indicate he was born in the month of *ikuwa* (winter) or around November. According to Hawaiian historians Samuel Kamakau<sup>[1]:66-69</sup> and Abraham Fornander<sup>[2]:136</sup>, Kamehameha was born in 1736, but this date has been widely contested by other Hawaiian historians such as James Jackson Jarves, observations from contemporary sources and modern historical consensus.<sup>[3][4]</sup>

He was known as *Pai'ea*, which means "hard-shelled crab".<sup>[5]</sup> His father by blood was Keōua. His mother was Chiefess Keku'iapoiwa of the Kohala district on the island of Hawai'i.

Keōua was the great-grandson of Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku, who had once ruled a large portion of the island of Hawai'i. When Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku died, war broke out over succession between his sons, Kalani Kama Ke'eumoku Nui and Kalaninui'amamao, and a rival chief, Alapa'i inuiakauaua. Alapa'i emerged victorious over the two brothers, and their orphan sons (including Kamehameha's father) were absorbed into his clan. Other accounts indicate that he was son of the king of Maui Kahekili II. This occurrence is common in ancient Hawaiian society and such children were called *ali'i po'olu*, double-headed chiefs, with two fathers.

When Kamehameha (Pai'ea) was born, Alapa'i ordered the child killed. One of his priests (*kahuna*) had warned him that a fiery light in the sky would signal the birth of a "killer of chiefs". Alapa'i, nervous at the thought of this child eventually usurping his rule, decided to take no chances. Pai'ea's parents, however, had anticipated this. As soon as he was born, he was given into the care of Nae'ole, another noble from Kohala, and disappeared from sight. The chiefess Kaha'opulani nursed the child along with her own daughter Kuakane.<sup>[6]</sup> They raised Pai'ea for the first few years of his life. Five years after his birth, Alapa'i, perhaps remorseful of his actions, invited the child back to live with his family. There under the guidance of his *kumu* (teacher), Kekuhaupi'o, he learned the ways of court diplomacy and war. His father, thought to have been poisoned or prayed to death by Alapa'i, died a few years later. Kekuhaupi'o remained a faithful and trusted advisor to Pai'ea until the accidental death of the loyal kahu during a sham battle.

Another story says the name Pai'ea was given to Kamehameha after he first distinguished himself as a warrior in a battles between Maui and Hawai'i island in 1775–1779.<sup>[1]:84</sup>

Pai'ea is said to have had a dour disposition, and acquired the name he is best known for today: *Ka mehameha*, from the Hawaiian language for "the lonely one".<sup>[7]</sup>

## Unification of Hawaii

When Alapa'i died, his position was succeeded by his son Keawe'a'opala. Kalani'ōpu'u, challenged his rule, and was backed by his nephew Kamehameha. In fierce fighting at Kealakekua Bay, Keawe'a'opala was slain and Kalani'ōpu'u claimed victory. For his loyal service to his uncle, Kamehameha was made Kalani'ōpu'u's aide.

In 1779, Kamehameha again traveled with Kalani'ōpu'u to Kealakekua Bay. This time he, among other young chiefs accompanying their senior chief, met with Captain James Cook. Cook was perhaps mistaken by some Native Hawaiians to be Lono, the Hawaiian god of fertility. During Kamehameha's first contact with non-Hawaiians, he may have stayed aboard Cook's ship, the *HMS Resolution*, for at least one night.

## The Conquest of Hawai'i Island

Raised in the royal court of his uncle Kalani'ōpu', Kamehameha achieved prominence in 1782, upon Kalani'ōpu'u's death. While the kingship was inherited by Kalani'ōpu'u's son Kiwala'o, Kamehameha was given a prominent religious position, guardianship of the Hawaiian god of war, Kūka'ilimoku, as well as the district of Waipi'o valley. There was already bad blood between the two cousins, caused when Kamehameha presented a slain ali'i's body to the gods instead of to Kiwala'o. When a group of chiefs from the Kona district offered to back Kamehameha against Kiwala'o, he accepted eagerly. The five Kona chiefs supporting Kamehameha were: Ke'eaumoku Pāpa'iahiahi (Kamehameha's father-in-law), Keaweahu Kalua'apana (Kamehameha's uncle), Kekūhaupi'o (Kamehameha's warrior teacher), Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa (twin uncles of Kamehameha). Kiwala'o was soon defeated in the battle of Moku'ohai, and Kamehameha took control of the districts of Kohala, Kona, and Hamakua on the island of Hawai'i.<sup>[8]</sup>

Kamehameha then moved against the district of Puna in 1790 deposing Chief Keawema'uhili. Keōua Kuahu'ula, exiled to his home in Ka'u, took advantage of Kamehameha's absence and led an uprising. When Kamehameha returned with his army to put down the rebellion, Keōua fled past the Kilauea volcano, which erupted and killed nearly a third of his warriors from poisonous gas.<sup>[9]</sup>

Questioning a kahuna on how best to go about securing the rest of the island, Kamehameha resolved to construct a temple (*heiau*) to Kūka'ilimoku, as well as lay an ali'i's body on it.

When the Pu'ukoholā Heiau was completed in 1791, Kamehameha invited Keōua to meet with him. Keōua may have been dispirited by his recent losses. He may have mutilated himself before landing so as to make himself an imperfect sacrificial victim. As he stepped on shore, one of Kamehameha's chiefs threw a spear at him. By some accounts he dodged it, but was then cut down by musket fire. Caught by surprise, Keōua's bodyguards were killed. With Keōua dead, and his supporters captured or slain, Kamehameha became King of Hawai'i island.<sup>[9]</sup>

## Unification of Hawai'i under Kamehameha

Kamehameha's dreams included far more than the island of Hawai'i; with the counsel of his favorite wife Ka'ahumanu, who became one of Hawai'i's most powerful figures, he set about planning to conquer the rest of the Hawaiian Islands. Help came from British and American traders, who sold guns and ammunition to Kamehameha. Two westerners who lived on Hawai'i island, Isaac Davis and John Young, became advisors of Kamehameha and trained his troops in the use of firearms.

With his new army, Kamehameha felt confident enough to move on the neighboring islands of Maui and O'ahu, already weakened by a war of succession that had broken out between King Kahekili II's son and brother. Kamehameha may or may not have known that his rival, King Kalanikūpule, also possessed firearms, and was planning a move against him when the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i invaded those islands.

In 1795, Kamehameha set sail with an armada of 960 war canoes and 10,000 soldiers. He quickly secured the lightly defended islands of Maui and Moloka'i at the Battle of Kawela. The army moved on the island of O'ahu, landing his troops at Wai'alaie and Waikīkī. What Kamehameha did not know was that one of his commanders, a high-ranking *ali'i* named Ka'iana, had defected to Kalanikūpule. Ka'iana assisted in the cutting of notches into the Nu'uuanu Pali mountain ridge; these notches, like those on a castle turret, would serve as gunports for Kalanikūpule's cannon.<sup>[9]</sup>



Naha Stone at the Hilo Public Library. According to legend, Kamehameha lifted the 5,000 pound stone at age 14, and was the only person to ever lift it. The legend that goes with this particular stone is that the man who lifted it was the prophesied warrior who would unite all of the islands. The Naha Stone now rests in front of the Hilo Public Library on the island of Hawai'i.

In a series of skirmishes, Kamehameha's forces were able to push back Kalanikūpule's men until the latter was cornered on the Pali Lookout. While Kamehameha moved on the Pali, his troops took heavy fire from the cannon. In desperation, he assigned two divisions of his best warriors to climb to the Pali to attack the cannons from behind; they surprised Kalanikūpule's gunners and took control of the weapons. With the loss of their guns, Kalanikūpule's troops fell into disarray and were cornered by Kamehameha's still-organized troops. A fierce battle ensued, with Kamehameha's forces forming an enclosing wall. By using their traditional Hawai'ian spears, as well as muskets and cannon, they were able to kill most of Kalanikūpule's forces. Over 400 men were forced off the Pali's cliff, a drop of 1,000 feet. Ka'iana was killed during the action; Kalanikūpule was captured some time later and sacrificed to Kūka'ilimoku.

Kamehameha was now ruler of all the Hawaiian Islands from O'ahu to the east, but the western islands of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau continued to elude him. Using Honolulu as a base, he had a forty-ton ship built. When he attempted to invade the western islands in 1796, Ka'iana's brother Namakeha led a rebellion on Hawai'i island against his rule, and Kamehameha was forced to return and put down the insurrection.<sup>[10]</sup>

In 1803 he tried again, but this time, disease broke out among his warriors; Kamehameha himself fell ill, though he later recovered. During this time, Kamehameha was amassing the largest armada Hawai'i had ever seen - foreign-built schooners and massive war canoes, armed with cannon and carrying his vast army. Kaumuali'i, *ali'i nui* of Kaua'i, watched as Kamehameha built up his invading force and decided he would have a better chance in negotiation than battle. He may also have been influenced by foreign merchants, who saw the continuing feud between Kamehameha and Kaumuali'i as bad for the sandalwood trade.

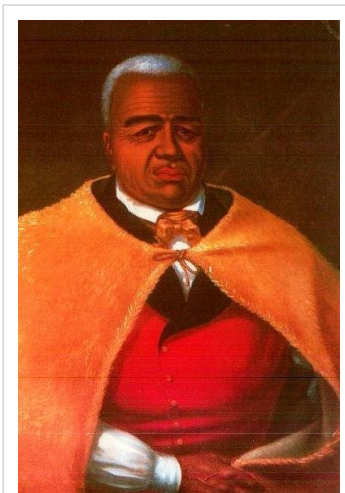
In 1810, Kaumuali'i became a vassal of Kamehameha, who therefore emerged as the sole sovereign of the unified Hawaiian islands.<sup>[11]</sup>

## King of Hawaii

As king, Kamehameha took several steps to ensure that the islands remained a united realm even after his death. He unified the legal system and he used the products he collected in taxes to promote trade with Europe and the United States. Kamehameha did not allow non-Hawaiians to own land; they would not be able to until the Great Mahele of 1848. This edict ensured the islands' independence even while many of the other islands of the Pacific succumbed to the colonial powers.

In fact, the Kingdom of Hawai'i that Kamehameha established retained its independence, except for a five-month British occupation in 1843, until it was annexed by the United States in 1898. It was this legacy that earned Kamehameha the epithet "Napoleon of the Pacific."<sup>[9]</sup>

Kamehameha also instituted the Mamalahoe Kanawai, the *Law of the Splintered Paddle*. Its origins derived from before the unification of the Island of Hawai'i, in 1782, when Kamehameha, during a raid, caught his foot in a rock. Two local fisherman, fearful of the great warrior, hit Kamehameha hard on the head with a large paddle, which actually broke the paddle. Kamehameha was stunned and left for dead, allowing the fisherman and his companion to escape. Twelve years later, the same fisherman was brought before Kamehameha for punishment. King Kamehameha instead blamed himself for attacking innocent people, gave the fisherman gifts of land and set them free. He declared the new law, "Let every elderly person, woman and child lie by the roadside in safety". This law, which provided for the safety of noncombatants in wartime, is estimated to have saved thousands of lives during Kamehameha's campaigns. It became the first written law of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, was included in the state constitution, and has influenced



"E na'i wale no 'oukou, i ke kupono a'ole au" which roughly translated is, "Prevail/continue my just deeds, they are not yet finished" -final words for his people

many subsequent humanitarian laws of war.<sup>[12]</sup>

Although he ended human sacrifice, Kamehameha was to the last a follower of the Hawaiian religion and Hawaiian traditions (such as Lua). He believed so strongly in his religion and culture that he would execute his subjects for breaches of the strict rules called kapu. Although he entertained Christians, he did not appear to take them seriously.

## Later life

After about 1812, Kamehameha spent his time at Kamakahonu, a compound he built in Kailua-Kona.<sup>[13]</sup> It is now the site of King Kamehameha's Beach Hotel, the starting and finishing points of the Ironman World Championship Triathlon.

As the custom of the time, he took several wives and had many children, although he would outlive about half of them.<sup>[14]</sup>

When Kamehameha died May 8, 1819, his body was hidden by his trusted friends, Hoapili and Ho'olulu. The *mana*, or power of a person, was considered to be sacred. As per the ancient custom, his body was buried hidden because of his mana. His final resting place remains unknown.

## Honors

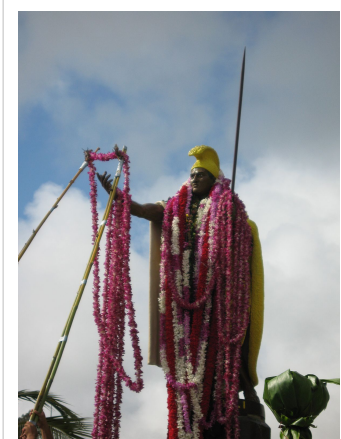
### Statues

Five major statues exist, where each of the statues vary slightly from each other in details such as having different weaponry, gilding or painting:

- The original cast: the ship, bound for Honolulu on which it was being shipped from Europe sank off the Falkland Islands but in 1912 the original was salvaged, repaired and erected in Kapa'au on the Big Island of Hawai'i;
- A replacement statue was erected in his honor by King Kalākaua in 1883 at Ali'iōlani Hale'i's judicial system in Honolulu;
- One is located in Hilo, Hawai'i at the north end of the Wailoa River State Recreation Area, where it enjoys a view of Hilo Bay;
- One of smaller size is located in an outdoor Polynesian shopping center, across from the Monte Carlo Resort and Casino on the Las Vegas Strip in Nevada; and
- One in the National Statuary Hall Collection at the United States Capitol as a representation of the State of Hawai'i. This is located in the New Visitors Center in the Capitol.

### Other legacy

- In 1865 King Kamehameha V created the Royal Order of Kamehameha I society and Royal Order of Kamehameha I decoration in his honor.<sup>[15]</sup>
- In 1871 Kamehameha V decreed a holiday, Kamehameha Day, in his honor. This holiday is still celebrated annually on June 11.
- Kamehameha Schools were founded in the will of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, at the time of her death in 1884 the heir of the Kamehameha estate. Her intention was to bring education and thus hope for a future to the rapidly declining number of native Hawaiians. The first school opened in 1887.



The statue in Kapa'au decorated with floral leis on Kamehameha Day



Statue in bronze and gold leaf by Thomas Ridgeway Gould stands in Honolulu across from 'Iolani Palace



- |               |  |  |  |                           |                        |                             |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
|---------------|--|--|--|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|----------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
|               | Kalola   | Keōua  | Kekuʻīapoiwa   | Kānekapōlei               |                        |                             |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
|               |  |  | II   |                           |                        |                             |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
| Kiwalaʻo      | Kekuiapoiva  | Liliha   |  |                           |                        |                             |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
|               | Keōpūolani   | Kamehameha I<br>(The Great)<br>(died 1819)     | Kalakua<br>Kaheihaimālie                             | Kaʻahumanu<br>(1819–1832) |                        |                             |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
|               | Liholiho<br>Kamehameha II<br>(1819–1824)           | Kamāmalu                                       |  | Keouawahine               | Pauli<br>Kaʻōleiokū    | Kahailiopua<br>Luahine      |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
|               |  |  |  |                           |                        |                             | Kauikeaouli<br>Kamehameha III<br>(1825–1854) | Kalama<br><br>Elizabeth<br>Kāinaʻu<br>Kaʻahumanu II | Mataio<br>Kekūānāoʻa | Kalanipauahi | Laura<br>Kōnia | Abner<br>Pākī |
| ʻulaokalani   | Keaweaweulaokalani                                 |  |  |                           |                        |                             |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
| I             | II   |  |  |                           |                        |                             |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
| Emma          | Alexander Liholiho<br>Kamehameha IV<br>(1854–1863) | Lot<br>Kapūāiwa<br>Kamehameha V<br>(1863–1872) | Victoria<br>Kamāmalu<br>Kaʻahumanu IV<br>(1855–1863) | Ruth<br>Keʻelikōlani      | Charles Reed<br>Bishop | Bernice<br>Pauahi<br>Bishop |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
|               |  |  |  |                           |                        |                             |  |   |                      |              |                |               |
| Prince Albert |  |  |  | William Pitt<br>Kīnaʻu    | Keolaokalani<br>Davis  |                             |  |   |                      |              |                |               |

## Issue

Name	Lifespan	Mother	Notes
Pauli Ka'ōleio kū	1767 - February 19, 1818	Kānekapōlei	Illegitimate; married three times and had issue, including the future Queen Kalanipauahi
Maheha Kapulikoliko	unknown - unknown	Peleuli	unknown
Kahō'anokū Kīna'u	unknown - 1809		Married and had issue
Kaiko'olani Kau'i Kahekili Ke'awe Hanai'ohua	unknown - c. 1824		Married Ha'aheo, but had no issue
Kalani Kiliwehi-o-Kaleikini	unknown - c. 1824		Possibly mother of Leleiohoku I
Liholiho-i-Kaiwi-o-Kamehameha	1795 - unknown	Kalākua Kaheihimālie	Died young
Kamehameha Kapauaiwa	1801 - unknown		
Kamāmalu	1802 - July 8, 1824		Married Kamehameha II, but had no issue
Kalani Ahumanu i Kaliko o Iwi Kauhipua o Kīna'u	c. 1805 - April 4, 1839		Married three times and had issue, including Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V
NN (no given name)	1809	Died young	
<i>Alexander Stewart</i> <sup>[19]</sup>	unknown - after 1801	Lost at sea or brought to England	
Kapapauai	unknown	one of his <i>wahine palama</i>	Kamehameha's last surviving child
Kapulikoliko	unknown - July 12, 1836	"a plebian woman"	unknown
Kalaninui kua Liholiho i ke kapu 'Iolani	1797 - July 14, 1824	Keōpūolani	Ascended the throne as Kamehameha II; married his half-sister (see above), but had no issue
Keaweawe'ula Kīwala'ō Kauikeaouli Kaleiopapa	August 11, 1813 - December 15, 1854		Ascended the throne as Kamehameha III and had two short-lived sons and two illegitimate, one who survived till 1902
Harriet Keōpūolani Nāhi'ena'ena	March 17, 1814 - December 30, 1836		Married two times and had one short-lived son

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## External links

- Kamehameha Schools Biography of Kamehameha (<http://www.ksbe.edu/pauahi/history.php>)
- GoHawaii biography of Kamehameha (<http://gohawaii.about.com/library/weekly/aa060898.htm>)
- The Story of Kamehameha ([http://www.janesoecania.com/hawaii\\_kamehameha/](http://www.janesoecania.com/hawaii_kamehameha/))

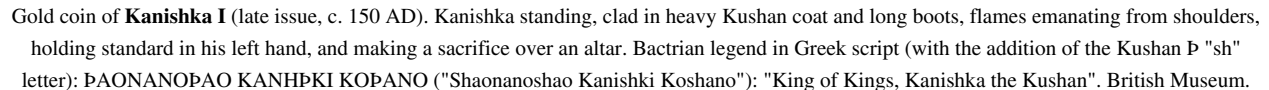
1795-1819

1782-1795

1795-1810

1810-1819

### Kushan king



**Kanishka (Kanishka the Great)**, (Sanskrit: कनिष्क, Bactrian language: *Κανησκι*, Middle Chinese: 迦膩色伽 (Jianisejia)) was an emperor of the Kushan Empire, ruling an empire extending from Bactria to large parts of northern India in the 2nd century of the common era, and famous for his military, political, and spiritual achievements. His main capital was at Purushpura (Peshawar in present day northwestern Pakistan) with regional capitals at the location of the modern city of Taxila in Pakistan, Begram in Afghanistan and Mathura in India.

Kanishka was a Kushan of probable Yuezhi ethnicity. He used an Eastern Iranian, Indo-European language known as Bactrian (called "αρια," i. e. "Aryan" in the Rabatak inscription), which appears in Greek script in his inscriptions, though it is not certain what language the Kushans originally spoke; possibly some form of Tocharian - a "centum" Indo-European language. The "Aryan" language of the inscription was a "satem" Middle Iranian language,<sup>[1]</sup> possibly the one spoken in "Arya" or "Ariana" (the region around modern Herat) and was, therefore, quite possibly unrelated to the original language of the Kushans (or the Yuezhi), but adopted by them to facilitate communication with local people.

Kanishka was the successor of Vima Kadphises, as demonstrated by an impressive genealogy of the Kushan kings, known as the Rabatak inscription.<sup>[2][3]</sup> The connection of Kanishka with other Kushan rulers is described in the Rabatak inscription as Kanishka makes the list of the kings who ruled up to his time: Kujula Kadphises as his great-grandfather, Vima Taktu as his grandfather, Vima Kadphises as his father, and himself Kanishka:

"... for King Kujula Kadphises (his) great grandfather, and for King Vima Taktu (his) grandfather, and for King Vima Kadphises (his) father, and \*also for himself, King Kanishka"<sup>[4]</sup>

A number of legends about Kanishka, a great patron of Buddhism, were preserved in Buddhist religious traditions. Along with the Indian kings Ashoka and Harshavardhana, and the Indo-Greek king Menander I (Milinda), he is considered by Buddhists to have been one of the greatest Buddhist kings.



Vima Kadphises was Kanishka's father. British Museum.

## Kanishka's era

Kanishka's era was used as a calendar reference by the Kushans and later by the Guptas in Mathura for about three centuries. Kanishka's era is now believed by many to have begun in 127 CE on the basis of Harry Falk's ground-breaking research.<sup>[5][6]</sup> The actual source, however, gives 227 CE as Year One of a Kuṣāṇa century without mentioning Kanishka's name. Since Kuṣāṇa centuries always "drop the hundreds" an incept of 127 CE was deduced by Falk on the basis of Chinese and other sources. This date and reference are disputed by some scholars.

## Conquests in South and Central Asia



Kushan territories (full line) and maximum extent of Kushan dominions under Kanishka (dotted line), according to the Rabatak inscription.<sup>[7]</sup>

Kanishka's empire was certainly vast. It extended from southern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, north of the Amu Darya (Oxus) in the north west to Northern India, as far as Mathura in the south east (the Rabatak inscription even claims he held Pataliputra and Sri Champa), and his territory also included Kashmir, where there was a town Kanishkapur, named after him not far from the Baramula Pass and which still contains the base of a large stupa.

Knowledge of his hold over Central Asia is less well established. The Book of the Later Han, *Hou Hanshu*, states that general Ban Chao fought battles near Khotan with a Kushan army of 70,000 men led by an otherwise unknown Kushan viceroy named Xie (Chinese: 謝) in 90 CE. Though Ban Chao claimed to be victorious, forcing the Kushans to retreat by use of a scorched-earth policy, the region fell to Kushan forces in the early 2nd century.<sup>[8]</sup> As a result, for a period (until the Chinese regained control c. 127 CE)<sup>[9]</sup> the territory of the Kushans extended for a short period as far as Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkand, which were Chinese dependencies in the Tarim Basin, modern Xinjiang. Several coins of Kanishka have been found in the Tarim Basin.

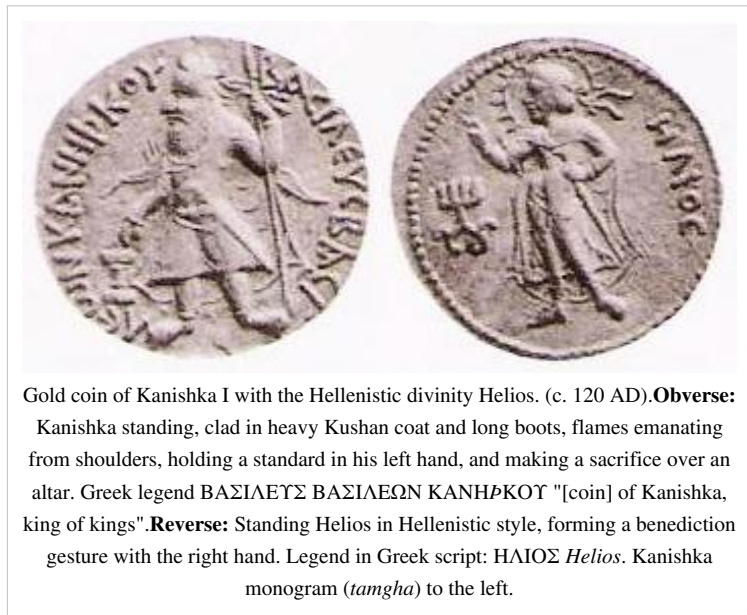
Controlling both the land (the Silk Road) and sea trade routes between South Asia and Rome seems to have been one of Kanishka's chief imperial goals.

## Kanishka's coins

Kanishka's coins portray images of Indo-Aryan, Greek, Iranian and even Sumero-Elamite divinities, demonstrating the religious syncretism in his beliefs. Kanishka's coins from the beginning of his reign bear legends in Greek language and script and depict Greek divinities. Later coins bear legends in Bactrian, the Iranian language that the Kushans evidently spoke, and Greek divinities were replaced by corresponding Iranic ones. All of Kanishka's coins - even ones with a legend in the Bactrian language - were written in a modified Greek script that had one additional glyph (𑀧) to represent /š/ (*sh*), as in the word 'Kushan' and 'Kanishka'.



Bronze coin of Kanishka, found in Khotan, modern China.



Gold coin of Kanishka I with the Hellenistic divinity Helios. (c. 120 AD). **Obverse:** Kanishka standing, clad in heavy Kushan coat and long boots, flames emanating from shoulders, holding a standard in his left hand, and making a sacrifice over an altar. Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΠΚΟΥ "[coin] of Kanishka, king of kings". **Reverse:** Standing Helios in Hellenistic style, forming a benediction gesture with the right hand. Legend in Greek script: ΗΛΙΟΣ *Helios*. Kanishka monogram (*tamgha*) to the left.

On his coins, the king is typically depicted as a bearded man in a long coat and trousers gathered at the ankle, with flames emanating from his shoulders. He wears large rounded boots, and is armed with a long sword similar to a scimitar as well as a lance. He is frequently seen to be making a sacrifice on a small altar. The lower half of a lifesize limestone relief of Kanishka similarly attired, with a stiff embroidered surplice beneath his coat and spurs attached to his boots under the light gathered folds of his trousers, survived in the Kabul Museum until it was destroyed by the Taliban.<sup>[10]</sup>



## Hellenistic phase

A few coins at the beginning of his reign have a legend in the Greek language and script: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ, *basileus basileon kaneshkou* "[coin] of Kanishka, king of kings."

Greek deities, with Greek names are represented on these early coins:

- ΗΛΙΟΣ (*ēlios*, Hēlios), ΗΦΑΗΣΤΟΣ (*ēphaēstos*, Hephaistos), ΣΑΛΗΝΗ (*salēnē*, Selene), ΑΝΗΜΟΣ (*anēmos*, Anemos)

The inscriptions in Greek are full of spelling and syntactical errors.

## Iranic/Indic phase

Following the transition to the Bactrian language on coins, Iranic and Indic divinities replace the Greek ones:

- ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ (*ardoxsho*, Ashi Vanghuhi)
- ΔΡΟΟΑΣΠΙΟ (*Irooaspo*, Drvaspa)
- ΑΘΡΟ (*adsho*, Atar)
- ΦΑΡΡΟ (*pharro*, personified khwarenah)
- ΜΑΟ (*mao*, Mah)
- ΜΙΘΡΟ, ΜΙΠΡΟ, ΜΙΟΡΟ, ΜΙΥΡΟ (*mithro*, *miuro*, *mioro*, *miuro*, variants of Mithra)
- ΜΟΖΔΟΟΑΝΟ (*mozdaooano*, "Mazda the victorious?")
- ΝΑΝΑ, ΝΑΝΑΙΑ, ΝΑΝΑΡΑΟ (variants of pan-Asiatic *Nana*, Sogdian *nny*, in a Zoroastrian context Aredvi Sura Anahita)
- ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ (*manaobago*, Vohu Manah )
- ΟΑΔΟ (*oado*, Vata)
- ΟΡΑΛΑΓΝΟ (*orlagno*, Verethragna)

Only a few Buddhist divinities were used as well:

- ΒΟΔΔΟ (*boddo*, Buddha),
- ΠΑΚΑΜΑΝΟ ΒΟΔΔΟ (*shakamano boddho*, Shakyamuni Buddha)
- ΜΕΤΡΑΓΟ ΒΟΔΔΟ (*metrago boddo*, the bodhisattava Maitreya)

Additionally, ΟΗΡΟ (*oesho*) was long considered to represent Indic Shiva, but recent studies indicate that *oesho* is Avestan Vayu conflated with Shiva.<sup>[11][12]</sup>



Kushan Carnelian seal representing the Iranian divinity Adsho (ΑΘΡΟ legend in Greek letters), with triratana symbol left, and Kanishka's dynastic mark right. The divinity uses stirrups.

## Kanishka and Buddhism

Kanishka's reputation in Buddhist tradition is based mainly that he convened the 4th Buddhist Council in Kashmir. Images of the Buddha based on 32 physical signs were made during his time.

He provided encouragement to both the Gandhara school of Greco-Buddhist Art and the Mathura school of Hindu art (An inescapable religious syncretism pervades Kushana rule). Kanishka personally seems to have embraced both Buddhism and the Persian cult of Mithra.

His greatest contribution to Buddhist architecture was the Kanishka stupa at Peshawar, Pakistan. Archaeologists who rediscovered the base of it in 1908-1909 ascertained that this stupa had a diameter of 286 feet (87 metres). Reports of Chinese pilgrims such as Xuan Zang indicate that its height was 600 to 700 (Chinese) "feet" (= roughly 180–210 metres or 591–689 ft.) and was covered with jewels.<sup>[13]</sup> Certainly this immense multi-storied building ranks among the wonders of the ancient world.

Kanishka is said to have been particularly close to the Buddhist scholar Ashvaghosha, who became his religious advisor in his later years. At the time of Kanishka's coronation and when India's first gold coin was minted, Yuz Asaf was the spiritual advisor to the king.



Gold coin of **Kanishka I** with a representation of the Buddha (c.120 AD).**Obv:** Kanishka standing..., clad in heavy Kushan coat and long boots, flames emanating from shoulders, holding standard in his left hand, and making a sacrifice over an altar. Kushan-language legend in Greek script (with the addition of the Kushan Ɱ "sh" letter): ⱡΑΟΝΑΝΟⱢΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΨΚΙ ΚΟϐΑΝΟ ("Shaonanoshaō Kanishki Koshano"): "King of Kings, Kanishka the Kushan".**Rev:** Standing Buddha in Hellenistic style, forming the gesture of "no fear" (abhaya mudra) with his right hand, and holding a pleat of his robe in his left hand. Legend in Greek script: ΒΟΔΔΟ "Boddo", for the Buddha. Kanishka monogram (tamgha) to the right.

## Buddhist coinage

The Buddhist coins of Kanishka are comparatively rare (well under one percent of all known coins of Kanishka). Several show Kanishka on the obverse and the Buddha standing on the reverse, in Hellenistic style. A few also show the Shakyamuni Buddha and Maitreya. Like all coins of Kanishka, the design is rather rough and proportions tend to be imprecise; the image of the Buddha is often slightly corrupted, with oversize ears and feet spread apart in the same fashion as the Kushan king, indicating clumsy imitation of Hellenistic types.

Three types of Kanishka's Buddhist coins are known:

## Standing Buddha



Bronze standing Buddha with features similar to those of Kanishka's coins. Gandhara, usually dated 3rd-4th century.

The standing Buddha in Hellenistic style, bearing the mention "Boddo" in Greek script, holding the left corner of his cloak in his hand, and forming the abhaya mudra. Only six Kushan coins of the Buddha are known in gold (the sixth one is the centerpiece of an ancient piece of jewelry, consisting of a Kanishka Buddha coin decorated with a ring of heart-shaped ruby stones). All these coins were minted in gold under Kanishka I, and are in two different denominations: a dinar of about 8 gm, roughly similar to a Roman aureus, and a quarter dinar of about 2 gm. (about the size of an obol).

The Buddha is represented wearing the monastic robe, the *antaravasaka*, the *uttarasanga*, and the overcoat *sanghati*.

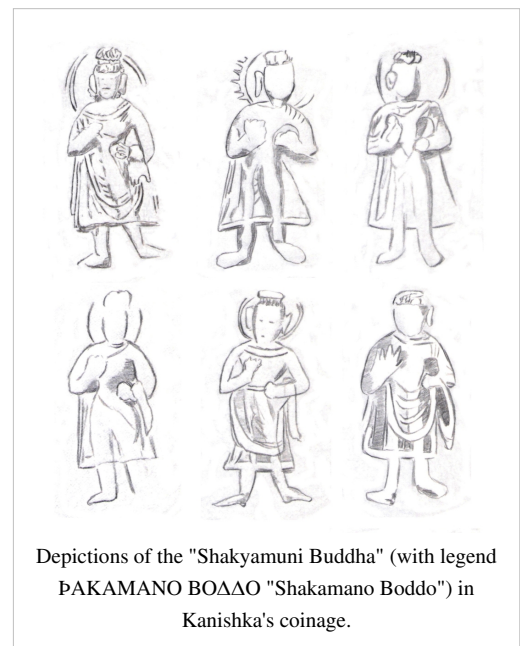
The ears are extremely large and long, a symbolic exaggeration possibly rendered necessary by the small size of the coins, but otherwise visible in some later Gandharan statues of the Buddha typically dated to the 3rd-4th century CE. He has an abundant topknot covering the ushisha, often highly stylized in a curly or often globular manner, also visible on later Buddha statues of Gandhara.

In general, the representation of the Buddha on these coins is already highly symbolic, and quite distant from the more naturalistic and Hellenistic images seen in early Gandhara sculptures. On several design, a mustache is apparent. The palm of his right hand bears the Chakra mark, and his brow bear the urna. An aureola, formed by one, two or three lines, surrounds him.

## "Shakyamuni Buddha"

The Shakyamuni Buddha (with the legend "Sakamano Boudo", i.e. Shakamuni Buddha, another name for the historic Buddha Siddharta Gautama), standing to front, with left hand on hip and forming the abhaya mudra with the right hand. All these coins are in copper only, and usually rather worn.

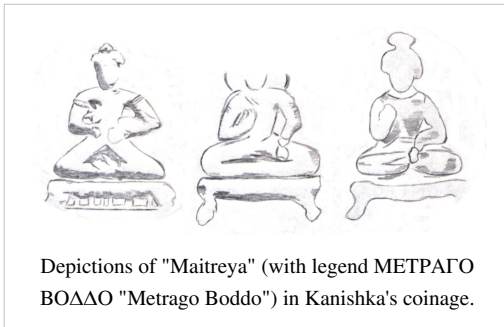
The gown of the Shakyamuni Buddha is quite light compared to that on the coins in the name of Buddha, clearly showing the outline of the body, in a nearly transparent way. These are probably the first two layers of monastic clothing the *antaravasaka* and the *uttarasanga*. Also, his gown is folded over the left arm (rather than being held in the left hand as above), a feature only otherwise known in the Bimaran casket and suggestive of a scarf-like *uttariya*. He has an abundant topknot covering the ushisha, and a simple or double halo, sometimes radiating, surrounds his head.



Depictions of the "Shakyamuni Buddha" (with legend PAKAMANO BOΔΔO "Shakamano Boddo") in Kanishka's coinage.



### "Maitreya Buddha"



The Bodhisattva Maitreya (with the legend "Metrago Boudo") cross-legged on a throne, holding a water pot, and also forming the Abhaya mudra. These coins are only known in copper and are badly worn. On the clearest coins, Maitreya seems to be wearing the armbands of an Indian prince, a feature often seen on the statuary of Maitreya. The throne is decorated with small columns, suggesting that the coin representation of Maitreya was directly copied from pre-existing statuary with such well-known features.

The qualification of "Buddha" for Maitreya is inaccurate, as he is instead a Bodhisattva (he is the Buddha of the future). This may indicate a limited knowledge of Buddhist cosmology on the part of the Kushans.

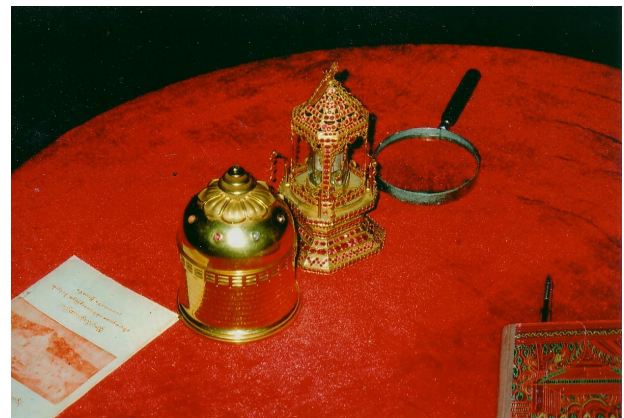
The iconography of these three types is very different from that of the other deities depicted in Kanishka's coinage. Whether Kanishka's deities are all shown from the side, the Buddhas only are shown frontally, indicating that they were copied from contemporary frontal representations of the standing and seated Buddhas in statuary.<sup>[14]</sup> Both representations of the Buddha and Shakyamuni have both shoulders covered by their monastic gown, indicating that the statues used as models were from the Gandhara school of art, rather than Mathura.

### Kanishka casket

Kanishka casket



Detail of Kanishka, surrounded by the Iranian Sun-God and Moon-God, on the Kanishka casket. British Museum.



Buddha relics from Kanishka's stupa in Peshawar, Pakistan, sent by the British to Mandalay, Burma in 1910.



The "Kanishka casket", dated to 127 CE, with the Buddha surrounded by Brahma and Indra, and Kanishka standing at the center of the lower part, British Museum.



Remnants of the Kanishka Stupa in Shah-Ji-Ki-Dheri.

The "Kanishka casket" or "Kanishka reliquary", dated to the first year of Kanishka's reign in 127 CE, was discovered in a deposit chamber under Kanishka's stupa, during the archeological excavations in 1908-1909 in Shah-ji-Dheri on the outskirts of Peshawar.<sup>[15][16]</sup> It is today at the Peshawar Museum, and a copy is in the British Museum. It is said to have contained three bone fragments of the Buddha, which are now housed in Mandalay, Burma.

The casket is dedicated in Kharoshthi. The inscription reads:

"(\*mahara)jasa kanishkasa kanishka-pure nagare aya gadha-karae deya-dharme sarva-satvana hita-suhartha bhavatu mahasenasa sagharaki dasa agisala nava-karmi ana\*kanishkasa vihare mahasenasa sangharama"

The text is signed by the maker, a Greek artist named *Agesilas*, who oversaw work at Kanishka's stupas (caitya), confirming the direct involvement of Greeks with Buddhist realizations at such a late date: "The servant Agisalaos, the superintendent of works at the vihara of Kanishka in the monastery of Mahasena" ("dasa agisala nava-karmi ana\*kanishkasa vihara mahasenasa sangharama").

The lid of the casket shows the Buddha on a lotus pedestal, and worshipped by Brahma and Indra. The edge of the lid is decorated by a frieze of flying geese. The body of the casket represents a Kushan monarch, probably Kanishka in person, with the Iranian sun and moon gods on his side. On the sides are two images of a seated Buddha, worshiped by royal figures. A garland, supported by cherubs goes around the scene in typical Hellenistic style.

The attribution of the casket to Kanishka has been recently disputed, essentially on stylistic ground (for example the ruler shown on the casket is not bearded, to the contrary of Kanishka). Instead, the casket is often attributed to Kanishka's successor Huvishka.

## Kanishka in Buddhist tradition

In Buddhist tradition, Kanishka is often described as a violent, faithless ruler before his conversion to Buddhism, as in the *Sri-dharma-pitaka-nidana sutra*:

"At this time the King of Ngan-si (Pahlava) was very stupid and of a violent nature....There was a bhikshu (monk) arhat who seeing the evil deeds done by the king wished to make him repent. So by his supernatural force he caused the king to see the torments of hell. The king was terrified and repented."  
*Śrī-dharma-piṭaka-nidāna sūtra*<sup>[17]</sup>

Additionally, the arrival of Kanishka was reportedly foretold by the Buddha, as well as the construction of his stupa:

"... the Buddha, pointing to a small boy making a mud tope....[said] that on that spot Kaṇiṣka would erect a tope by his name." *Vinaya sutra*<sup>[18]</sup>

The same story is repeated in a Khotanese scroll found at Dunhuang, which first described how Kanishka would arrive 400 years after the death of the Buddha. The account also describes how Kanishka came to raise his stupa:

"A desire thus arose in [Kanishka to build a vast stupa]....at that time the four world-regents learnt the mind of the king. So for his sake they took the form of young boys....[and] began a stūpa of mud....the boys said to [Kanishka] 'We are making the Kaṇiṣka-stūpa.'....At that time the boys changed their form....[and] said to him, 'Great king, by you according to the Buddha's prophecy is a Saṅghārāma to be built wholly (?) with a large stūpa and hither relics must be invited which the meritorious good beings...will bring.'<sup>[19]</sup>



Coin of Kanishka with the Bodhisattva Maitreya "Metrago Boudo".

Chinese pilgrims to India, such as Xuanzang, who travelled there around 630 CE also relays the story:

"Kaṇiṣka became sovereign of all Jambudvīpa (Indian subcontinent) but he did not believe in Karma, and he treated Buddhism with contumely. When he was hunting in the wild country a white hare appeared; the king gave a chase and the hare suddenly disappeared at [the site of the future stupa]....[when the construction of the stūpa was not going as planned] the king now lost patience and threw the [project] up....[but] the king became alarmed, as he [realized] he was evidently contending with supernatural powers, so he confessed his errors and made submission. These two topes are still in existence and were resorted to for cures by people afflicted with diseases."<sup>[20]</sup>

## Transmission of Buddhism to China

Kanishka's expansion into the Tarim Basin probably initiated the transmission of Buddhism to China.

Buddhist monks from the region of Gandhara played a key role in the development and the transmission of Buddhist ideas in the direction of northern Asia from the middle of the 2nd century CE. The Kushan monk, Lokaksema (c. 178 CE), became the first translators of Mahayana Buddhist scriptures into Chinese and established a translation bureau at the Chinese capital Loyang. Central Asian and East Asian Buddhist monks appear to have maintained strong exchanges for the following centuries.

Kanishka was probably succeeded by Huvishka. How and when this came about is still uncertain. The fact that there were other Kushana kings called Kanishka is just another complicating factor.



Kanishka with the divinity Mozdoano.



Coin of Kanishka.



Coin of Kanishka found at Ahin Posh.



Coin.





Kanishka bronze coin.

## In fiction

In the manga series, *Berserk*, the Emperor Ganishka working as Griffith's enemy in *Berserk* was based on King Kanishka. In the manga, he is also a profound Buddhist and adorned his empire with its respective figures and promoted it vigorously. Like his real-life counterpart, Ganishka also decorates his palace with famous Buddhist figures, but has demonized them to suit his nature.

"Kanishka" is also one of the most popular songs by Argentine rock band Los Brujos, referring to the Kushan King and his wife, released in the album *Fin de semana Salvaje (Wild Weekend)*.

## Footnotes

- [1] Gnoli (2002), pp. 84-90.
- [2] Sims-Williams and Cribb (1995/6), pp.75-142.
- [3] Sims-Williams (1998), pp. 79-83.
- [4] Sims-Williams and Cribb (1995/6), p. 80.
- [5] Falk (2001), pp. 121-136.
- [6] Falk (2004), pp. 167-176.
- [7] "The Rabatak inscription claims that in the year 1 Kanishka I's authority was proclaimed in India, in all the satrapies and in different cities like Koonadeano (Kundina), Ozeno (Ujjain), Kozambo (Kausambi), Zagedo (Saketa), Palabotro (Pataliputra) and Ziri-Tambo (Janjgir-Champa). These cities lay to the east and south of Mathura, up to which locality Wima had already carried his victorious arm. Therefore they must have been captured or subdued by Kanishka I himself." *Ancient Indian Inscriptions*, S. R. Goyal, p. 93. See also the analysis of Sims-Williams and J. Cribb, who had a central role in the decipherment: "A new Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great", in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* No. 4, 1995-1996. Also see, Mukherjee, B. N. "The Great Kushanan Testament", *Indian Museum Bulletin*.
- [8] Chavannes, (1906), p. 232 and note 3.
- [9] Hill (2009), p. 11.
- [10] Wood (2002), illus. p. 39.
- [11] Sims-Williams (online) *Encyclopedia Iranica*.
- [12] H. Humbach, 1975, p.402-408. K. Tanabe, 1997, p.277, M. Carter, 1995, p. 152. J. Cribb, 1997, p. 40. References cited in *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*.
- [13] Dobbins (1971).
- [14] *The Crossroads of Asia*, p. 201. (Full here.)
- [15] Hargreaves (1910-11), pp. 25-32.
- [16] Spooner, (1908-9), pp. 38-59.
- [17] Kumar (1973), p. 95.
- [18] Kumar (1973), p. 91.
- [19] Kumar (1973). p. 89.
- [20] Xuanzang, quoted in: Kumar (1973), p. 93.

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## External links

- A rough guide to Kushana history. (<http://www.kushan.org>)
- Online Catalogue of Kanishka's Coins (<http://coinindia.com/galleries-kanishka.html>)
- Coins of Kanishka (<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/results.php?results=200&search=Kanishka&Thumb=1>)
- Controversy regarding the beginning of the Kanishka Era. (<http://www.kushan.org/essays/chronology/kanishka.htm>)
- Kanishka Buddhist coins (<http://www.bpmurphy.com/COTW/week2.htm>)
- Photograph of the Kanishka casket (<http://www.trincoll.edu/classes/relg254pics/relg254pics/class3/if000000.htm>)

Preceded by: <b>Vima Kadphises</b>	<b>Kushan Ruler</b>	Succeeded by: <b>Huvishka</b>
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# Kvirike III of Kakheti

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**Kvirike III the Great** (Georgian: კვირიკე III დიდი, *Kvirike III Didi*) (died 1029) was a ruler of Kakheti in eastern Georgia from 1010 (effectively from 1014) to 1029.

He succeeded upon the death of his father David as a prince and chorepiscopus of Kakheti, but King Bagrat III of Georgia captured him and conquered Kakheti. Following Bagrat's death in 1014, Kvirike was able to recover the crown, took control of the neighboring region of Hereti and declared himself King of Kakheti and Hereti. Under Kvirike III, the kingdom experienced a period of political power and prosperity. In 1027, Kvirike joined the combined armies of Bagrat IV of Georgia led by Liparit Orbeliani and Ivane Abazasdze, Emir Jaffar of Tiflis, and the Armenian King David I of Lorri against the Shaddadid emir of Arran, Fadhl II, who was decisively defeated at the Eklez River. Around the same time, Kvirike III annihilated an invasion force led by the Alan king Urdure who had crossed the Caucasus Mountains into Kakheti only to be killed in a pitched battle. At the zenith of his power and prestige, Kvirike was assassinated while hunting in 1029. According to the Georgian historian Vakhushti, this was done by Kvirike's Alan slave who sought to avenge for the death of King Urdure. On Kvirike's death, Kakheti was temporarily annexed to the Kingdom of Georgia.

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# Kublai Khan

Kublai Khan	
Khagan of the Mongol Empire Founder of the Yuan Dynasty Emperor of China	
Portrait of Kublai Khan during the Yuan era.	
Portrait of Kublai Khan during the Yuan era.	
Reign	May 5, 1260 – February 18, 1294 (33 years, 289 days)
Coronation	May 5, 1260
Predecessor	Mongke Khan
Successor	Temur Khan
Consort	Tegulen, Chabi, Nambui
Full name	
Mongolian: <span>ᠬᠤᠪᠯᠠᠢ ᠬᠠᠭᠠᠨ</span> Chinese: 忽必烈 Setsen Khan (Цэцэн хаан)	
Era dates	
Zhongtong (中統) 1260–1264 Zhiyuan (至元) 1264–1294	
Posthumous name	
Emperor Shengde Shengong Wenwu (聖德神功文武皇帝)	
Temple name	
Shizu (世祖)	
Dynasty	Yuan
Father	Tolui
Mother	Sorghaghtani Beki
Born	23 September 1215
Died	18 February 1294 (aged 78) Dadu (Khanbalic)
Burial	Burkhan Khaldun, Khentii province

**Kublai Khan** (ᠬᠤᠪᠯᠠᠢ /ˈkuːbləˈkɑːn/; Mongolian: Хубилай хаан, *Xubilaï хаан*; Middle Mongolian: *Qubilai Qayan*, "King Qubilai"; September 23, 1215 – February 18, 1294),<sup>[1][2]</sup> born **Kublai** (Mongolian: Хубилай, *Xubilaï*; Middle Mongolian: *Qubilai*; Chinese: 忽必烈; pinyin: *Hūbìliè*; also spelled **Khubilai**) and also known by the temple name **Shizu** (Chinese: 元世祖; pinyin: *Yuán Shìzǔ*; Wade–Giles: Yüan Shih-tsu), was the fifth Great Khan of the Mongol Empire from 1260 to 1294 and the founder of the Yuan Dynasty in China.

As he was the second son of Tolui and Sorghaghtani Beki, and a grandson of Genghis Khan, he claimed the title of Khagan of the *Ikh Mongol Uls* (Mongol Empire) in 1260 after the death of his older brother Möngke in the previous year, though his younger brother Ariq Böke was also given this title in the Mongolian capital, Karakorum. Kublai won the battle against Ariq Böke in 1264 and the succession war marked the beginning of disunity in the empire.<sup>[3]</sup>

Kublai's real power was limited to China and Mongolia (which was the Yuan Dynasty, or the Mongol Dynasty) after the victory over Ariq Böke, though his influence still remained in the Ilkhanate and, to a far lesser degree, in the Golden Horde in the western parts of the Mongol Empire.<sup>[4][5][6]</sup> If one counts the Mongol Empire at that time as a whole, his realm reached from the Pacific to the Urals, from Siberia to modern day Afghanistan – one fifth of the world's inhabited land area.<sup>[7]</sup>

In 1271, Kublai established the Yuan Dynasty, which ruled over present-day Mongolia, China and some adjacent areas, and assumed the role of Emperor of China. By 1279, the Yuan forces had overcome the last resistance of the Southern Song Dynasty, and Kublai became the first non-Chinese Emperor to conquer all of China. He was also the only Mongol khan after 1260 to win new conquests.<sup>[8]</sup>

The summer garden of Kublai Khan at Xanadu is the subject of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's 1797 poem *Kubla Khan*. Coleridge's work and Marco Polo's book brought Kublai and his achievements to the attention of a wider audience, and today Kublai is a well-known historical figure.

## Early years

Kublai was the second son of Tolui and Sorghaghtani Beki. As his grandfather Genghis Khan advised, Sorghaghtani chose as her son's nurse a Buddhist Tangut woman whom Kublai later honored highly. On his way home after the conquest of the Khwarizmian Empire, Genghis Khan performed a ceremony on his grandsons Mongke and Kublai after their first hunt in 1224 near the Ili River.<sup>[9]</sup> Kublai was nine years old and with his eldest brother killed a rabbit and an antelope. His grandfather smeared fat from killed animals onto Kublai's middle finger in accordance with a Mongol tradition.

After the Mongol-Jin War, in 1236, Ogedei gave Hebei Province (attached with 80,000 households) to the family of Tolui, who died in 1232. Kublai received an estate of his own, which included 10,000 households. Because he was inexperienced, Kublai allowed local officials free rein. Corruption amongst his officials and aggressive taxation caused large numbers of Chinese peasants to flee, which led to a decline in tax revenues. Kublai quickly came to his appanage in Hebei and ordered reforms. Sorghaghtani sent new officials to help him and tax laws were revised. Thanks to those efforts, many of the people who fled returned.

The most prominent, and arguably the most influential component of Kublai Khan's early life was his study and strong attraction to contemporary Chinese culture. Kublai invited Haiyun, the leading Buddhist monk in North China, to his ordo in Mongolia. When he met Haiyun in Karakorum in 1242, Kublai asked him about the philosophy of Buddhism. Haiyun named Kublai's son, who was born in 1243, Zhenjin (*True Gold* in English).<sup>[10]</sup> Haiyun also introduced Kublai to the former Taoist and now Buddhist monk, Liu Bingzhong. Liu was a painter, calligrapher, poet and mathematician, and became Kublai's advisor when Haiyun returned to his temple in modern Beijing.<sup>[11]</sup> Kublai soon added the Shanxi scholar Zhao Bi to his entourage. Kublai employed people of other nationalities as well, for he was keen to balance local and imperial interests, Mongol and Turk.

## Khagan's viceroy in North China

In 1251, Kublai's eldest brother Möngke became Khan of the Mongol Empire, and Khwarizmian Mahmud Yalavach and Kublai were sent to China. Kublai received the viceroyalty over North China and moved his ordo to central Inner Mongolia. During his years as viceroy, Kublai managed his territory well, boosted the agricultural output of Henan and increased social welfare spendings after receiving Xi'an. These acts received great acclaim from the Chinese warlords and were essential to the building of the Yuan Dynasty. In 1252 Kublai criticized Mahmud Yalavach, who was never highly valued by his Chinese associates, over his cavalier execution of suspects during a judicial review and Zhao Bi attacked him for his presumptuous attitude toward the throne. Mongke dismissed Mahmud Yalavach, which met with resistance from Chinese Confucian-trained officials.<sup>[12]</sup>

In 1253, Kublai was ordered to attack Yunnan, and he asked the Kingdom of Dali to submit. The ruling family, Gao, resisted and killed Mongol envoys. The Mongols divided their forces into three. One wing rode eastward into the Sichuan basin. The second column under Subotai's son Uryankhadai took a difficult route into the mountains of western Sichuan.<sup>[13]</sup> Kublai went south over the grasslands and met up with the first column. While Uryankhadai travelled along the lakeside from the north, Kublai took the capital city of Dali and spared the residents despite the slaying of his ambassadors. The Mongols appointed King Duan Xingzhi as the local ruler and stationed a pacification commissioner there.<sup>[14]</sup> After Kublai's departure, unrest broke out among certain factions. By 1256, Uryankhadai had completely pacified Yunnan.

Kublai was attracted by the abilities of Tibetan monks as healers. In 1253 he made Drogön Chögyal Phagpa, of the Sakya order, a member of his entourage. Phagpa bestowed on Kublai and his wife, Chabi (Chabui), a Tantric Buddhist initiation. Kublai appointed Uyghur Lian Xixian (1231–1280) the head his pacification commission in 1254. Some officials, who were jealous of Kublai's success, said that he was getting above himself and dreaming of having his own empire by competing with Mongke's capital Karakorum (Xapxopым). The Great Khan Mongke sent two tax inspectors, Alamdar (Ariq Böke's close friend and governor in North China) and Liu Taiping, to audit Kublai's officials in 1257. They found fault, listed 142 breaches of regulations, accused Chinese officials and executed some of them, and Kublai's new pacification commission was abolished.<sup>[15]</sup> Kublai sent a two-man embassy with his wives and then appealed in person to Mongke, who publicly forgave his younger brother and reconciled with him.

The Taoists had obtained their wealth and status by seizing Buddhist temples. Mongke repeatedly demanded that the Taoists cease their denigration of Buddhism and ordered Kublai to end the clerical strife between the Taoists and Buddhists in his territory.<sup>[16]</sup> Kublai called a conference of Taoist and Buddhist leaders in early 1258. At the conference, the Taoist claim was officially refuted and Kublai forcibly converted 237 Taoist temples to Buddhism and destroyed all copies of the Taoist texts.<sup>[17][18][19][20]</sup>

In 1258, Möngke put Kublai in command of the Eastern Army and summoned him to assist with an attack on Sichuan. As he was suffering from gout, Kublai was allowed to stay but he moved to assist Möngke. Before Kublai arrived in 1259, word reached him that Möngke had died. Kublai decided to keep the death of his brother secret and continued to attack Wuhan, near Yangtze. While Kublai's force besieged Wuchang, Uryankhadai joined him.

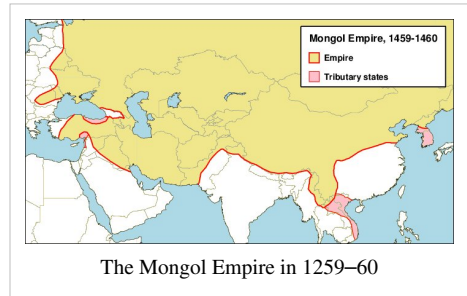


Portrait of young Kublai by Anige, a Nepali artist in Kublai's court

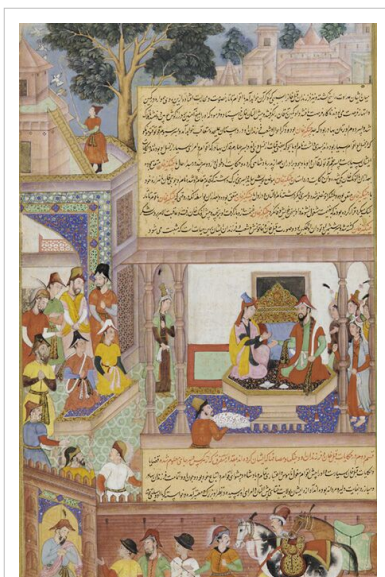


## Enthronement and civil war

The Song Dynasty minister Jia Sidao secretly approached Kublai to propose terms and asked whether the Song could pay an annual tribute of 200,000 taels of silver and 200,000 bolts of silk, in exchange for the Mongols agreement that the Yangtze River should be the frontier between the states.<sup>[21]</sup> Kublai first declined but reached a peace agreement with Jia Sidao. Kublai returned north to the Mongolian plains because he received a message from his wife that Ariq Böke had been raising troops.<sup>[22]</sup>



He soon received news that Ariq Böke had held a political and military council, called a kurultai, at Karakorum and was pronounced Great Khan by Mongke's officials. Most of Genghis Khan's descendants favored Ariq Böke as Great Khan; however, his two brothers Kublai and Hulegu opposed this. Kublai's Chinese staff encouraged Kublai to ascend the throne, and almost all of the senior princes in North China and Manchuria supported his candidacy.<sup>[23]</sup> Upon returning to his own territories, Kublai summoned his own kurultai. Few members of the royal family supported Kublai's claims to the title, though the small number of attendees included representatives of all the Borjigin lines except that of Jochi. This kurultai proclaimed Kublai Great Khan, on April 15, 1260, despite Ariq Böke's apparently legal claim.



Kublai Khan was chosen by his many supporters to become the next *Great Khan* at the Grand Kurultai in the year 1260. (a Mughal painting)

This led to warfare between Kublai and Ariq Böke, which resulted in the destruction of the Mongolian capital at Karakorum. In Shaanxi and Sichuan, Mongke's army supported Ariq Böke. Kublai dispatched Lian Xixian to Shaanxi and Sichuan, where they executed Ariq Böke's civil administrator Liu Taiping and won over several wavering generals.<sup>[24]</sup> To secure the southern front, Kublai attempted a diplomatic resolution and sent envoys to Hangzhou, but Jia broke his promise and arrested them.<sup>[25]</sup> Kublai sent Abishqa as new khan to the Chagatai Khanate. Ariq Böke captured Abishqa, two other princes and 100 men and had his own man, Alghu, crowned khan of Chagatai's territory. In the first armed clash between Ariq Böke and Kublai, Ariq Böke lost and his commander Alamdar was killed at the battle. In revenge, Ariq Böke had Abishqa executed. Kublai cut off supplies of food to Karakorum with the support of his cousin Khadan, son of Ogedei Khan. Karakorum quickly fell to Kublai's large army, but following Kublai's departure it was temporarily re-taken by Ariq Böke in 1261. Yizhou governor Li Tan revolted against Mongol rule in February 1262 and Kublai ordered his Chancellor Shi Tianze and Shi Shu to attack Li Tan. The two armies crushed Li Tan's revolt in just a few months and Li Tan was executed. These armies also executed Wang Wentong, the father-in-law of Li Tan who had been

appointed the Chief Administrator of the Zhongshusheng ("Department of Central Governing") early in Kublai's reign and became one of Kublai's most trusted Han Chinese officials. The incident instilled in Kublai a distrust of ethnic Hans. After becoming emperor, Kublai banned the titles of and tithes to Han Chinese warlords.

The Chagatayid Khan Alghu declared his allegiance to Kublai and defeated a punitive expedition sent by Ariq Böke against Alghu in 1262. Ilkhan Hulegu also sided with Kublai and criticized Ariq Böke. Ariq Böke surrendered to Kublai at Xanadu on August 21, 1264. The rulers of western khanates acknowledged Kublai's victory and rule in Mongolia.<sup>[26]</sup> When Kublai summoned them to organize another kurultai, Alghu Khan demanded security for his illegal position from Kublai in return. Despite tensions between them, both Hulegu and Berke, khan of the Golden Horde, at first accepted Kublai's invitation.<sup>[27][28]</sup> However, they soon declined to attend the new kurultai. Kublai

pardoned Ariq Böke, although he executed Ariq Böke's chief supporters.

## Reign

### Great Khan of the Mongols

The suspicious deaths of three Jochid princes in Hulegu's service, the Battle of Baghdad and unequal distribution of war spoils strained the Ilkhanate's relations with the Golden Horde. In 1262, Hulegu's complete purge of the Jochid troops and support for Kublai in his conflict with Ariq Böke brought open war with the Golden Horde. Kublai reinforced Hulegu with 30,000 young Mongols in order to stabilize the political crises in the western regions of the Mongol Empire.<sup>[29]</sup> When Hulegu died on 8 February 1264, Berke marched to cross near Tiflis to conquer the Ilkhanate but died on the way. Within a few months of these deaths, Alghu Khan of the Chagatai Khanate also died. In the new official version of his family's history, Kublai refused to write Berke's name as the khan of the Golden Horde because of Berke's support for Ariq Böke and wars with Hulegu; however, Jochi's family was fully recognized as legitimate family members.<sup>[30]</sup>

Kublai Khan named Abagha as the new Ilkhan (obedient khan) and nominated Batu's grandson Mongke Timur for the throne of Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde.<sup>[31][32]</sup> The Kublaids in the east retained suzerainty over the Ilkhans until the end of their regime.<sup>[33][34]</sup> Kublai also sent his protege Baraq to overthrow the court of Oirat Orghana, the empress of the Chagatai Khanate, who put her young son Mubarak Shah on the throne in 1265, without Kublai's permission after her husband's death. Ogedeid prince Kaidu declined to personally attend the court of Kublai. Kublai instigated Baraq to attack Kaidu. Baraq began to expand his realm northward; he seized power in 1266 and fought Kaidu and the Golden Horde. He also pushed out Great Khan's overseer from the Tarim basin. When Kaidu and Mongke Timur together defeated Kublai, Baraq joined an alliance with the House of Ogedei and the Golden Horde against Kublai in the east and Abagha in the west. Meanwhile, Mongke Timur avoided any direct military expedition against Kublai's realm. The court of the Golden Horde promised Kublai her assistance to defeat Kaidu whom Mongke Timur called the rebel.<sup>[35]</sup> This was apparently due to the conflict between Kaidu and Mongke Timur over the agreement they made at the Talas kurultai. The armies of Mongol Persia defeated Baraq's invading forces in 1269. When Baraq died the next year, Kaidu took control of the Chagatai Khanate and recovered his alliance with Mongke Timur.

Meanwhile, Kublai tried to stabilize his control over Korea by mobilizing another Mongol invasion after he appointed Wonjong (r. 1260–1274) as the new Goryeo king in 1259 in Kanghwa. Kublai forced two rulers of the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate to call a truce with each other in 1270 despite the Golden Horde's interests in the Middle East and Caucasia.<sup>[36]</sup> Kublai called two Iraqi siege engineers from the Ilkhanate in order to destroy the fortresses of Song China. After the fall of Xiangyang in 1273, Kublai's commanders, Aju and Liu Zheng, proposed a final campaign against the Song Dynasty, and Kublai made Bayan the supreme commander.<sup>[37]</sup> Kublai ordered Mongke Timur to revise the second census of the Golden Horde to provide resources and men for his conquest of China.<sup>[38]</sup> The census took place in all parts of the Golden Horde, including Smolensk and Vitebsk in 1274–75. The Khans also sent Nogai to the Balkans to strengthen Mongol influence there.<sup>[39]</sup>

Kublai renamed the Mongol regime in China Dai Yuan in 1271, and sought to sinicize his image as Emperor of China in order to win control of millions of Chinese people. When he moved his headquarters to Khanbalic, also called Dadu, at modern-day Beijing, there was an uprising in the old capital Karakorum that he barely contained. Kublai's actions were condemned by traditionalists and his critics still accused him of being too closely tied to Chinese culture. They sent a message to him: "The old customs of our Empire are not those of the Chinese laws... What will happen to the old customs?".<sup>[40][41]</sup> Kaidu attracted the other elites of Mongol Khanates, declaring himself to be a legitimate heir to the throne instead of Kublai, who had turned away from the ways of Genghis Khan.<sup>[42][43]</sup> Defections from Kublai's Dynasty swelled the Ogedeids' forces.

The Song imperial family surrendered to the Yuan in 1276, making the Mongols the first non-Chinese people to conquer all of China. Three years later, Yuan marines crushed the last of the Song loyalists. The Song Empress Dowager and her grandson, Zhao Xian, were then settled in Khanbalic where they were given tax-free property, and Kublai's wife Chabi took a personal interest in their well-being. However, Kublai later had Zhao sent away to become a monk to Zhangye. Kublai succeeded in building a powerful Empire, created an academy, offices, trade ports and canals and sponsored science and the arts. The record of the Mongols lists 20,166 public schools created during Kublai's reign.<sup>[44]</sup> Having achieved real or nominal dominion over much of Eurasia, and having successfully conquered China, Kublai was in a position to look beyond China.<sup>[45]</sup> However, Kublai's costly invasions of Burma, Annam, Sakhalin and Champa secured

only the vassal status of those countries. The Mongol invasions of Japan (1274 and 1280) and Java (1293) failed. At the same time, Kublai's nephew Ilkhan Abagha tried to form a grand alliance of the Mongols and the Western European powers to defeat the Mamluks in Syria and North Africa that constantly invaded the Mongol dominions. Abagha and Kublai focused mostly on foreign alliances, and opened trade routes. Khagan Kublai dined with a large court every day, and met with many ambassadors, foreign merchants.

Kublai's son Nomukhan and his generals occupied Almaliq from 1266–76. In 1277, a group of Genghisid princes under Mongke's son Shiregi rebelled, kidnapped Kublai's two sons and his general Antong and handed them over to Kaidu and Mongke Temur. The latter was still allied with Kaidu who fashioned an alliance with him in 1269, although Mongke Temur had promised Kublai his military support to protect Kublai from the Oggedids.<sup>[46]</sup> Kublai's armies suppressed the rebellion and strengthened the Yuan garrisons in Mongolia and Uighurstan. However, Kaidu took control over Almaliq.

In 1279–80, Kublai decreed death for those who performed Islamic-Jewish slaughtering of cattle, which offended Mongolian custom.<sup>[47]</sup> When the Ahmad Teguder seized the throne of the Ilkhanate in 1282, attempting to make peace with the Mamluks, Abagha's old Mongols under prince Arghun appealed to Kublai. After the execution of Ahmad, Kublai confirmed Arghun's coronation and awarded his commander in chief Buqa the title of chingsang.

Kublai's niece, Kelmish, who married a Khunggirat general of the Golden Horde, was powerful enough to have Kublai's sons Nomuqan and Kokhchu returned. Three leaders of the Jochids, Tode Mongke, Konchi, and Nogai, agreed to release two princes.<sup>[48]</sup> The court of the Golden Horde returned the princes as a peace overture to the Yuan Dynasty in 1282 and induced Kaidu to release Kublai's general. Konchi, khan of White Horde, established friendly relations with the Yuan and the Ilkhanate, and as a reward received luxury gifts and grain from Kublai.<sup>[49]</sup> Despite political disagreement between contending branches of the family over the office of Khagan, the economic and commercial system continued.<sup>[50][51][52][53]</sup>



Painting of Kublai Khan on a hunting expedition, by Chinese court artist Liu Guandao, c. 1280.



Extract of the letter of Arghun to Philip IV of France, in the Mongolian script, dated 1289.  
French National Archives.



## Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty

Kublai Khan considered that China was his main base; he realized within a decade of his enthronement as Great Khan that he needed to concentrate on governing China.<sup>[54]</sup> From the beginning of his reign, he adopted Chinese political and cultural models and worked to minimize the influences of regional lords, who had held immense power before and during the Song Dynasty. Kublai heavily relied on his Chinese advisers until about 1276. He had many Han Chinese advisers, such as Liu Bingzhong and Xu Heng, and employed many Uyghur Turks, some of whom were resident commissioners running Chinese districts.<sup>[55]</sup>

Kublai also appointed Phagspa Lama his state preceptor (*Guoshi*), giving him power over all of the empire's Buddhist monks. In 1270, after Phagspa created the Square script, he was promoted to imperial preceptor. Kublai established the Supreme Control Commission under Phagspa to administer affairs of Tibetan and Chinese monks. During Phagspa's absence in Tibet, the Tibetan monk Sangha rose to high office and had the office renamed the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs.<sup>[56][57]</sup> In 1286, Tibetan Sangha became the dynasty's chief fiscal officer. However, their corruption later embittered Kublai, after which Kublai relied wholly on younger Mongol aristocrats. Antong of the Jalayir, and Bayan of the Baarin served as grand councillors from 1265, and Oz-temur of the Arulad headed the censorate. Borokhula's descendant, Ochicher, headed a kheshig (Mongolian imperial guard) and the palace provision commission.

In the eighth year of Zhiyuan (1271), Kublai officially created the Yuan Dynasty, and proclaimed the capital to be at Dadu (Chinese: 大都; Wade–Giles: Ta-tu, lit. "Great Capital", known as Daidu to the Mongols, at modern-day Beijing) the following year. His summer capital was in Shangdu (Chinese: 上都, "Upper Capital", a.k.a. Xanadu, near what today is Dolonnur). To unify China,<sup>[58]</sup> Kublai began a massive offensive against the remnants of the Southern Song Dynasty in the 11th year of Zhiyuan (1274), and finally destroyed the Song Dynasty in the 16th year of Zhiyuan (1279), unifying the country at last.



The Chinese opera flourished during the Mongol rule in China.



Most of the Yuan domains were administered as provinces, also translated as the "branch Secretariat", during his reign, each with a governor and vice-governor.<sup>[59]</sup> This included China proper, Manchuria, Mongolia and a special Zhendong branch Secretariat that would extend into the Korean Peninsula.<sup>[60][61]</sup> The Central Region (Chinese: 腹裏) was separate from the rest, consisted of much of present-day North China, was considered the most important region of the dynasty and was directly governed by the Zhongshusheng (Chinese: 中書省, "Department of Central Governing") at Dadu. Tibet was governed by another top-level administrative department called the Xuanzheng Yuan (Chinese: 宣政院).

Kublai promoted economic growth with the rebuilding of the Grand Canal, repaired public buildings, and extended highways. However, his domestic policy included some aspects of the old Mongol living

traditions, and as his reign continued, these traditions would clash increasingly frequently with traditional Chinese economic and social culture. Kublai decreed that partner merchants of the Mongols should be subject to taxes in 1263 and set up the Office of Market Taxes to supervise them in 1268. After the Mongol conquest of the Song, the merchants expanded their operations to the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. In 1286, maritime trade was put under the Office of Market Taxes. The main source of revenue of the government was the monopoly of salt production.<sup>[62]</sup>

The Mongol administration had issued paper currencies from 1227 on.<sup>[63][64]</sup> In August 1260, Kublai created the first unified paper currency called Chao; bills were circulated throughout the Yuan domain with no expiration date. To guard against devaluation, the currency was convertible with silver and gold, and the government accepted tax payments in paper currency. In 1273, he issued a new series of state sponsored bills to finance his conquest of the Song, although eventually a lack of fiscal discipline and inflation turned this move into an economic disaster. It was required to pay only in the form of paper money. To ensure its use in circles, Kublai's government confiscated gold and silver from private citizens and foreign merchants. But traders received government-issued notes in exchange. Kublai Khan is considered to be the first of fiat money makers. The paper bills made collecting taxes and administering the empire much easier and reduced the cost of transporting coins.<sup>[65]</sup> In 1287, Kublai's minister Sangha created a new currency, Zhiyuan Chao, to deal with a budget shortfall.<sup>[66]</sup> It was non-convertible and denominated in copper cash. Later Gaykhatu of the Ilkhanate attempted to adopt the system in Persia and the Middle east, which was a complete failure, and shortly afterwards he was assassinated.

Kublai encouraged Asian arts and demonstrated religious tolerance. Despite his anti-Taoist edicts, Kublai respected the Taoist master and appointed Zhang Liushan as the patriarch of the Taoist Xuanjiao order.<sup>[67]</sup> Under Zhang's advice, Taoist temples were put under the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. The empire was visited by several Europeans, notably Marco Polo in the 1270s who may have seen the summer capital Shangdu.

## Warfare and foreign relations

Despite that Kublai restricted the functions of the kheshig, he created a new imperial bodyguard, at first entirely Chinese in composition but later strengthened with Kipchak, Alan (Asud), and Russian units.<sup>[68][69][70]</sup> Once his own kheshig was organized in 1263, Kublai put three of the original kheshig's four shifts under the charges the descendants of Genghis Khan's four assistants, Borokhula, Boorchu and Muqali. Kublai began the practice of having the four great aristocrats in his kheshig sign all jarliqs (decree), a practice that spread to all other Mongol khanates.<sup>[71]</sup> Mongol and Chinese units were organized using the same decimal organization that Genghis Khan used. The Mongols eagerly adopted new artillery and technologies.

Kublai brought siege engineers, Ismail and Al al-Din, from present-day Iraq and Iran.<sup>[72]</sup> Kublai and his generals adopted an elaborate, moderate style of military campaigns in South China. Effective assimilation of Chinese naval techniques allowed the Yuan army to quickly conquer the Song.

Kublai's foreign policy was similar to those of his predecessors, whose foreign policy might be considered as imperialistic. He invaded Goryeo (Korea) and made it a tributary vassal state in 1260. After another Mongol intervention in 1273, Goryeo came under even tighter control of the Yuan.<sup>[73][74][75][76][77]</sup> Goryeo became a Mongol military base and several myriarchy commands were established there. The court of the Goryeo supplied Korean troops and ocean-going naval force for the Mongol campaigns. Despite the opposition of some of his Confucian-trained advisers, Kublai decided to invade Japan, Burma, Vietnam and Java, following the suggestions of some of his Mongol officials. The attempts of subjugation also included peripheral lands such as Sakhalin, where its indigenous people eventually submitted to the Mongols by 1308, after Kublai's death. These costly conquests and the



A Yuan Dynasty Hand cannon

introduction of paper currency caused inflation. From 1273 to 1276, war against the Song Dynasty and Japan made the issue of paper currency expand from 110,000 ding to 1,420,000 ding.<sup>[78]</sup>

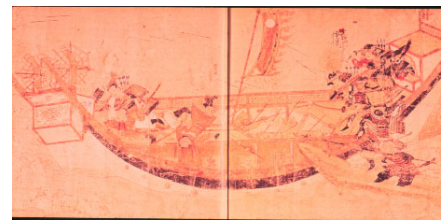
### Invasions of Japan

Kublai Khan twice attempted to invade Japan. It is believed that both attempts were thwarted by bad weather or a flaw in the design of ships that were based on river boats without keels, and his fleets were destroyed. The first attempt took place in 1274, with a fleet of 900 ships. After the first Mongol attack on Japan, Japanese pirates known as Wokou raided Korea, but Mongol-Korean forces pushed them back, and the Wokou pirates decreased their activity due to the increased military preparedness of the Goryeo and the Kamakura. In 1293 the Yuan navy captured 100 Japanese people from Okinawa.<sup>[79]</sup>

The second invasion occurred in 1281 when Mongols sent two separate forces; 900 ships containing 40,000 Korean, Chinese, and Mongol troops were sent from Masan, while a force of 100,000 sailed from southern China in 3,500 ships, each close to 240 feet (**unknown operator: u'strong' m**) long. The fleet was hastily assembled and ill-equipped to cope with maritime conditions. In November, they sailed into the treacherous waters that separated Korea and Japan by 110 miles. The Mongols easily took over Tsushima Island about halfway across the strait and then Ika Island closer to Kyushu. The Korean fleet reached Hakata Bay on June 23, 1281 and landed its troops and animals, but the ships from China were nowhere to be seen.

The samurai warriors, following their custom, rode out against the Mongol forces for individual combat but the Mongols held their formation. The Mongols fought as a united force, not as individuals, and bombarded the samurai with exploding missiles and showered them with arrows. Eventually, the remaining Japanese withdrew from the coastal zone inland to a fortress. The Mongol forces did not chase the fleeing Japanese into an area about which they lacked reliable intelligence.

Marine archaeologist Kenzo Hayashida lead the investigation that discovered the wreckage of the second invasion fleet off the western coast of Takashima. His team's findings strongly indicate that Kublai rushed to invade Japan and attempted to construct his enormous fleet in one year, a task that should have taken up to five years. This forced the Chinese to use any available ships, including river boats. Most importantly, the Chinese, under Kublai's control, built many ships quickly in order to contribute to the fleets in both of the invasions. Hayashida theorizes that, had Kublai used standard, well-constructed ocean-going ships with curved keels to prevent capsizing, his navy might have survived the journey to and from Japan and might have conquered it as intended. In October 2011, a wreck, possibly one of Kublai's invasion craft, was found off the coast of Nagasaki.<sup>[80]</sup> David Nicolle wrote in *The Mongol Warlords*, "Huge losses had also been suffered in terms of casualties and sheer expense, while the myth of Mongol invincibility had been shattered throughout eastern Asia." He also wrote that Kublai was determined to mount a third invasion, despite the horrendous cost to the economy and to his and Mongol prestige of the first two defeats, and only his death and the unanimous agreement of his advisers not to invade prevented a third attempt.<sup>[81]</sup>



Khubilai's failed invasion of Japan, painting from Japanese Imperial Collection. One third of the army was drowned when a typhoon struck the invading navy.



The samurai Suenaga facing Mongol arrows and bombs. *Mōko Shūrai Ekotoba* (蒙古襲来口詞), circa 1293.



The Mongolian Yuan troops. *Mōko Shūrai Ekotoba* (蒙古襲来口詞).



### Invasions of Vietnam

Kublai Khan also twice invaded Đại Việt. When Kublai became the Great Khan in 1260, the Vietnamese Trần Dynasty sent tribute every three years and received a *darugachi*.<sup>[82][83]</sup> But their king soon declined to attend the Mongol court in person. The first incursion (the second Mongol invasion of Đại Việt) began in December 1284 when the Mongols under the command of Toghan, the prince of Kublai Khan, crossed the border and quickly occupied Thăng Long (now Hanoi) in January 1285 after the victorious battle of Omar in Vạn Kiếp (north east of Hanoi). At the same time the Sogetu from Champa moved northward and rapidly marched to Nghe An in the north central region of Vietnam where the army of the Trần Dynasty under general Tran Kien surrendered to him. However, the Trần kings and the commander-in-chief Trần Hưng Đạo changed their tactics from defence to attack and struck against the Mongols. In April, General Trần Quang Khải defeated Sogetu in Chuong Duong and the Trần kings won a battle in Tây Kết where Sogetu died. Soon after, general Trần Nhật Duật also won a battle in Hàm Tử (now part of Hưng Yên) and Toghan was defeated by General Trần Hưng Đạo and Kublai failed in his first attempt to invade Đại Việt. Toghan hid himself inside a bronze pipe to avoid being killed by the Đại Việt archers; this act brought humiliation upon the Mongol Empire and Toghan.

After his first failure, Kublai wanted to install Nhan Tong's brother Tran Ich Tac - who had defected to the Mongols - as king of Annam, but hardship in the Yuan's supply base in Hunan, and Kaidu's invasion forced Kublai to abandon his plans. In 1285 the Brigung sect rebelled and attacked monasteries of Paghspa's sect in Tibet. The Chagatayid Khan, Duwa, helped the rebels and laid siege to Kara-Kocho and defeated Kublai's garrisons in the Tarim basin.<sup>[84]</sup> Kaidu destroyed an army at Beshbalik and occupied the city the following year. Many Uyghurs abandoned Kashgar for safer bases back in the eastern Yuan. After Kublai's grandson Buqa-Temur crushed the resistance of the Brigung sect, killing 10,000 Tibetans in 1291, Tibet was fully pacified.

The second Mongol invasion began in 1287 and was better organized than the previous effort; a large fleet and plentiful stocks of food were used. The Mongols, under the command of Toghan, moved to Vạn Kiếp from the north west and met the infantry and cavalry of Kublai's Kipchak commander Omar (coming by another way along the Red River) and quickly won the battle. The naval fleet rapidly attained victory in Vân Đồn near Ha Long Bay but they left the heavy cargo ships, stocked with food, which General Trần Khánh Dư quickly captured and the Mongols in Thăng Long (modern-day Hanoi) suffered an acute shortage of food. With no news about the supply fleet, Toghan ordered his army to retreat to Vạn Kiếp. The Đại Việt army began their general offensive and recaptured a number of locations occupied by the Mongols. Groups of Đại Việt infantry were ordered to attack the Mongols in Vạn Kiếp. Toghan had to split his army into two and retreat.

In early April the naval fleet, led by Omar and escorted by infantry, fled home along the Bạch Đằng river. As bridges and roads were destroyed and attacks were launched by Đại Việt troops, the Mongols reached Bạch Đằng without an infantry escort. Đại Việt's small flotilla engaged in battle and pretended to retreat. The Mongols eagerly pursued the Đại Việt troops and fell into their pre-arranged battlefield. Thousands of small Đại Việt boats quickly appeared from both banks, launched a fierce attack and broke the Mongol's combat formation. The Mongols met a sudden and strong attack and tried to withdraw to the sea in panic. The Mongols' boats were halted, and many were damaged and sank. At that time, a number of fire rafts quickly rushed toward the Mongols, who were frightened and jumped down to reach the banks where they were dealt a heavy blow by an army led by the Trần king and Trần Hưng Đạo. The Mongol naval fleet was totally destroyed and Omar was captured. At the same time, Đại Việt's army continuously attacked and smashed to pieces Toghan's army on its withdrawal through Lạng Sơn. Toghan risked his life to take a shortcut through thick forest in order to flee home. Nevertheless, the Đại Việt and the Kingdom of Champa had recognized Kublai's supremacy in order to avoid more conflicts.<sup>[83][85]</sup>

### Southeast Asia and South Seas

Three expeditions against Burma, in 1277, 1283 and 1287, brought the Mongol forces to the Irrawaddy delta, and they captured Bagan, the capital of Pagan Kingdom in Burma, and established their government.<sup>[86]</sup> Kublai had to be content with the establishment of a formal suzerainty but Burma finally became tributary state and sent tributes to the Yuan court until the Mongols were expelled from China in the 1360s.<sup>[87]</sup> The Khmer kingdom of Cambodia and small states in Malay and South India submitted to Kublai's rule between 1278–1294. Mongol interests in these areas were commercial and tributary relationships.

During the last years of his reign, Kublai launched a naval punitive expedition of 20–30,000 men against the Javanese kingdom of Singhasari (1293), but the invading Mongol forces were forced to withdraw by the Majapahit Dynasty after considerable losses of more than 3,000 troops. Nevertheless, by 1294, the year that Kublai died, two Thai kingdoms of Sukhotai and Chiangmai had become vassal states of the Yuan Dynasty.<sup>[86]</sup>

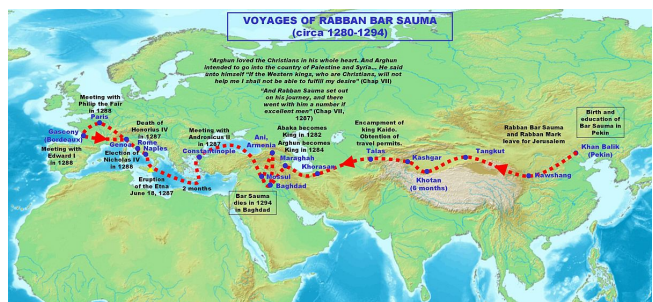
### Europe

Under Kublai, direct contact between East Asia and the West was established, made possible by the Mongol control of the central Asian trade routes and facilitated by the presence of efficient postal services. In the beginning of the 13th century, large numbers of Europeans and Central Asians – merchants, travelers, and missionaries of different orders – made their way to China. The presence of the Mongol power allowed large numbers of Chinese, intent on warfare or trade, to travel to other parts of the Mongol Empire, all the way to Russia, Persia, and Mesopotamia.

Marco Polo, Niccolo Polo's son, accompanied his father and his uncle Maffeo Polo, on their second trip to China starting in 1271. Marco Polo was probably the best-known foreign visitor to China and Mongolia. After reaching China in 1275, he spent the next 17 years (1275–1292) under the administration and patronage of Kublai, including official service in the salt administration and trips through the provinces of Yunnan and Fukien.



Kublai gives financial support to the Polo family.



Rabban Bar Sauma, the ambassador of Great Khan Kublai and Ilkhan Arghun, travelled from Dadu in the East, to Rome, Paris and Bordeaux in the West, meeting with the major rulers of the period in 1287–1288

## The capital city of the Emperor

After Kublai Khan was proclaimed Khagan at his residence in Shangdu on 5 May 1260, he began to organize the country. Zhang Wenqian, a central government official and a friend of Guo, was sent by Kublai in 1260 to Daming where unrest had been reported in the local population. Guo accompanied Zhang on his mission. Guo was interested in engineering, was an expert astronomer, a skilled instrument maker and understood that good astronomical observations depended on expertly made instruments. Guo began to construct astronomical instruments, including water clocks for accurate timing and armillary spheres which represented the celestial globe. Turkestani architect Ikhtiyar al-Din (also known as Igder) designed the buildings of the city of Khagan or Khanbalic.<sup>[88]</sup> Kublai also employed foreign artists to build his new capital; one of them, a Nepalese named Arniko, built the White Stupa which was the largest structure in Khanbalic/Dadu.<sup>[89]</sup>



The White Stupa in Dadu (or Khanbalic)

Zhang advised Kublai that Guo was a leading expert in hydraulic engineering. Kublai knew the importance of water management for irrigation, transport of grain and flood control, and he asked Guo to look at these aspects in the area between Dadu (now Beijing) and the Yellow River. To provide Dadu with a new supply of water, Guo found the Baifu spring in the Shenshan Mountain and had a 30 km channel built to move the water to Dadu. He proposed connecting the water supply across different river basins, built new canals with sluices to control the water level and achieved great success with the improvements which he was able to make. This pleased Kublai and Guo was asked to undertake similar projects in other parts of the country. In 1264 he was asked to go to Gansu province to repair the damage that had been caused to the irrigation systems by the years of war during the Mongol advance through the region. Guo travelled extensively along with his friend Zhang taking notes of the work which needed to be done to unblock damaged parts of the system and to make improvements to its efficiency. He sent his report directly to Kublai Khan.

## Nayan's rebellion

During the conquest of the Jin, Genghis Khan's younger brothers received large appanages in Manchuria.<sup>[90]</sup> Their descendants strongly supported Kublai's coronation in 1260, but the younger generation desired more independence. Kublai enforced Ogedei Khan's regulations that the Mongol noblemen could appoint overseers and the Great Khan's special officials, in their appanages, but otherwise respected appanage rights. Kublai's son Manggala established direct control over Singan and Shansi in 1272. In 1274, Kublai appointed Lian Xixian to investigate abuses of power by Mongol appanage holders in Manchuria.<sup>[91]</sup> The region called Lia-tung was immediately brought under the Khagan's control, in 1284, eliminating autonomy of the Mongol nobles there.<sup>[92]</sup>



The 19th century romantic view of Kublai's four elephants.

Threatened by the advance of Kublai's bureaucratization, Belgutei's fourth generation descendant, Nayan (not confused with Temuge's descendant Nayan), instigated a revolt in 1287. Nayan tried to join forces with Kublai's competitor Kaidu in Central Asia.<sup>[93]</sup> Manchuria's native Jurchens and Water Tatars, who had suffered a famine, supported Nayan. Virtually all of the fraternal lines under Hadaan, a descendant of Hachiun, and Shihtur, a grandson of Hasar, joined Nayan's rebellion,<sup>[94]</sup> and because Nayan was popular prince, Ebugen, a grandson of Genghis Khan's son Khulgen, and the family of Khuden, a younger brother of Guyuk Khan, contributed troops for this rebellion.<sup>[95]</sup>

The rebellion was crippled by early detection and timid leadership. Kublai sent Bayan to keep Nayan and Kaidu apart by occupying Karakorum, while Kublai led another army against the rebels in Manchuria. Kublai's commander Oz Temur's Mongol force attacked

Nayan's 60,000 inexperienced soldiers on June 14, while Chinese and Alan guards under Li Ting protected Kublai. The army of Chungnyeol of Goryeo assisted Kublai in battle. After a hard fight, Nayan's troops withdrew behind their carts and Li Ting began bombardment and attacked Nayan's camp that night. Kublai's force pursued Nayan, who was eventually captured and executed without bloodshed, a traditional way of executing princes.<sup>[95]</sup> Meanwhile, the rebel prince Shikqtur invaded the Chinese district of Liaoning but was defeated within a month. Kaidu withdrew westward to avoid a battle. However, Kaidu defeated a major Yuan army in Khangai and briefly occupied Karakorum in 1289. Kaidu had ridden away before Kublai could mobilize a larger army.<sup>[96]</sup>

Widespread but uncoordinated uprisings of Nayan's supporters continued until 1289; these were ruthlessly repressed. The rebel princes' troops were taken from them and redistributed among the imperial family.<sup>[97]</sup> Kublai harshly punished the darugachis appointed by the rebels in Mongolia and Manchuria.<sup>[98]</sup> This rebellion forced Kublai to approve the creation of the Liaoyang Branch Secretariat on December 4, 1287, while rewarding loyal fraternal princes.

## Later years

Kublai Khan dispatched his grandson Gammala to Burkhan Khaldun in 1291. Because Kublai wanted to ensure that he laid claim to the sacred place (Ikh Khorig), Burkhan Khaldun, where Genghis was buried, Mongolia was strongly protected by the Kublaids. Bayan was in control of Karakorum and was re-establishing control over surrounding areas in 1293, so Kublai's rival Kaidu did not attempt any large-scale military action for the next three years. From 1293 on, Kublai's army cleared Kaidu's forces from the Central Siberian Plateau.

Kublai's original choice of successor was his son Zhenjin, who became the head of Zhongshusheng ("Department of Central Governing"), and actively administrated the dynasty according to Confucian fashion. Nomukhan, after he returned from captivity in the Golden Horde, expressed resentment that Zhenjin had been made heir apparent but was banished to the north. An official proposed that Kublai should abdicate in favor of Zhenjin in 1285, a suggestion which angered Kublai, who refused to see Zhenjin, who died soon afterwards in 1286, eight years before his father. Kublai regretted this and remained very close to his wife, Bairam (also known as Kokejin). When Chabi died, Kublai began to withdraw from direct contact with his advisers, and issued instructions through one of his other queens, Nambui. Only two of Kublai's daughters are known by name; he may have had others. Unlike the formidable women of his grandfather's day, Kublai's wives and daughters were an almost invisible presence, possibly because Chinese court etiquette demoted females to inferior status.

Kublai became increasingly despondent after the deaths his favorite wife and his chosen heir Zhenjin. The failure of the military campaigns in Vietnam and Japan also haunted him. Kublai turned to food and drink for comfort, became grossly overweight and suffered gout and diabetes. The emperor overindulged in alcohol and the traditional meat-rich Mongol diet, which may have contributed to his gout. Kublai sank into depression because of the loss of family, his poor health and advancing age. Kublai tried every medical treatment available, from Korean shamans to Vietnamese doctors, and remedies and medicines, but to no avail. At the end of 1293, the emperor refused to participate in the traditional New Years' ceremony. Before his death, Kublai passed the seal of Crown Prince to Zhenjin's son Temür, who would become the next Khagan of the Mongol Empire and the second ruler of the Yuan Dynasty. Seeking an old companion to comfort him in his final illness, the palace staff could choose only Bayan, more than 30 years his junior. Kublai weakened steadily, and on 18 February 1294 he died at the age of 78. Two days later, the funeral cortège took his body to the burial place of the khans in Mongolia.

## Family

Kublai first married Tegulen but she died very early. Then he married Chabi Khatun of the Khunggirat, who was his most beloved empress. After Chabi's death in 1286, Kublai married his young cousin, Nambui, in accordance with Chabi's wish.

Kublai and his wives' children included:

- Dorji was the director of the Secretariat and head of the Bureau of Military Affairs from 1263, but was sickly and died young.
- Zhenjin was the father of Temur Khan, Kublai's successor.
- Manggala was a viceroy in Shaanxi.
- Nomukhan
- Khungjil
- Aychi
- Saqulghachi
- Qughchu
- Toghan led Mongol armies into Burma and Vietnam.
- Khulan-temur
- Tsever
- Khutugh beki married the king Chungnyeol and became the Empress of the Goryeo.<sup>[99]</sup>
- and a further son and two daughters; names unknown.



Chabi, Khatun of Kublai and Empress of the Mongol Empire



## Legacy

Kublai's seizure of power in 1260 pushed the Mongol Empire into a new direction. Despite his controversial election, which accelerated the disunity of the Mongols, Kublai's willingness to formalize the Mongol realm's symbiotic relation with China brought the Mongol Empire to international attention. Kublai and his predecessors' conquests were largely responsible for re-creating a unified, militarily powerful China. The Mongol rule of Tibet, Xinjiang, and Mongolia proper from a capital at modern Beijing were the precedents for the Qing Dynasty's Inner Asian Empire.<sup>[100]</sup>

## Cultural references

- Kublai and Shangdu or Xanadu are the subject of various later artworks, including the English Romantic Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem "Kubla Khan", in which Coleridge makes Xanadu a symbol of mystery and splendour.
- Kublai Khan and Xanadu are both mentioned in the song "Xanadu" by Canadian band Rush.

## In fiction

- Kublai Khan is depicted in Italo Calvino's novel *Invisible Cities*, in which Kublai talks with Marco Polo about imaginary cities in his empire .
- Conn Iggulden's 2011 novel *Conqueror* follows Kublai Khan's rise to power, from the Khanate of Guyuk Khan to the surrender of Ariq Boke Khan.
- Daughter of Xanadu* (2011) by Dori Jones Yang depicts war through the eyes of Kublai Khan's fictional eldest granddaughter, Emmajin Beki.

## Notes

General note: Dates given here are in the Julian calendar. They are not in the proleptic Gregorian calendar.

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Statue of Kublai Khan in Sukhbaatar Square, Ulaanbaatar. Together with Ogedei Khan's, and the much larger Genghis Khan's statues, it forms a statue complex dedicated to the Mongol Empire.



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# Llywelyn the Great

Llywelyn the Great	
Prince of Wales, Gwynedd, and Powys Wenwynwyn Prince of Aberffraw and Lord of Snowdon	
	
Llywelyn the Great with his sons Gruffydd and Dafydd	
Prince of Wales	
Reign	1218–1240
Predecessor	Vacant <i>Last held by Rhys ap Gruffydd</i>
Successor	Dafydd ap Llywelyn
Prince of Gwynedd	
Reign	1195–1240
Predecessor	Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd
Successor	Dafydd ap Llywelyn
Prince of Powys Wenwynwyn	
Reign	1216–1240
Predecessor	Gwenwynwyn ab Owain
Successor	Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn
Spouse	Joan, Lady of Wales
Issue	
Dafydd ap Llywelyn Gruffydd ap Llywelyn Elen ferch Llywelyn Gwladus Ddu Marared ferch Llywelyn Gwenllian ferch Llywelyn Angharad ferch Llywelyn Susanna ferch Llywelyn	
Full name	
Llywelyn ab Iorwerth	
Father	Iorwerth Drwyndwn
Mother	Marared ferch Madog

<b>Born</b>	c. 1173 Dolwyddelan
<b>Died</b>	11 April 1240 Cistercian, Aberconwy Abbey, Wales
<b>Burial</b>	Aberconwy Abbey, Wales

**Llywelyn the Great** (Welsh: *Llywelyn Fawr*, Welsh: [l̪əˈwɛlɪn]), full name **Llywelyn ab Iorwerth**, (c. 1172 – 11 April 1240) was a Prince of Gwynedd in north Wales and eventually *de facto* ruler over most of Wales. By a combination of war and diplomacy he dominated Wales for forty years.

During Llywelyn's boyhood, Gwynedd was ruled by two of his uncles, who split the kingdom between them, following the death of Llywelyn's grandfather, Owain Gwynedd, in 1170. Llywelyn had a strong claim to be the legitimate ruler and began a campaign to win power at an early age. He was sole ruler of Gwynedd by 1200 and made a treaty with King John of England that year. Llywelyn's relations with John remained good for the next ten years. He married John's natural daughter Joan in 1205, and when John arrested Gwenwynwyn ab Owain of Powys in 1208, Llywelyn took the opportunity to annex southern Powys. In 1210, relations deteriorated, and John invaded Gwynedd in 1211. Llywelyn was forced to seek terms and to give up all lands east of the River Conwy, but was able to recover them the following year in alliance with the other Welsh princes. He allied himself with the barons who forced John to sign the Magna Carta in 1215. By 1216, he was the dominant power in Wales, holding a council at Aberdyfi that year to apportion lands to the other princes.

Following King John's death, Llywelyn concluded the Treaty of Worcester with his successor, Henry III, in 1218. During the next fifteen years, Llywelyn was frequently involved in fights with Marcher lords and sometimes with the king, but also made alliances with several major powers in the Marches. The Peace of Middle in 1234 marked the end of Llywelyn's military career, as the agreed truce of two years was extended year by year for the remainder of his reign. He maintained his position in Wales until his death in 1240 and was succeeded by his son Dafydd ap Llywelyn.

## Genealogy and early life



Dolwyddelan Castle was built by Llywelyn; the old castle nearby may have been his birthplace.

Llywelyn was born about 1173, the son of Iorwerth ap Owain and the grandson of Owain Gwynedd, who had been ruler of Gwynedd until his death in 1170. Llywelyn was a descendant of the senior line of Rhodri Mawr and therefore a member of the princely house of Gwynedd.<sup>[1]</sup> He was probably born at Dolwyddelan though not in the present Dolwyddelan castle, which was built by Llywelyn himself. He may have been born in the old castle which occupied a rocky knoll on the valley floor.<sup>[2]</sup> Little is known about his father, Iorwerth Drwyndwn, who died when Llywelyn was an infant. There is no record of Iorwerth having taken part in the power struggle between some of Owain Gwynedd's other sons following Owain's death, although he

was the eldest surviving son. There is a tradition that he was disabled or disfigured in some way that excluded him from power.<sup>[3]</sup>

By 1175, Gwynedd had been divided between two of Llywelyn's uncles. Dafydd ab Owain held the area east of the River Conwy and Rhodri ab Owain held the west. Dafydd and Rhodri were the sons of Owain by his second marriage to Cristin ferch Goronwy ab Owain. This marriage was not considered valid by the church as Cristin was Owain's first cousin, a degree of relationship which according to Canon law prohibited marriage. Giraldus Cambrensis refers to Iorwerth Drwyndwn as the only legitimate son of Owain Gwynedd.<sup>[4]</sup> Following Iorwerth's death, Llywelyn was, at least in the eyes of the church, the legitimate claimant to the throne of Gwynedd.<sup>[5]</sup>

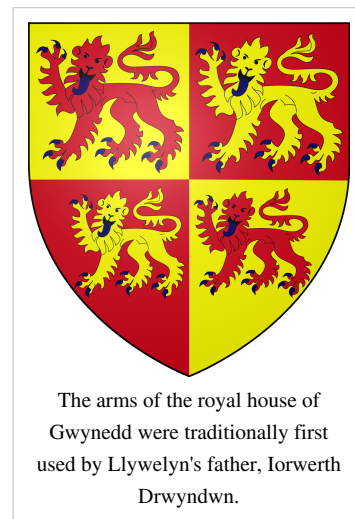


Llywelyn's mother was Marared, occasionally anglicised to Margaret, daughter of Madog ap Maredudd, prince of Powys. There is evidence that, after her first husband's death, Marared married in the summer of 1197, Gwion, the nephew of Roger Powys of Whittington Castle. She seems to have pre-deceased her husband, after bearing him a son, David ap Gwion, and therefore there can be no truth in the story that she married into the Corbet family of Caus Castle (near Westbury, Shropshire) and later, Moreton Corbet Castle.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Rise to power 1188–1199

In his account of his journey around Wales in 1188 Giraldus Cambrensis mentions that the young Llywelyn was already in arms against his uncles Dafydd and Rhodri;

Owen, son of Gruffyth, prince of North Wales, had many sons, but only one legitimate, namely, Jorwerth Drwyndwn, which in Welsh means flat-nosed, who had a son named Lhwelyn. This young man, being only twelve years of age, began, during the period of our journey, to molest his uncles David and Roderic, the sons of Owen by Christiana, his cousin-german; and although they had divided amongst themselves all North Wales, except the land of Conan, and although David, having married the sister of king Henry II, by whom he had one son, was powerfully supported by the English, yet within a few years the legitimate son, destitute of lands or money (by the aid of divine vengeance), bravely expelled from North Wales those who were born in public incest, though supported by their own wealth and by that of others, leaving them nothing but what the liberality of his own mind and the counsel of good men from pity suggested: a proof that adulterous and incestuous persons are displeasing to God.<sup>[7]</sup>



In 1194, with the aid of his cousins Gruffudd ap Cynan<sup>[8]</sup> and Maredudd ap Cynan, he defeated Dafydd at the battle of Aberconwy at the mouth of the River Conwy. Rhodri died in 1195, and his lands west of the Conwy were taken over by Gruffudd and Maredudd while Llywelyn ruled the territories taken from Dafydd east of the Conwy.<sup>[9]</sup> In 1197 Llywelyn captured Dafydd and imprisoned him. A year later Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, persuaded Llywelyn to release him, and Dafydd retired to England where he died in May 1203.

Wales was divided into *Pura Wallia*, the areas ruled by the Welsh princes, and *Marchia Wallia*, ruled by the Anglo-Norman barons. Since the death of Owain Gwynedd in 1170, Rhys ap Gruffydd had made the southern kingdom of Deheubarth the strongest of the Welsh kingdoms, and had established himself as the leader of *Pura Wallia*. After Rhys died in 1197, fighting between his sons led to the splitting of Deheubarth between warring factions. Gwenwynwyn ab Owain, prince of Powys Wenwynwyn, tried to take over as leader of the Welsh princes, and in 1198 raised a great army to besiege Painscastle, which was held by the troops of William de Braose, Lord of Bramber. Llywelyn sent troops to help Gwenwynwyn, but in August Gwenwynwyn's force was attacked by an army led by the Justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, and heavily defeated.<sup>[10]</sup> Gwenwynwyn's defeat gave Llywelyn the opportunity to establish himself as the leader of the Welsh. In 1199 he captured the important castle of Mold and was apparently using the title "prince of the whole of North Wales" (Latin: *tocius norwallie princeps*).<sup>[11]</sup> Llywelyn was probably not in fact master of all Gwynedd at this time since it was his cousin Gruffudd ap Cynan who promised homage to King John for Gwynedd in 1199.<sup>[12]</sup>

## Reign as Prince of Gwynedd

### Consolidation 1200–1209

Gruffudd ap Cynan died in 1200 and left Llywelyn the undisputed ruler of Gwynedd. In 1201 he took Eifionydd and Llŷn from Maredudd ap Cynan on a charge of treachery.<sup>[12]</sup> In July the same year Llywelyn concluded a treaty with King John of England. This is the earliest surviving written agreement between an English king and a Welsh ruler, and under its terms Llywelyn was to swear fealty and do homage to the king. In return, it confirmed Llywelyn's possession of his conquests and allowed cases relating to lands claimed by Llywelyn to be heard under Welsh law.<sup>[13]</sup>

Llywelyn made his first move beyond the borders of Gwynedd in August 1202 when he raised a force to attack Gwenwynwyn ab Owain of Powys, who was now his main rival in Wales. The clergy intervened to make peace between Llywelyn and Gwenwynwyn and the invasion was called off. Elise ap Madog, lord of Penllyn, had refused to respond to Llywelyn's summons to arms and was stripped of almost all his lands by Llywelyn as punishment.<sup>[14]</sup>

Llywelyn consolidated his position in 1205 by marrying Joan, the natural daughter of King John. He had previously been negotiating with Pope Innocent III for leave to marry his uncle Rhodri's widow, daughter of Ragnald, King of Mann and the Isles. However this proposal was dropped.<sup>[15]</sup>

In 1208 Gwenwynwyn of Powys fell out with King John who summoned him to Shrewsbury in October and then arrested him and stripped him of his lands. Llywelyn took the opportunity to annex southern Powys and northern Ceredigion and rebuild Aberystwyth castle.<sup>[16]</sup> In the summer of 1209 he accompanied John on a campaign against King William I of Scotland.<sup>[17]</sup>

### Setback and recovery 1210–1217

In 1210 relations between Llywelyn and King John deteriorated. J.E. Lloyd suggests that the rupture may have been due to Llywelyn forming an alliance with William de Braose, 4th Lord of Bramber, who had fallen out with the king and had been deprived of his lands.<sup>[18]</sup> While John led a campaign against de Braose and his allies in Ireland, an army led by Earl Ranulph of Chester and Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, invaded Gwynedd. Llywelyn destroyed his own castle at Deganwy and retreated west of the River Conwy. The Earl of Chester rebuilt Deganwy, and Llywelyn retaliated by ravaging the earl's lands.<sup>[19]</sup> John sent troops to help restore Gwenwynwyn to the rule of southern Powys. In 1211 John invaded Gwynedd with the aid of almost all the other Welsh princes, planning according to *Brut y Tywysogion* "to dispossess Llywelyn and destroy him utterly".<sup>[20]</sup> The first invasion was forced to retreat, but in August that year John invaded again with a larger army, crossed the River Conwy and penetrated Snowdonia.<sup>[21]</sup> Bangor was burnt by a detachment of the royal army and the Bishop of Bangor captured. Llywelyn was forced to come to terms, and by the advice of his council sent his wife Joan to negotiate with the king, her father.<sup>[22]</sup> Joan was able to persuade her father not to dispossess her husband completely, but Llywelyn lost all his lands east of the River Conwy. He also had to pay a large tribute in cattle and horses and to hand over hostages, including his illegitimate son Gruffydd, and was forced to agree that if he died without a legitimate heir by Joan all his lands would revert to the king.<sup>[23]</sup>



Statue of Llywelyn the Great, Conwy

This was the low point of Llywelyn's reign, but he quickly recovered his position. The other Welsh princes, who had supported King John against Llywelyn, soon became disillusioned with John's rule and changed sides. Llywelyn formed an alliance with Gwenwynwyn of Powys and the two main rulers of Deheubarth, Maelgwn ap Rhys and Rhys Gryg, and rose against John. They had the support of Pope Innocent III, who had been engaged in a dispute with John for several years and had placed his kingdom under an interdict. Innocent released Llywelyn, Gwenwynwyn and Maelgwn from all oaths of loyalty to John and lifted the interdict in the territories which they controlled. Llywelyn was able to recover all Gwynedd apart from the castles of Deganwy and Rhuddlan within two months in 1212.<sup>[24]</sup>

John planned another invasion of Gwynedd in August 1212. According to one account, he had just commenced by hanging some of the Welsh hostages given the previous year when he received two letters. One was from his daughter Joan, Llywelyn's wife, the other from William I of Scotland, and both warned him in similar terms that if he invaded Wales his magnates would seize the opportunity to kill him or hand him over to his enemies.<sup>[25]</sup> The invasion was abandoned, and in 1213 Llywelyn took the castles of Deganwy and Rhuddlan.<sup>[26]</sup> Llywelyn made an alliance with Philip II Augustus of France,<sup>[27]</sup> then allied himself with the barons who were in rebellion against John, marching on Shrewsbury and capturing it without resistance in 1215.<sup>[28]</sup> When John was forced to sign Magna Carta, Llywelyn was rewarded with several favourable provisions relating to Wales, including the release of his son Gruffydd who had been a hostage since 1211.<sup>[29]</sup> The same year Ednyfed Fychan was appointed seneschal of Gwynedd and was to work closely with Llywelyn for the remainder of his reign.

Llywelyn had now established himself as the leader of the independent princes of Wales, and in December 1215 led an army which included all the lesser princes to capture the castles of Carmarthen, Kidwelly, Llanstephan, Cardigan and Cilgerran. Another indication of his growing power was that he was able to insist on the consecration of Welshmen to two vacant sees that year, Iorwerth as Bishop of St. David's and Cadwgan as Bishop of Bangor.<sup>[30]</sup>

In 1216, Llywelyn held a council at Aberdyfi to adjudicate on the territorial claims of the lesser princes, who affirmed their homage and allegiance to Llywelyn. Beverley Smith comments, "Henceforth, the leader would be lord, and the allies would be subjects".<sup>[31]</sup> Gwenwynwyn of Powys changed sides again that year and allied himself with King John. Llywelyn called up the other princes for a campaign against him and drove him out of southern Powys once more. Gwenwynwyn died in England later that year, leaving an underage heir. King John also died that year, and he also left an underage heir in King Henry III with a minority government set up in England.<sup>[32]</sup>



Wales c. 1217. Yellow: areas directly ruled by Llywelyn; Grey: areas ruled by Llywelyn's client princes; Green: Anglo-Norman lordships.

In 1217, Reginald de Braose of Brecon and Abergavenny, who had been allied to Llywelyn and married his daughter, Gwladus Ddu, was induced by the English crown to change sides. Llywelyn responded by invading his lands, first threatening Brecon, where the burgesses offered hostages for the payment of 100 marks, then heading for Swansea where Reginald de Braose met him to offer submission and to surrender the town. He then continued westwards to threaten Haverfordwest where the burgesses offered hostages for their submission to his rule or the payment of a fine of 1,000 marks.<sup>[33]</sup>

### **Treaty of Worcester and border campaigns 1218–1229**

Following King John's death Llywelyn concluded the Treaty of Worcester with his successor Henry III in 1218. This treaty confirmed him in possession of all his recent conquests. From then until his death Llywelyn was the dominant force in Wales, though there were further outbreaks of hostilities with marcher lords, particularly the Marshall family and Hubert de Burgh, and sometimes with the king. Llywelyn built up marriage alliances with several of the Marcher families. One daughter, Gwladus Ddu, ("Gwladus the Dark") was already married to Reginald de Braose of Brecon and Abergavenny, but with Reginald an unreliable ally Llywelyn married another daughter, Marared, to John de Braose of Gower, Reginald's nephew. He found a loyal ally in Ranulph, Earl of Chester, whose nephew and heir, John the Scot, married Llywelyn's daughter Elen in about 1222. Following Reginald de Braose's death in 1228, Llywelyn also made an alliance with the powerful Mortimer family of Wigmore when Gwladus Ddu married as her second husband Ralph de Mortimer.<sup>[34]</sup>

Llywelyn was careful not to provoke unnecessary hostilities with the crown or the Marcher lords; for example in 1220 he compelled Rhys Gryg to return four commotes in South Wales to their previous Anglo-Norman owners.<sup>[35]</sup> He built a number of castles to defend his borders, most thought to have been built between 1220 and 1230. These were the first sophisticated stone castles in Wales; his castles at Criccieth, Deganwy, Dolbadarn, Dolwyddelan and Castell y Bere are among the best examples.<sup>[36]</sup> Llywelyn also appears to have fostered the development of quasi-urban settlements in Gwynedd to act as centres of trade.<sup>[37]</sup>



Criccieth Castle is one of a number built by Llywelyn.

Hostilities broke out with William Marshal, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, in 1220. Llywelyn destroyed the castles of Narberth and Wiston, burnt the town of Haverfordwest and threatened Pembroke Castle, but agreed to abandon the attack on payment of £100. In early 1223 Llywelyn crossed the border into Shropshire and captured Kinnerley and Whittington castles. The Marshalls took advantage of Llywelyn's involvement here to land near St David's in April with an army raised in Ireland and recaptured Cardigan and Carmarthen without opposition. The Marshalls' campaign was supported by a royal army which took possession of Montgomery. Llywelyn came to an agreement with the king at Montgomery in October that year. Llywelyn's allies in south Wales were given back lands taken from them by the Marshalls and Llywelyn himself gave up his conquests in Shropshire.<sup>[38]</sup>

In 1228 Llywelyn was engaged in a campaign against Hubert de Burgh, who was Justiciar of England and Ireland and one of the most powerful men in the kingdom. Hubert had been given the lordship and castle of Montgomery by the king and was encroaching on Llywelyn's lands nearby. The king raised an army to help Hubert, who began to build another castle in the commote of Ceri. However in October the royal army was obliged to retreat and Henry agreed to destroy the half-built castle in exchange for the payment of £2,000 by Llywelyn. Llywelyn raised the money by demanding the same sum as the ransom of William de Braose, Lord of Abergavenny, whom he had captured in the fighting.<sup>[39]</sup>

## Marital problems 1230

Following his capture, William de Braose decided to ally himself to Llywelyn, and a marriage was arranged between his daughter Isabella and Llywelyn's heir, Dafydd ap Llywelyn. At Easter 1230 William visited Llywelyn's court. During this visit he was found in Llywelyn's chamber together with Llywelyn's wife Joan. On 2 May, De Braose was hanged; Joan was placed under house arrest for a year. The *Brut y Tywysogion* chronicler commented: "that year William de Breos the Younger, lord of Brycheiniog, was hanged by the lord Llywelyn in Gwynedd, after he had been caught in Llywelyn's chamber with the king of England's daughter, Llywelyn's wife".<sup>[40]</sup>

A letter from Llywelyn to William's wife, Eva de Braose, written shortly after the execution enquires whether she still wishes the marriage between Dafydd and Isabella to take place.<sup>[41]</sup> The marriage did go ahead, and the following year Joan was forgiven and restored to her position as princess.

Until 1230 Llywelyn had used the title *princeps Norwalliae* 'Prince of North Wales', but from that year he changed his title to 'Prince of North Wales and Lord of Snowdonia', possibly to underline his supremacy over the other Welsh princes.<sup>[42]</sup> He did not formally style himself 'Prince of Wales' although as J.E. Lloyd comments "he had much of the power which such a title might imply".<sup>[43]</sup>

## Final campaigns and the Peace of Middle 1231–1240

In 1231 there was further fighting. Llywelyn was becoming concerned about the growing power of Hubert de Burgh. Some of his men had been taken prisoner by the garrison of Montgomery and beheaded, and Llywelyn responded by burning Montgomery, Powys, New Radnor, Hay and Brecon before turning west to capture the castles of Neath and Kidwelly. He completed the campaign by recapturing Cardigan castle.<sup>[44]</sup> King Henry retaliated by launching an invasion and built a new castle at Painscastle, but was unable to penetrate far into Wales.<sup>[45]</sup>

Negotiations continued into 1232, when Hubert was removed from office and later imprisoned. Much of his power passed to Peter de Rivaux, including control of several castles in south Wales. William Marshal had died in 1231, and his brother Richard had succeeded him as Earl of Pembroke. In 1233 hostilities broke out between Richard Marshal and Peter de Rivaux, who was supported by the king. Llywelyn made an alliance with Richard, and in January 1234 the earl and Llywelyn seized Shrewsbury. Richard was killed in Ireland in April, but the king agreed to make peace with the insurgents.<sup>[46]</sup> The Peace of Middle, agreed on 21 June, established a truce of two years with Llywelyn, who was allowed to retain Cardigan and Builth. This truce was renewed year by year for the remainder of Llywelyn's reign.<sup>[47]</sup>

## Death and aftermath

### Arrangements for the succession

In his later years Llywelyn devoted much effort to ensuring that his only legitimate son Dafydd would follow him as ruler of Gwynedd and amended Welsh law as followed in Gwynedd.<sup>[48]</sup> Llywelyn's amendment to Welsh law favoring legitimate children in a Church sanctioned marriage mirrored the earlier efforts of the Lord Rhys, Prince of Deheubarth in designating Gruffydd ap Rhys II as his heir over those of his illegitimate eldest son Maelgwn ap Rhys. In both cases, by favoring legitimate children born in a Church sanctioned marriage would facilitate better relations between their sons and the wider Anglo-Norman polity and Catholic Church by removing any "stigma" of illegitimacy. Dafydd's older but illegitimate brother, Gruffydd, was therefore excluded as the primary heir of Llywelyn, though would be given lands to rule. This was a departure from Welsh custom, which held that the eldest son was his father's heir regardless of his parent's marital status.<sup>[49][50]</sup>

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In 1220 Llywelyn induced the minority government of King Henry to acknowledge Dafydd as his heir.<sup>[51]</sup> In 1222 he petitioned Pope Honorius III to have Dafydd's succession confirmed. The original petition has not been preserved but the Pope's reply refers to the "detestable custom... in his land whereby the son of the handmaiden was equally heir with the son of the free woman and illegitimate sons obtained an inheritance as if they were legitimate". The Pope welcomed the fact that Llywelyn was abolishing this custom.<sup>[52]</sup> In 1226 Llywelyn persuaded the Pope to declare his wife Joan, Dafydd's mother, to be a legitimate daughter of King John, again in order to strengthen Dafydd's position, and in 1229 the English crown accepted Dafydd's homage for the lands he would inherit from his father.<sup>[51]</sup> In 1238 Llywelyn held a council at Strata Florida Abbey where the other Welsh princes swore fealty to Dafydd.<sup>[51]</sup> Llywelyn's original intention had been that they should do homage to Dafydd, but the king wrote to the other rulers forbidding them to do homage.<sup>[53]</sup> Additionally, Prince Llywelyn arranged for his son Dafydd to marry Isabella de Braose, eldest daughter of William de Braose. As William de Braose had no male heir, Llywelyn strategized that the vast de Braose holdings in south Wales would pass to the heir of Dafydd with Isabella.

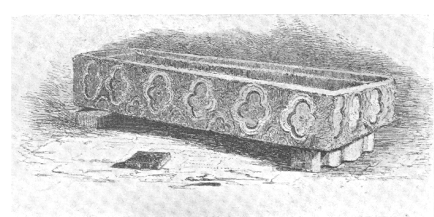


Strata Florida Abbey was the site of the council of 1238.

Gruffydd was given an appanage in Meirionnydd and Ardudwy but his rule was said to be oppressive, and in 1221 Llywelyn stripped him of these territories.<sup>[54]</sup> In 1228 Llywelyn imprisoned him, and he was not released until 1234. On his release he was given part of Llŷn to rule. His performance this time was apparently more satisfactory and by 1238 he had been given the remainder of Llŷn and a substantial part of Powys.<sup>[55]</sup>

## Death and the transfer of power

Joan died in 1237 and Llywelyn appears to have suffered a paralytic stroke the same year.<sup>[56]</sup> From this time on, his heir Dafydd took an increasing part in the rule of the principality. Dafydd deprived his half-brother Gruffydd of the lands given him by Llywelyn, and later seized him and his eldest son Owain and held them in Criccieth Castle. In 1240 the chronicler of *Brut y Tywysogion* records: "the lord Llywelyn ap Iorwerth son of Owain Gwynedd, Prince of Wales, a second Achilles, died having taken on the habit of religion at Aberconwy, and was buried honourably."<sup>[57]</sup>



Llywelyn's stone coffin is now in Llanrwst parish church.

Llywelyn died at the Cistercian abbey of Aberconwy, which he had founded, and was buried there. This abbey was later moved to Maenan, becoming the Maenan Abbey, near Llanrwst, and Llywelyn's stone coffin can now be seen in Llanrwst parish church. Among the poets who lamented his passing was Einion Wan:

True lord of the land – how strange that today  
He rules not o'er Gwynedd;  
Lord of nought but the piled up stones of his tomb,

Of the seven-foot grave in which he lies.<sup>[58]</sup>

Dafydd succeeded Llywelyn as prince of Gwynedd, but King Henry was not prepared to allow him to inherit his father's position in the remainder of Wales. Dafydd was forced to agree to a treaty greatly restricting his power and was also obliged to hand his half-brother Gruffydd over to the king, who now had the option of using him against Dafydd. Gruffydd was killed attempting to escape from the Tower of London in 1244. This left the field clear for Dafydd, but Dafydd himself died without issue in 1246 and was eventually succeeded by his nephew, Gruffydd's



son, Llywelyn the Last.

## Historical assessment

Llywelyn dominated Wales for over forty years, and was one of only two Welsh rulers to be called "the Great", the other being his ancestor Rhodri the Great. The first person to give Llywelyn the title "the Great" seems to have been his near-contemporary, the English chronicler Matthew Paris.<sup>[59]</sup>

John Edward Lloyd gave the following assessment of Llywelyn:

Among the chieftains who battled against the Anglo-Norman power his place will always be high, if not indeed the highest of all, for no man ever made better or more judicious use of the native force of the Welsh people for adequate national ends; his patriotic statemanship will always entitle him to wear the proud style of Llywelyn the Great.<sup>[60]</sup>

David Moore gives a different view:

When Llywelyn died in 1240 his *principatus* of Wales rested on shaky foundations. Although he had dominated Wales, exacted unprecedented submissions and raised the status of the prince of Gwynedd to new heights, his three major ambitions – a permanent hegemony, its recognition by the king, and its inheritance in its entirety by his heir – remained unfulfilled. His supremacy, like that of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, had been merely personal in nature, and there was no institutional framework to maintain it either during his lifetime or after his death.<sup>[61]</sup>

## Children

Llywelyn married Joan, natural daughter of King John of England, in 1205. Llywelyn and Joan had three identified children in the records but in all probability had more as Llywelyn children were fully recognised during his marriage to Joan whilst his father in law King John was alive. The identity of the mother of some of Llywelyn's children before this union is uncertain, but the following are recorded in contemporary or near-contemporary records.

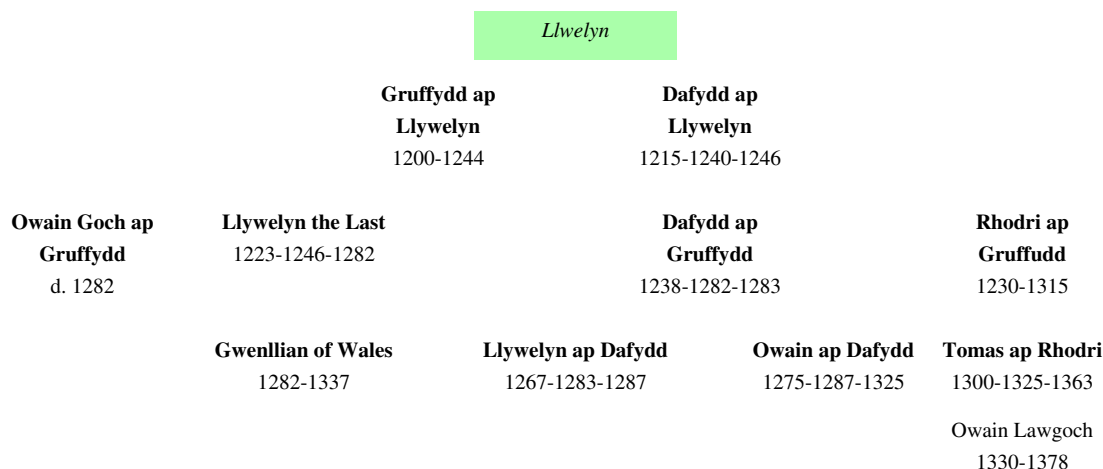
- Dafydd ap Llywelyn (c. 1215–1246), son by Joan, Princess of Wales.
- Elen ferch Llywelyn (c. 1207–1253), daughter by Joan, Princess of Wales. M. John Earl of Huntington m. 2nd Robert de Quincy
- Susanna ferch Llywelyn, d. after November 1228, daughter of Joan. Henry III King of England granted the upbringing of "L. princeps Norwallie et Johanna uxor sua et...soror nostra Susannam filiam suam" to "Nicholao de Verdun et Clementie uxori sue" by order dated 24 Nov 1228[273]. Her birth date is estimated on the assumption that Susanna was under marriageable age, but older than an infant, at the time.
- Gruffydd ap Llywelyn (c. 1196–1244), a son by Tangwystl Goch (d. c. 1198).
- Gwladus Ddu (c. 1206–1251), probable daughter of Joan.
- Angharad ferch Llywelyn (c. 1212-1256), probable daughter of Joan; married Maelgwn Fychan.
- Marared ferch Llywelyn (died after 1268), married John de Braose and Sir Walter de Clifford. Had issue by both husbands.<sup>[62]</sup>
- Helen ferch Llywelyn (before 1230-after 16 Feb 1295) who married firstly Máel Coluim II, Earl of Fife, son of Duncan Macduff of Fife & his wife Alice Corbet. She married secondly (after 1266) Domhnall I, Earl of Mar, son of William, Earl of Mar & his first wife Elizabeth Comyn of Buchan. Helen and Domhall's daughter, Isabella of Mar, married Robert, the Bruce, King of Scots. Isabella had one child by the King of Scots, Marjorie Bruce, who was the mother of the first Stewart monarch, Robert II of Scotland.

In addition, late genealogical sources give one Tegwared ap Llywelyn, a son by Crysten.

Little is known of Llywelyn's mistress, Tangwystl Goch, except that she was the daughter of Llywarch "Goch" of Rhos.<sup>[63]</sup> Gruffydd ap Llywelyn (c. 1196–1244) was Llywelyn's eldest son and known to be the son of Tangwystl. He married Senena, daughter of Caradoc ap Thomas of Anglesey. Their sons included Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, who

for a period occupied a position in Wales comparable to that of his grandfather, and Dafydd ap Gruffydd who ruled Gwynedd briefly after his brother's death.

## Family tree



## Cultural allusions

A number of Welsh poems addressed to Llywelyn by contemporary poets such as Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr, Dafydd Benfras and Llywarch ap Llywelyn (better known under the nickname *Prydydd y Moch*) have survived. Very little of this poetry has been published in English translation.<sup>[64]</sup>

Llywelyn has continued to figure in modern Welsh literature. The play *Siwan* (1956, English translation 1960) by Saunders Lewis deals with the finding of William de Braose in Joan's chamber and his execution by Llywelyn. Another well-known Welsh play about Llywelyn is *Llywelyn Fawr* by Thomas Parry.

Llywelyn is the main character or one of the main characters in several English-language novels:

- Raymond Foxall (1959) *Song for a Prince: The Story of Llywelyn the Great* covers the period from King John's invasion in 1211 to the execution of William de Braose.
- Sharon Kay Penman (1985) *Here be Dragons* is centred on the marriage of Llywelyn and Joan. *Dragon's Lair* (2004) by the same author features the young Llywelyn before he gained power in Gwynedd. Llywelyn further appears in Penman's later novel *Falls the Shadow*.
- Edith Pargeter (1960–63) "The Heaven Tree Trilogy" features Llywelyn, Joan, William de Braose, and several of Llywelyn's sons as major characters.
- Gaius Demetrius (2006) *Ascent of an Eagle* tells the story of the early part of Llywelyn's reign.

The story of the faithful hound Gelert, owned by Llywelyn and mistakenly killed by him, is also considered to be fiction. "Gelert's grave" is a popular tourist attraction in Beddgelert but is thought to have been created by an 18th-century innkeeper to boost the tourist trade. The tale itself is a variation on a common folktale motif.<sup>[65]</sup>

## Notes

- [1] For details of Llywelyn's ancestry, see Bartrum pp.95–96
- [2] Lynch p. 156. According to one genealogy, Llywelyn had a brother named Adda, but there is no other record of him.
- [3] Maund p. 185
- [4] Giraldus Cambrensis p. 126. Maelgwn ab Owain Gwynedd was Iorwerth's full brother, but presumably he was dead by the time Giraldus wrote.
- [5] Giraldus Cambrensis p. 126
- [6] Remfry, 65-66; Maund p. 186
- [7] Giraldus Cambrensis p. 126. Giraldus says that Llywelyn was only twelve years of age at this time, which would mean that he was born about 1176. However most historians consider that he was born about 1173.
- [8] This Gruffudd ap Cynan should not be confused with Gruffydd ap Cynan the late 11th and early 12th century king of Gwynedd, Llywelyn's great-grandfather
- [9] Maund p. 187
- [10] Lloyd pp. 585–6
- [11] Davies p. 239
- [12] Moore p. 109
- [13] Davies p. 294
- [14] Lloyd pp. 613–4
- [15] Lloyd pp. 616-7. One letter from the Pope suggests that Llywelyn may have been married previously, to an unnamed sister of Earl Ranulph of Chester in about 1192, but there appears to be no confirmation of this.
- [16] Davies pp. 229, 241
- [17] Lloyd pp. 622–3
- [18] Lloyd p. 631
- [19] Lloyd p. 632, Maund p. 192
- [20] *Brut y Tywysogion* p.154
- [21] Maund p. 193
- [22] *Brut y Tywysogion* pp. 155–6
- [23] Davies p. 295
- [24] *Brut y Tywysogion* pp. 158–9
- [25] Pryce p. 445
- [26] *Brut y Tywysogion* p. 162
- [27] Moore pp. 112–3
- [28] *Brut y Tywysogion* p. 165
- [29] Lloyd p. 646
- [30] *Brut y Tywysogion* p. 167
- [31] Quoted in John Davies (1994) *History of Wales* p. 138
- [32] Lloyd pp. 649–51
- [33] Davies p. 242; Lloyd pp. 652–3
- [34] Lloyd pp. 645, 657–8
- [35] Davies p. 298
- [36] Lynch p. 135
- [37] John Davies (1994) *History of Wales* p. 142
- [38] Lloyd p. 661–3
- [39] Lloyd p. 667–70
- [40] *Brut y Tywysogion* pp. 190–1
- [41] Pryce pp. 428–9
- [42] The version of the Welsh laws preserved in *Llyfr Iorwerth*, compiled in Gwynedd during Llywelyn's reign, claims precedence for the ruler of Aberffraw, the ancient court, over the rulers of the other Welsh kingdoms. See Aled Rhys William (1960) *Llyfr Iorwerth: a critical text of the Venedotian code of mediaeval Welsh law*.
- [43] Lloyd pp. 682–3
- [44] Lloyd pp. 673–5
- [45] Lloyd pp. 675–6
- [46] Powicke pp. 51–55
- [47] Lloyd p. 681
- [48] Lloyd, J.E. (2004). *A History of Wales; From the Norman Invasion to the Edwardian Conquest* ([http://www.archive.org/stream/historyofwalesfr01lloyuoft/historyofwalesfr01lloyuoft\\_djvu.txt](http://www.archive.org/stream/historyofwalesfr01lloyuoft/historyofwalesfr01lloyuoft_djvu.txt)). Barnes & Noble Publishing, Inc.. p. 297 and 362, note 164, pg 369 note 64, page 347 note 82. .

- [49] Lewis, Hurbert; *The Ancient Laws of Wales*, 1889. *Chapter VIII: Royal Succession; Rules to Marriage; Alienation* pgs 192–200. According to Hurbert Lewis, though not explicitly codified as such, the *edling*, or Heir apparent, was *by convention, custom, and practice* the eldest son of the lord and entitled to inherit the position and title as "head of the family" from the father. Effectively primogeniture with local variations. However, all sons were provided for out of the lands of the father and in certain circumstances so too were daughters. Additionally, sons could claim maternal patrimony through their mother in certain circumstances.
- [50] There was provision in Welsh law for the selection of a single *edling* or heir by the ruler. For a discussion of this see Stephenson pp. 138–141. See Williams pp. 393–413 for details of the struggle for the succession.
- [51] Davies p. 249
- [52] Pryce pp. 414–5
- [53] Carr p. 60
- [54] *Brut y Tywysogion* pp. 182–3
- [55] Lloyd p. 692
- [56] Stephenson p. xxii
- [57] *Brut y Tywysogion* p. 198
- [58] Translated in Lloyd p. 693
- [59] Matthew Paris *Chronica Majora* edited by H. R. Luard (1880) Volume 5, London Rolls Series, p. 718, quoted in Carr.
- [60] Lloyd p. 693
- [61] Moore p. 126
- [62] Douglas Richardson. *Magna Carta Ancestry*, 2nd Edition, Vol. I, pg 387.
- [63] Charles Cawley, *Medieval Lands, Wales*
- [64] *In praise of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* by Llywarch ap Llywelyn has been translated by Joseph P. Clancy (1970) in *The earliest Welsh poetry*.
- [65] See D. E. Jenkins (1899), *Beddgelert: Its Facts, Fairies and Folklore*, pp. 56–74, for a detailed discussion of this legend.

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- Professor T. Jones-Pierce, "Aber Gwyn Gegin", *Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions* (volume 23, 1962)

## External links

- The Aber Trust: Source material (<http://www.llywelyn.co.uk>) on Llywelyn
  - Impression from Llywelyn's Great Seal (<http://www.gtj.org.uk/en/item1/14454>)
  - A stone corbel from Llywelyn's castle at Deganwy, thought to be a likeness of Llywelyn Fawr, ab Iorwerth (<http://www.gtj.org.uk/en/item1/25929>)
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# Louis I of Hungary

Louis I	
King of Hungary and Croatia	
Reign	21 July 1342 – 10 September 1382
Predecessor	Charles I
Successor	Mary
King of Poland	
Reign	17 November 1370 – 10 September 1382
Predecessor	Casimir III
Successor	Jadwiga
Spouse	Margaret of Luxembourg Elizabeth of Bosnia
Issue	Maria of Hungary Catherine of Hungary Mary of Hungary Hedwig of Poland
House	Angevin (Anjou-Hungary)
Father	Charles I of Hungary
Mother	Elizabeth of Poland
Born	5 March 1326 Visegrád, Kingdom of Hungary
Died	10 September 1382 (aged 56) Nagyszombat, Kingdom of Hungary (present-day Trnava, Slovakia)

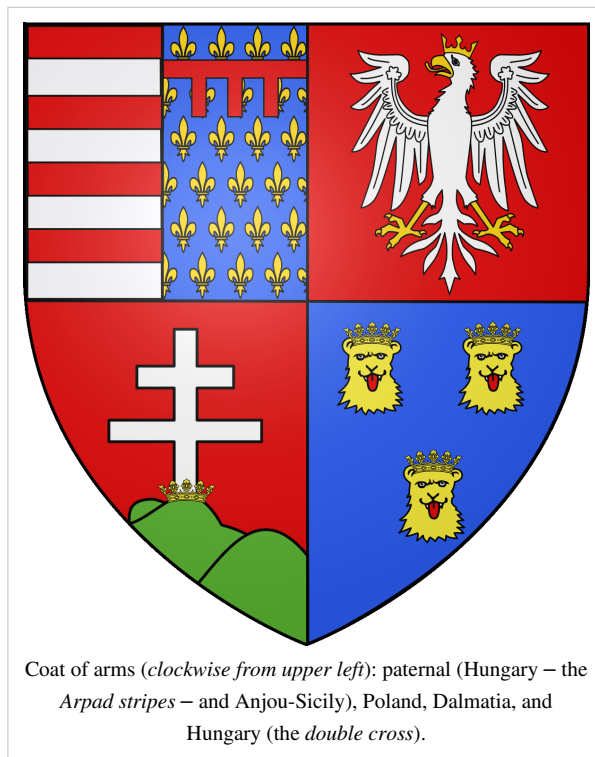


**Louis the Great** (Hungarian: *I. (Nagy) Lajos*, Croatian: *Ludovik I*, Polish: *Ludwik Węgierski*, Ukrainian: Людвік I Великий, Slovak: *Ľudovít Veľký*, Italian: *Luigi I d'Ungheria*, German: *Ludwig der Große*, Bulgarian: Лудвиг I, Serbian: Лажош I Анжујски, Czech: *Ludvík I. Veliký*, Lithuanian: *Liudvikas I Vengras* (5 March 1326, Visegrád – 10 September 1382, Nagyszombat/Trnava) was King of Hungary and Croatia from 1342 and King of Poland from 1370 until his death.<sup>[1][2]</sup> (See *Titles* section)

Louis was the head of the senior branch of the Angevin dynasty. He was one of the most active and accomplished monarchs of the Late Middle Ages, extending territorial control to the Adriatic and securing Dalmatia, with part of Bosnia and Bulgaria, within the Holy Crown of Hungary. During his reign Hungary reached the peak of its political influence.<sup>[3]</sup>

He spent much of his reign in wars with the Republic of Venice. He was in competition for the throne of Naples, with huge military success and the latter with little lasting political results. Louis is the first European monarch who came into collision with the Ottoman Turks.

He founded the University of Pécs in 1367, the letter patent issued by pope Urban V<sup>[4]</sup>



## Family

Louis was the third son of Charles I of Hungary and Elisabeth of Poland, the daughter of Władysław I the Elbow-high and sister to Casimir III of Poland.

In 1342, Louis married his first wife, Margaret (1335 – 1349), underage daughter of Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, who died while still a minor. He then married his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen II of Bosnia, who became Louis's vassal, and Elizabeth of Kuyavia, in 1353. Her maternal grandfather was Polish Casimir II of Kuyavia, son of Ziemomysł of Kuyavia and Salome of Eastern Pomerania.

Louis had three known daughters, all born of his second wife:

- Catherine (1370 – 1378)
- Mary, his successor in Hungary, who married Sigismund, at that time Margrave of Brandenburg (1371 – 1395), who became King of Hungary (1387–1437) and Holy Roman Emperor (1433–1437).
- Hedwig, his successor in Poland, who married Jogaila, then Grand Duke of Lithuania

## Biography

Louis, named for his great uncle, Saint Louis of Toulouse. Louis acquired the seven liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, logic, geometry, arithmetic, music, astronomy). When he was sixteen, Louis understood Latin, German and Italian as well as his mother tongue. He owed his excellent education to the care of his mother, a woman of profound political sagacity, who was his chief counsellor in diplomatic affairs during the greater part of his long reign.

In 1342, at the age of sixteen, he succeeded his father as king of Hungary and was crowned at Székesfehérvár on the 21st of July with great enthusiasm. Louis led his armies many times in person. Besides his best known campaigns, he fought in Bulgaria, Bosnia, Wallachia Serbia, Lithuania and against the Golden Horde. The first Ottoman Hungarian clash occurred during his reign.

He led assaults personally and climbed city walls together with his soldiers. He shared the privations and hardships of camp life with his soldiers. Although a few legends were woven around his name, one incident casts light on his courage. When one of his soldiers who had been ordered to explore a ford was carried away by the current, the King plunged into the torrent without hesitation and saved the man from drowning. Louis liked warfare – he came close to losing his life in several battles -, tournaments and hunts. Similarly to his mother he was deeply religious. As an excellent commander and a gallant fighter, Louis resembled his exemplar, King Saint Ladislaus.

Under his reign lived the most famous epic hero of Hungarian literature and warfare, the king's Champion: Nicolas Toldi. John de Cardailhac, patriarch of Alexandria and envoy of the Vatican,(who visited the utmost European countries and monarchs) wrote: "I call God as my witness that I have never seen a monarch more majestic and more powerful... or one who desires peace and calm as much as he."



The family coat-of-arms. The golden horseshoe in the beak of the ostrich means the "talisman of good luck"

## Economic and legislative activity

### Culture of the royal court

Under the reign of his father (Charles I of Hungary), the Renaissance arrived in Hungary. The Renaissance style came directly from Italy during the Quattrocento to Hungary foremost in the Central European region. The development of the early Hungarian-Italian relationships was a reason of this infiltration, which weren't manifested only in dynastic connections, but in cultural, humanistic and commercial relations. This effect was getting stronger from the 14th century. In the first half of the 14th century, the statues of ladies, knights, court musicians, servants and guardsmen mark not only the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, but also the beginning of a new age. Dressed in full-length gowns, richly gathered cloaks, pointed shoes and daring hats, they are an unexpected reminder of a flourishing, almost decadent Hungarian Trecento, whose mere existence was no more than a conjecture before the miraculous appearance of the archaeological findings at Buda Castle. At the height of the feudal anarchy, the barons, whose power was far greater than that of the king, fought battles and made alliances. However, by gradually overcoming the power of the barons, breaking the resistance of the renegade towns and putting an end to chaos, Charles I of Hungary, who grew up among the modern financial and trading life of Naples and Milan, brought prosperity to feudal Hungary. Knights, soldiers, businessmen and artists from Naples and other Italian towns brought a new vitality.<sup>[5]</sup>



The middle-aged King

### Monetary and economic background

#### Kingdom of Hungary under the Angevins

*For the new economic taxation and customs system of his father see the Economic policy of Charles I article.*

One of the primary sources of power of his father was the wealth derived from the gold mines of east and northern Hungary. Eventually itself the gold production of mines reached the remarkable figure of 3000 pounds (**unknown operator: u'strong'** kg) of gold annually – one third of the total production of the world as then known, and five times as much as that of any other European state.<sup>[6][7]</sup> The gold coin of Hungary (the Forint), of the same weight and purity of its namesake of Florence, was clear proof of the country's prosperity. The Hungarian and Florentine coins were the most valuable coins of the age. The gold flowed in an undiminished stream into Louis' coffers, enabling him to keep a court even more splendid than his father's.

The power of the former Árpád Dynasty was still based on vast royal estates. Under the Angevins, the royal family was restored as the greatest land-owning family of the realm (they had one third of all lands), but the Angevin power was rather based on the possession of castles.



Golden Forint, which depict King Saint Ladislaus, who was Louis' idol.



Hungarian clothes between 1370–1410 period

And the whole country, spared for two generations from serious invasion or civil war, blossomed with a material prosperity which it had never before known. By the end of Louis' reign, the total population of Hungary proper had risen to some three million (4 million in complete Hungary, with Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia), and it contained 49 royal boroughs, over 500 market towns and more than 26,000 villages. International commerce, favoured by the continued stability and high repute of the currency, began to make headway.

## Determinant laws



The first big seal of Louis



The second big seal of Louis



Hungarian-Polish  
big seal  
(1370–1382)



Privilege of Kassa

## Hungary

Constitutionally, Louis maintained much of the structure of his father's regime, but introduced several cultural reforms. In 1351 Louis also confirmed the constitution (Golden Bull of 1222), adding an explicit declaration that all nobles enjoyed 'one and the same liberty', a provision which, it appears, besides reaffirming the rights of the noble class as a whole, including the familiares, also enlarged its ranks by bringing full noble privileges to a further class of border-line cases. His other laws introduced the entail system regulating the inheritance of the land-owning class. In 1351, Louis codified the military obligations of the nobility in the so-called Law of Entail (*ősiség*). In the past the nobility mustered soldiers according to the size of their holdings. With the passage of time, however, many of these estates had been sold or split up, causing diminishing returns and a reduction of military obligations. This was harmful to the country's military strength. Other provisions of the law stabilised land tenure by universalising the system of *aviticitas* under which all land was entailed in the male line of the owner's family, collaterals succeeding in default of direct heirs; if the line died out completely, the estate reverted to the Crown. The daughters of a deceased noble were entitled to a quarter of the assessed value of his property, but this had to be paid them in cash. <sup>[8]</sup> This (Law of Entail) is a highly important law, which ensured the integrity of ancestral property, remained in force until 1848 and was to a great extent instrumental in keeping Hungary in Hungarian hands.

At the same time, Louis standardised the obligations of the peasant to his lord at one-ninth of his produce, neither more nor less. As he also had to pay the tithe to the church and the *porta* to the state, the peasant's obligations were thus not inconsiderable, but do not appear to have been crushing in this age of prosperity; his right of free migration was specifically re-affirmed. <sup>[8]</sup>

## Poland

He decreed that the Polish nobility would no longer be required to pay 'extraordinary' taxes, or pay with their own funds for military expeditions outside Poland. He also promised that during travels of the royal court, the king and the court would pay for all expenses, instead of using facilities of local nobility.

In 1374 King Louis of Hungary approved the Privilege of Koszyce (Polish: "przywilej koszycki" or "ugoda koszycka") in Košice in order to guarantee the Polish throne for Maria and her affianced husband, Count Sigismund of Brandenburg, by locking the gates of the city and allowing none to leave it till they had consented to his wishes. For the female succession of Polish throne, he gave new special rights for Polish nobility. He broadened the definition of who was a member of the nobility and exempted the entire class from all but one tax (*łanowy*, which was limited to 2 grosze from *łan* (an old measure of land size)). In addition, the King's right to raise taxes was



abolished; no new taxes could be raised without the agreement of the nobility. Henceforth, also, district offices (Polish: "urzędy ziemskie") were reserved exclusively for local nobility, as the Privilege of Koszyce forbade the king to grant official posts and major Polish castles to foreign knights. Finally, this privilege obliged the King to pay indemnities to nobles injured or taken captive during a war outside Polish borders.<sup>[9]</sup>

## Domestic, military and religious policy

### Style of government

Despite the Hungarian tradition of the strong parliaments, Louis the Great did not want to share his power with the diet permanently. He convoked the Diet in 1351 and once again in 1352, but never after. The influence of the noblemen extended only to their county. Counties did not have either a permanent armed force nor other authority than the *sedria* (Latin: county). We cannot even talk about local governments in the counties anymore. To judge local criminals and administration of justice in case of noblemen who could not visit the royal High Court of Justice was the duty of other office bearers – according to the order of the palatine and the king -, who held general meetings for several counties from time to time.

In the 1370s there were several changes in the government, aiming at an even more powerful centralisation of power. The chancellery was divided into two parts, the secret chancellery was established with the lead of the secret chancellor. The head of the former chancellery got the title "supreme chancellor". The third department of the High Court of Justice was set up, too: besides the law court of the palatine and the court of royal presence headed by the supreme judge, the court of special royal presence was formed, headed by the supreme chancellor. The royal treasurer was not a financial office bearer any more, he became the judge of appeal cases of royal towns. His financial duties were taken over by the independent treasure keeper from that time on.<sup>[10]</sup>



Louis on Heroes Square, Budapest

### Military structure

During the four decades of his reign, the economic policy and power he inherited from his father was more than enough to carry on his military campaigns. He turned that accumulated economic capital to the uses of power.<sup>[11]</sup>

The Angevins introduced the so-called honor (=office; in old Hungarian *becsü*) system. Instead of further large donations (fiefdom/feudum) the faithful magnates (the Baron class and above) of the king were given an office. Powerful officials of the kingdom, like the count palatine, were appointed count (lat. comes, hung. *ispán*) to several counties. They became the keepers of royal property (including castles) in their counties and the representatives of the king. The barons administered these possessions by their own men (familires, roughly: vassals). Honor ensured real power. While most of the aristocrats had only 2 or 3 castles (even the exceptionally powerful Lackfi family had only 7



Lands ruled by Louis in 1370s

castles), the possessions of a greater honor ensured power over 10 or 20 castles. These offices were not given for eternity. The king could deprive the baron of his honor any time. The most powerful honors (residents and governors of his countries) often rotated among the members of magnates. The lesser nobles the "gentry class" invariably got traditional donations: inheritable lands (fiefdom).

The Hungarian military organization was based on the honor system. Every baron, the holders of the great honors, led a *banderium* (Eng. banner). The *banderium* was composed of the baronical retinue, the armed noblemen of the baron's counties, and some peasants from the royal estates who served as light infantry. The *banderia* ensured a numerous, but mostly inexperienced army. Noblemen were obligated to serve 3 months in defense of the country and 40 days for foreign campaign. On the other hand, the king was powerful enough to neglect this rule if he wished. Besides the *banderia*, the king could directly raise an army by paying *dispositio* (salary) to every noblemen who joined him. The king also hired mercenaries for his campaigns. The privileged group of Cumans and Székelys also served the king. Louis set up his artillery in the beginning of his reign, however he used cannons only for city/castle sieges.

Louis often waged wars in two or three frontlines/countries at the same time, and used large foreign mercenary armies in far countries.

### **Role as champion of the church**

Their following campaigns "in every directions" (for example, against the Orthodox Serbs, the heretic Bosnians and pagan Lithuanians and Tartars) are in close connection with the political and converting ambitions of the Holy See. Louis the Great often provided military help in the inner fight of Ecclesiastic State of the Popes. Hungarian troops protected the Pope on his return from Avignon to Rome. In 1356 a letter from the Pope called him "Christ's shield, the Lord's athlete". In the meantime Louis the Great continued his father's policy in banning the collection of papal tithe and asserting royal interest in filling church positions. In 1370, Louis financed the wars of the pope (Urban V) against the Florentines.<sup>[12]</sup>

During the fight for the throne of Naples there was an intensive exchange of ministers between the Papal and the Hungarian court. After this period Papal legates visited Hungary only on very important occasions. Their duties included converting in the East, settling the Balkan situation, mediating in peace treaties. Bishop Guido's legation in 1349 was a very important one. The Popes recognised the Turkish danger early and in this matter Pope Urban V sent his minister to Buda. In 1371 a papal legate came to Hungary to settle the dispute between King Louis and Emperor Charles IV. At the same time Hungarian legates spent months in Avignon, where – besides settling public matters – they forwarded the requests of their relatives or familiars to the Pope in the form of so-called papal requests (*supplicatio*).<sup>[13]</sup>

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## Wars and campaigns

During his 40 years-long reign, there were only three years of peace (1342, 1375, 1376).

### Italian wars

#### Wars with Venice and Naples

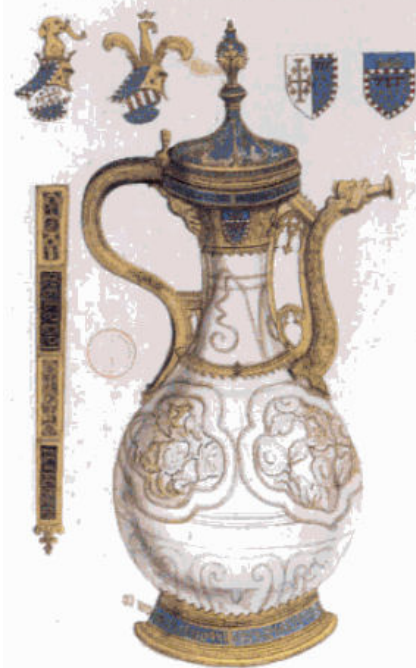
In 1345, Louis decided to capture the city of Zadar, on the Dalmatian coast. His soldiers however refused to take the field, since some Hungarian leaders had been corrupted by Venice before the battle.

In the spring of 1346 the Hungarian King arrived with his vast Royal Army of 100,000 men, of whom more than 30,000 were horsemen and men-at-arms and 10,000 were soldiers under Stephen II. The Venetians had attempted to bribe several Hungarian generals, including the Bosnian Ban, who gave away the positions of Hungarian troops. On 1 July 1346 a fierce clash followed, which the Hungarian side eventually won only due to its numerical superiority, leaving some 7,000 casualties on the field. Zadar remained in Venetian hands.



Louis in Zadar. Contemporary embossment.

Louis embarked on an expedition against Naples in revenge of the murder of his younger brother Andrew, Duke of Calabria, husband of Joan I of Naples. The circumstances of his death – in a palace conspiracy – suggested the involvement of the Neapolitan queen. The news of Prince Andrew's murder created great consternation throughout Europe and especially in Hungary. Since the Pope had failed to bring the guilty to justice, King Louis declared war on Naples and personally led his troops into Italy. Louis entered Italy on 3 November 1347 and, after obtaining the support of many local princes, he entered Benevento early in 1348, much to the applause of the Neapolitan baronage. Louis defeated his enemies in Battle of Capua. Many of the conspirators escaped, but king Louis would capture Charles of Durazzo and ordered his execution. However, he was proved to be innocent, and Louis subsequently lost much of his popularity in Italy. He also did not trust the locals who originally supported Andrew's cause, and they became hostile to him. On 15 January, Queen Joan fled Naples by ship to Provence, soon to be followed by her second husband, Louis of Taranto. Having established himself in Naples with little difficulty, Louis was nevertheless forced to withdraw quickly by the arrival of the Black Death. In his rush to leave ravaged Italy, he appointed two Hungarian officials to hold the regency. They soon lost the support of the local barons and opened the way for the return of Joan and her husband.



Fonthill vase is the earliest Chinese porcelain object to have reached Europe. It was a Chinese gift for Louis the great.

Two years later, early in 1350, King Louis landed at Manfredonia. After serials of successful battles city and castle sieges, he was again able to control the Kingdom of Naples and its capital city. On this Neapolitan journey, Louis the

Great carried gold coins equal to Hungary's six, and Europe's two years, of total gold production, with countless silver pieces piled atop them.<sup>[11]</sup> However, the Kingdom of Naples was namely a vassal state of the Papacy, and the Hungarian-Neapolitan union would have harmed papal interest. Louis could not become the legal king of Naples without the assent of Pope Clement VI; therefore he soon called off the campaign at the insistence of his exhausted troops and renounced all claims on the Neapolitan crown. Before leaving Italy, he had the papal curia of Avignon begin an inquest into the murder of Andrew, but the papal court found Joan innocent, largely for political reasons, as Joan agreed to cede her temporal rights over the city of Avignon to the papacy. The conflict with Naples was finally settled in 1381, one year before Louis' death. Pope Urban VI stripped the royal title from Joan and authorized king Louis to execute his decision. He was too ill to go personally, but his nephew, Charles of Durazzo, with the help of Hungarian gold and troops, seized the throne and killed Joan, who was smothered with pillows, in revenge for the method of Andrew's assassination.<sup>[14]</sup>

From 1357 to 1358, Louis waged a new war against Venice for the rule of Dalmatia. After successfully organising an anti-Venetian league, Louis put the cities of Dalmatia to fire and the sword, expelling all the Venetians. By the Treaty of Zara (1358), all of Louis's demands over the Adriatic region were recognized. He immediately built up an Adriatic fleet. After the third Venetian war (1372–1381) Venice had to pay annual tribute to Louis (Peace of Turin, 1381). The Venetians also had to raise the Angevin flag on St. Mark's Square on holy days. In 1381 Louis obtained from the Republic of Venice the relics of St. Paul the Hermit, which were taken with great ecclesiastical pomp to the Pauline monastery near Buda.<sup>[15]</sup>

Louis' Italian army contained German mercenary heavy infantry and English longbowmen, Hungarian heavy knights and light cavalry from Hungary, Louis party Italians and Italian nobles.

## Northern wars

In the North, Louis's diplomacy, moreover, was materially assisted by his lifelong alliance with his uncle, King Casimir III of Poland, who had appointed him his successor. Louis waged successful wars against the pagan Lithuanians, Mongols, and against Bohemians. The young Louis had become very popular in Poland due to these campaigns. In Poland, Louis defeated Lithuanians (1350–1352) and the Mongols (Golden Horde), and conquered Galicia (Central-Eastern Europe). After the series of victories over the Tatars, the Hungarian sphere of influence stretched eastward as far as the Dniester.<sup>[16]</sup>

In 1345 Bohemians besieged Kraków, the Polish capital. Louis arrived in time and dispelled the Bohemian army. In the wars between 1345–47, Louis defeated the Golden Horde. After uncle Casimir's death in 1370, Louis organised a very lavish Angevin-style funeral for uncle Casimir to demonstrate his power and wealth in Poland. The Poles elected Louis King of Poland in compliance with the agreement made in Visegrád during his father's reign. In accordance with the 1355 dynastic agreement, he was crowned King of Poland at Kraków 17 November 1370 by Iaroslav Archbishop of Gniezno, primate of Poland.<sup>[17]</sup> Being the ruler of Poland, however, was not an unqualified pleasure. After he became king of Poland Louis ruled the country through regents.

Louis had commissioned (his mother) Elizabeth of Poland as Regent of Poland (1370–1375) to conveniently eliminate her from his Court. Still, Queen Elizabeth had some justification for taking part in the affairs and quarrels of Poland, being a Polish princess. The Poles hated to pay taxes and loved to quarrel among themselves and with the Court, especially with the domineering dowager Elizabeth. Elizabeth's regency turned out to be a failure, her background notwithstanding. In 1375, the Poles killed 160 of her Hungarian bodyguards and the mother Queen escaped to Hungary. Louis reconed with the rebels, and strengthened his power again, at his mother's expense. In 1378, Louis appointed his loyal vassal and friend: prince Władysław of Opole as his regent in Poland.



Hungarian coat of arms with Angevin helmet and Polish Coat of Arms (1340s)

## Balkan and Turkish wars

In 1344 Wallachia and Moldova became Louis's vassal.<sup>[18]</sup>

Louis with his enormous 80,000 strong army repelled the Serbian Dušan's armies in vojvodine of Mačva and principality of Travunia in 1349. when Czar Dusan broke into Bosnian territory he was defeated by Bosnian Stjepan II with the assistance of King Louis' troops, and when Dušan made a second attempt he was decisively beaten by his luckier rival, King Louis the Great himself, in 1354.<sup>[19]</sup> The two monarchs signed the peace agreement in 1355.

His latter campaigns in the Balkans were aimed not so much at conquest and subjugation as at drawing the Serbs, Bosnians, Wallachians and Bulgarians into the fold of the Roman Catholic faith and at forming a united front against the looming Turkish menace. In 1366 the Kingdom of Bosnia recognised the Hungarian authority, but Louis had himself crowned as King of the Serbians and Bosnians. After facing the Hungarian King Louis I in several locations, the last military campaign of the Hungarian monarch was decisive and in 1367 Lazar of Serbia recognised his authority over the Serbians. Louis

annexed Moldavia in 1352 and established a vassal principality there, before conquering Vidin in 1365. The spread of Hungarian influence in the future Moldavia also contributed to an increasing Romanian presence in the territory, because the Romanian elements that would organize Moldavia, migrated there from the Kingdom of Hungary, from the region of Maramureş.<sup>[20]</sup> In the spring of 1365, Louis I headed a campaign against the Bulgarian Tsardom of Vidin and its ruler Ivan Sratsimir. He seized the city of Vidin on 2 May 1365; the region was under direct Hungarian rule until 1369.<sup>[21]</sup> Louis took Ivan Sratsimir and his family into captivity. Later, in 1369, Louis reinstalled Ivan and the country got vassal status. In 1366 Byzantine Emperor John V visited Hungary to beg for help against Turks. John V came to the Hungarian capital of Buda, where according to one account he acted arrogantly while he was asking for military help. Other accounts dispute this but the rulers parted on bad terms, John V had to leave one of his sons as hostage.<sup>[22]</sup> It was relatively easy to subdue Balkanian Orthodox countries by arms, but to convert them was a different matter. Despite Louis' efforts, the peoples of the Balkans remained faithful to the Eastern Orthodox Church and their attitude toward Hungary remained ambiguous.

The rulers of Serbia, Bosnia, Walachia, Moldavia, and Bulgaria became his vassals. They regarded powerful Hungary as a potential menace to their national identity. For this reason, Hungary could never regard the Serbs and Wallachians as reliable allies in her subsequent wars against the Turks. The Ottoman Turks confronted the southern vassal states in the Balkan region ever more often. However Louis defeated the Turks when Hungarian and Turkish troops clashed for the first time in history at Nicapoli in 1366. The Hungarian Chapel in the Cathedral at Aachen was built to commemorate this victory. He defeated the Turkish army in Wallachia in 1374.

But it is easily arguable that his Balkan enterprises brought Hungary, on balance, more of a loss than benefit.



The Golden Cloak clasp, Hungarian Chapel in the Cathedral of Aachen



## Inheritance of Poland and death

In 1370, the Piasts of Poland died out. The last dynast, Casimir the Great, left only female issue and a grandson. Since arrangements had been made for Louis's succession as early as 1355, he became King of Poland upon his uncle's death in right of his mother, who held much of the practical power until her death in 1380.

When Louis died in 1382, the Hungarian throne was inherited by his daughter Mary. In Poland, however, the lords of Lesser Poland did not want to continue the personal union with Hungary, nor to accept Mary's fiancé Sigismund as a regent. They therefore chose Mary's younger sister, Hedwig as their new monarch. After two years of negotiations with Louis widow, Elizabeth of Bosnia, who was regent of Hungary, and a civil war in Greater Poland (1383), Hedwig finally came to Kraków and was crowned "King" (not Queen) of Poland on 16 November 1384. The masculine gender in her title was intended to underline the fact that she was a monarch in her own right and not a queen consort.



Castle of Diósgyőr in Hungary, which was one of his favourite rural hunting castles

## Peace in Hungary in a turbulent Europe

Although he waged a host of campaigns outside Hungary, Louis did keep peace within Hungary itself. In an era when Spain was harassed by the Arabs, France targeted by the English, Germany tormented by the rivalries of its princes, Italy the scene of bloody conflicts among its city-states, Poland and Russia the objects of Lithuanian and Tartar attacks, and Byzantium and the Balkan states subject to Turkish raids and expansion, Hungary flourished as an island of peace.

In death as in life, Louis expressed his wish to lie eternally by his idol's side. Accordingly, he was laid to rest in Nagyvárad beside the tomb of King Saint Ladislaus.

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King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rama, Serbia, Galicia, Lodomeria, Jerusalem and Sicily from 1342, King of Poland from 1370

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## Mangrai the Great

**King Mangrai** (1238–1317) was the 25th King of Ngoen Yang (r.1261-1296) and the first King of Chiang Mai (r.1296-1317), capital of the Lanna Kingdom (1296–1558).<sup>[1]</sup>

### Early years

King Mangrai was born on October 2, 1238 in Ngoen Yang,<sup>[1]</sup> (present day Chiang Saen), in Thailand on the Mekong River which forms the border with Yunnan in China) as the son of the local ruler Lao Meng and his wife Ua Ming Chommueang, a princess from the Tai Lue city of Chiang Rung, in Sipsongpanna (Xishuangbanna) in Yunnan.

In 1259 Mangrai succeeded his father to become the first independent king of the unified Tai city states in northern Lanna and what is now northern Laos. Seeing that all the Tai states were disunited and in danger, Mangrai quickly expanded his kingdom by conquering Muang Lai, Chiang Kham and Chiang Khong and initiating alliances with other states.

In 1262 he founded the city of Chiang Rai as his new capital in the Kok River basin. He seems also to have been operating around this time in the area of Fang still in the Upper Kok Valley.<sup>[1]</sup>

In 1280 Mangrai first made peace between King Ngam Mueang of Phayao and King Ram Khamhaeng of Sukhothai, who had seduced the former's queen; and then was able to make a pact between the three Kings to defend their lands against the expanding Mongol Empire.

While still living in the area of Fang he was visited by some merchants from the Mon kingdom of Haripunchai (Haripunjaya, now known as Lamphun), and hearing of the wealth of that kingdom he determined to conquer it, even against the advice of his councillors.<sup>[1]</sup>

As it was deemed impossible to take the city by force, he sent a skilful merchant called Ai Fa to gain the confidence of the King Yi Ba, and in time he became the Chief Minister and managed to undermine the King's authority.

In 1281, with the people in a state of discontent, Mangrai defeated the Mon kingdom, and added the city and its wealth to his kingdom, while Yi ba, the last king of Hariphunchai, was forced to flee south to Lampang.



The King Mengrai monument in Chiang Rai

## Chiang Mai Era

In 1292 Mangrai choose a new site for his capital, but construction only began in 1296, when he founded Chiang Mai (New City) on the western bank of the Ping River, which has been the capital of the northern provinces more or less ever since.<sup>[1]</sup>

A few years later, Yi Ba's son, King Boek of Lampang, attacked Chiang Mai with a large army. However, King Mangrai and his second son, Prince Khram, fought back against the Lampang army.

In a personal combat on elephant back between Prince Khram and King Boek at Khua Mung, a village near Lamphun. King Boek lost and ordered the withdrawal of his remaining men. As King Boek fled by way of the Doi Khun Tan mountain range between Lamphun and Lampang, he was caught and executed.<sup>[1]</sup> When King Mangrai's troops occupied the city of Lampang, King Yi Ba was made to flee again, this time to Phitsanulok.

## Death and succession

King Mangrai's eldest son tried to seize the throne but was caught and executed, and his second son Khun Kham was set up to succeed him.<sup>[1]</sup> King Mangrai died in 1317 at Chiang Mai; reputedly during a thunderstorm he was hit by lightning in the city's market.

There followed a period of confusion in the succession, with six kings ruling in eleven years, which could have been disastrous if the northern powers had not fallen upon their own troubles, and Sukhothai to the south had not also been weakened.

It was not until the ascension of the king's grandson Kham Fu in 1328 that the kingdom once again achieved the stability it had gained during the reign of its founder.<sup>[1]</sup>

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# Emperor Meiji

Emperor Meiji 明治天皇	
Emperor of Japan	
Reign	3 February 1867 – 30 July 1912 (45 years, 178 days)
Predecessor	Kōmei
Successor	Taishō
Prime Ministers	
Spouse	Ichijō Masako
Issue	Yoshihito, Prince Haru Masako, Princess Tsune Fusako, Princess Kane Nobuko, Princess Fumi Toshiko, Princess Yasu
Full name	
Mutsuhito (睦仁)	
House	Imperial House of Japan
Father	Kōmei
Mother	Nakayama Yoshiko
Born	3 November 1852 Kyoto, Japan
Died	30 July 1912 (aged 59) Tokyo, Japan
Burial	13 September 1912 Fushimi Momoyama no Misasagi (伏見桃山陵), Kyoto
Religion	Shinto

The **Emperor Meiji** (明治天皇 *Meiji-tennō*) (3 November 1852 – 30 July 1912) or **Meiji the Great** (明治大帝 *Meiji-taitei*) was the 122nd emperor of Japan according to the traditional order of succession, reigning from 3 February 1867 until his death. He presided over a time of rapid change in Japan, as the nation rose from a feudal shogunate to become a world power.

His personal name was **Mutsuhito** (睦仁), and although outside of Japan he is sometimes called by this name or *Emperor Mutsuhito*, in Japan deceased emperors are referred to only by their posthumous names.

At the time of his birth in 1852, Japan was an isolated, pre-industrial, feudal country dominated by the Tokugawa Shogunate and the daimyo, who ruled over the country's more than 250 decentralized domains. By the time of his death in 1912, Japan had undergone a political, social, and industrial revolution at home (See *Meiji Restoration*) and emerged as one of the great powers on the world stage.

A detailed account of the state funeral in the *New York Times* concluded with an observation: "The contrast between that which preceded the funeral car and that which followed it was striking indeed. Before it went old Japan; after it came new Japan."<sup>[1]</sup>

## Background

The Tokugawa Shogunate had established itself in the early 17th century.<sup>[2]</sup> Under its rule, the shogun governed Japan. About 180 lords, known as *daimyo*, ruled autonomous realms under the shogun, who occasionally called upon the *daimyo* for gifts, but did not tax them. The shogun controlled the *daimyo* in other ways; only the shogun could approve their marriages, and the shogun could divest a *daimyo* of his lands.<sup>[3]</sup>

In 1615, the first Tokugawa shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who had officially retired from his position, and his son Tokugawa Hidetada, the titular shogun, issued a code of behavior for the nobility. Under it, the emperor was required to devote his time to scholarship and the arts.<sup>[4]</sup> The emperors under the shogunate appear to have closely adhered to this code, studying Confucian classics and devoting time to poetry and calligraphy.<sup>[5]</sup> They were only taught the rudiments of Japanese and Chinese history and geography.<sup>[5]</sup> The shogun did not seek the consent or advice of the emperor for his actions.<sup>[6]</sup>

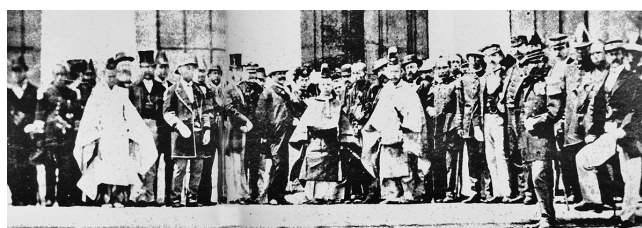
Emperors almost never left their palace compound, or *Gosho* in Kyoto, except after an emperor retired or to take shelter in a temple if the palace caught on fire.<sup>[7]</sup> Few emperors lived long enough to retire; of the Emperor Meiji's five predecessors, only his grandfather lived into his forties, and died aged forty-six.<sup>[6]</sup> The imperial family suffered very high rates of infant mortality; all five of the emperor's brothers and sisters died as infants, and only five of fifteen of his own children would reach adulthood.<sup>[6]</sup>

Soon after taking control in the early seventeenth century, shogunate officials (known generically as *bakufu*) ended much Western trade with Japan, and barred missionaries from the islands. Only the Dutch continued trade with Japan, maintaining a post on the island of Dejima by Nagasaki.<sup>[8]</sup> However, by the early 19th century, European and American vessels appeared in the waters around Japan with increasing frequency.<sup>[9]</sup>

## Boyhood

Mutsuhito was born on 3 November 1852 in a small house on his maternal grandfather's property at the north end of the *Gosho*. At the time, a birth was believed to be polluting, and so imperial princes were not born in the Palace, but usually in a structure, often temporary, near the pregnant woman's father's house. The boy's mother, Nakayama Yoshiko was a concubine (*gon no tenji*) to the Emperor Kōmei and the daughter of the acting major counselor, Nakayama Tadayasu.<sup>[10]</sup> The young prince was given the name Sachinomiya, or Prince Sachi.<sup>[11]</sup>

The young prince was born at a time of change for Japan. This change was symbolized dramatically when Commodore Matthew Perry and his squadron of what the Japanese dubbed "the Black Ships", sailed into the harbor at Edo (known since 1868 as Tokyo) in July 1853. Perry sought to open Japan to trade, and warned the Japanese of military consequences if they did not agree.<sup>[12]</sup> During the crisis brought on by Perry's arrival, the *bakufu* took

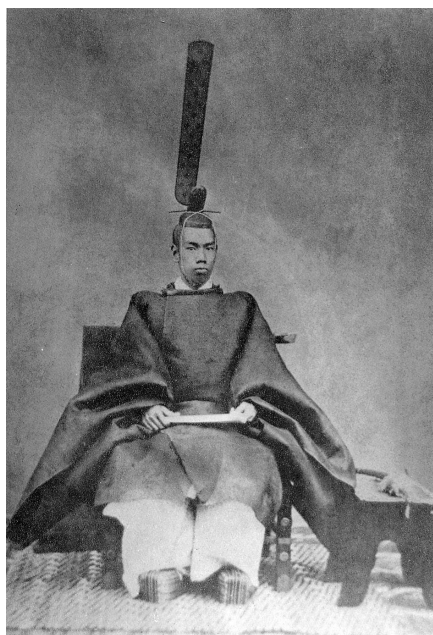


Teenager Meiji Emperor with foreign representatives at the end of the Boshin War, 1868–1870.

the highly unusual step of consulting with the Imperial Court, and the Emperor Kōmei's officials advised that they felt the Americans should be allowed to trade and asked that they be informed in advance of any steps to be taken upon Perry's return. This request was initially honored by the *bakufu*, and for the first time in at least 250 years, they consulted with the Imperial Court before making a decision.<sup>[13]</sup> Feeling that it could not win a war, the Japanese government allowed trade and submitted to what it dubbed the "Unequal Treaties", giving up tariff authority and the right to try foreigners in its own courts.<sup>[12]</sup> The *bakufu* willingness to consult with the Court was short-lived: in 1858, word of a treaty arrived with a letter stating that due to shortness of time, it had not been possible to consult. The Emperor Kōmei was so incensed that he threatened to abdicate—though even this action would have required the consent of the Shogun.<sup>[14]</sup>

Much of the Emperor's boyhood is known only through later accounts, which his biographer, Donald Keene points out are often contradictory. One contemporary described the young prince as healthy and strong, somewhat of a bully and exceptionally talented at sumo. Another states that the prince was delicate and often ill. Some biographers state that he fainted when he first heard gunfire, while others deny this account.<sup>[15]</sup> On 16 August 1860, Sachinomiya was proclaimed as prince of the blood and heir to the throne, and was formally adopted by his father's consort. Later that year on 11 November, he was proclaimed as the crown prince and given an adult name, Mutsuhito.<sup>[16]</sup> The prince began his education at the age of seven.<sup>[17]</sup> He proved an indifferent student, and later in life wrote poems regretting that he had not applied himself more in writing practice.<sup>[18]</sup>

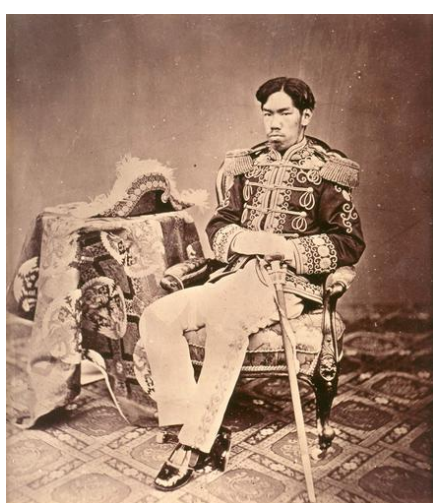
## Unrest and accession



The young Meiji emperor, 1872. Albumen silver print by Uchida Kuichi.

By the early 1860s, the shogunate was under several threats. Representatives of foreign powers sought to increase their influence in Japan. Many daimyo were increasingly dissatisfied with *bakufu* handling foreign affairs. Large numbers of young samurai, known as *shishi* or "men of high purpose" began to meet and speak against the shogunate. The *shishi* revered the Emperor Kōmei and favored direct violent action to cure societal ills. While they initially desired the death or expulsion of all foreigners, the *shishi* would later prove more pragmatic, and begin to advocate the modernization of the country.<sup>[19]</sup> The *bakufu* enacted several measures to appease the various groups, and hoped to drive a wedge between the *shishi* and *daimyo*.<sup>[20]</sup>

Kyoto was a major center for the *shishi*, who had influence over the Emperor Kōmei. In 1863, they persuaded him to issue an "Order to expel barbarians". The Order placed the shogunate in a difficult position, since it knew it lacked the power to carry it out. Several attacks were made on foreigners or their ships, and foreign forces retaliated. *Bakufu* forces were able to drive most of the *shishi* out of Kyoto, and an attempt by them to return in 1864 was driven back. Nevertheless, unrest continued throughout Japan.<sup>[20]</sup>



The young Meiji emperor in military dress – photographed by Uchida Kuichi in 1873

The prince's awareness of the political turmoil is uncertain.<sup>[21]</sup> During this time, he studied *tanka* poetry, first with his father, then with the court poets.<sup>[22]</sup> As the prince continued his classical education in 1866, a new shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu took office, a reformer who desired to transform Japan into a Western-style state. Yoshinobu, who would prove to be the final shogun, met with resistance from among the *bakufu*, even as unrest and military actions continued. In mid-1866, a *bakufu* army set forth to punish rebels in southern Japan. The army was defeated.<sup>[23]</sup>

The Emperor Kōmei had always enjoyed excellent health, and was only 36 years old in January 1867. In that month, however, he fell seriously ill. Though he appeared to make some recovery, he suddenly worsened and died on 30 January. Many historians believe the Emperor Kōmei was poisoned, a view not unknown at the time: British diplomat Sir Ernest Satow wrote, "it is impossible to deny that [the Emperor Kōmei's] disappearance from the political scene, leaving as his successor a boy of fifteen or sixteen [actually fourteen], was most opportune".<sup>[24]</sup>



The shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, in 1867.

The crown prince formally ascended to the throne on 3 February 1867, in a brief ceremony in Kyoto.<sup>[25]</sup> The new Emperor continued his classical education, which did not include matters of politics. In the meantime, the shogun, Yoshinobu, struggled to maintain power. He repeatedly asked for the Emperor's confirmation of his actions, which he eventually received, but there is no indication that the young Emperor was himself involved in the decisions. The *shishi* and other rebels continued to shape their vision of the new Japan, and while they revered the Emperor, they had no thought of having him play an active part in the political process.<sup>[26]</sup>

The political struggle reached its climax in late 1867. In November, an agreement was reached by which Yoshinobu would maintain his title and some of his power, but the lawmaking power would be vested in a bicameral legislature on the British model. The following month, the agreement fell apart as the rebels marched on Kyoto, taking control of the Imperial Palace.<sup>[27]</sup> On 4 January 1868, the Emperor ceremoniously read out a document before the court proclaiming the "restoration" of Imperial rule,<sup>[28]</sup> and the following month, documents were sent to foreign powers:<sup>[27]</sup>

The Emperor of Japan announces to the sovereigns of all foreign countries and to their subjects that permission has been granted to the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu to return the governing power in accordance with his own request. We shall henceforward exercise supreme authority in all the internal and external affairs of the country. Consequently the title of Emperor must be substituted for that of Tycoon, in which the treaties have been made. Officers are being appointed by us to the conduct of foreign affairs. It is desirable that the representatives of the treaty powers recognize this announcement. Mutsuhito<sup>[29]</sup>

Yoshinobu resisted only briefly, but it was not until late 1869 that the final *bakufu* holdouts were finally defeated.<sup>[27]</sup> In the ninth month of the following year, the era was changed to Meiji, or "enlightened rule", which was later used for the emperor's posthumous name. This marked the beginning of the custom of an era coinciding with an emperor's reign, and posthumously naming the emperor after the era during which he ruled.

Soon after his accession, the Emperor's officials presented Ichijō Haruko to him as a possible bride. The future Empress was the daughter of an Imperial official, and was three years older than the groom, who would have to wait to wed until after his *gembuku* (manhood ceremony). The two married on 11 January 1869.<sup>[30]</sup> Known posthumously as Empress Shōken, she was the first Imperial Consort to receive the title of *kōgō* (literally, the Emperor's wife, translated as Empress Consort), in several hundred years. Although she was the first Japanese Empress Consort to

play a public role, she bore no children. However, the Meiji emperor had fifteen children by five official ladies-in-waiting. Only five of his children, a prince born to Lady Naruko (1855–1943), the daughter of Yanagiwara Mitsunaru, and four princesses born to Lady Sachiko (1867–1947), the eldest daughter of Count Sono Motosachi, lived to adulthood. They were:

- Crown Prince Yoshihito (*Haru no miya Yoshihito Shinnō*), 3rd son, (31 August 1879 – 25 December 1926) (see Emperor Taishō).
- Princess Masako (*Tsune-no-miya Masako Naishinnō*), 6th daughter, (30 September 1888 – 8 March 1940), titled *Tsune-no-miya* (Princess Tsune) until marriage; m. at Imperial Palace, Tokyo, 30 April 1908 to Prince Takeda Tsunehisa (*Takeda-no-miya Tsunehisa ō*, 22 September 1882 – 23 April 1919), and had issue (offspring).
- Princess Fusako (*Kane-no-miya Fusako Naishinnō*), 7th daughter, (28 January 1890 – 11 August 1974), titled *Kane-no-miya* (Princess Kane) until marriage; m. at Imperial Palace, Tokyo 29 April 1909 to Prince Kitashirakawa Naruhisa (*Kitashirakawa-no-miya Naruhisa ō*, 1 April 1887 – 2 April 1923), and had issue.
- Princess Nobuko (*Fumi-no-miya Nobuko Naishinnō*), 8th daughter, (7 August 1891 – 3 November 1933); titled *Fumi-no-miya* (Princess Fumi) until marriage; m. at Imperial Palace, Tokyo 6 May 1909 to Prince Asaka Yasuhiko (*Asaka-no-miya Yasuhiko ō*, 2 October 1887 – 13 April 1981), and had issue.
- Princess Toshiko (*Yasu-no-miya Toshiko Naishinnō*), 9th daughter, (11 May 1896 – 5 March 1978); titled *Yasu-no-miya* (Princess Yasu) until marriage; m. at Imperial Palace, Tokyo 18 May 1915 to Prince Higashikuni Naruhiko (*Higashikuni-no-miya Naruhiko ō*, 3 December 1887 – 20 January 1990), and had issue.

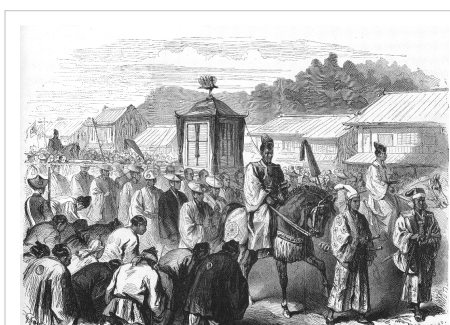


Wedding of Crown Prince Yoshihito and Princess Kujo Sadako

## Meiji era

### Consolidation of power

Despite the ouster of the *bakufu*, no effective central government had been put in place by the rebels. On 23 March, foreign envoys were first permitted to visit Kyoto and pay formal calls on the Emperor.<sup>[31]</sup> On 7 April 1868, the Emperor was presented with the Charter Oath, a five-point statement of the nature of the new government, designed to win over those who had not yet committed themselves to the new regime. This document, which the Emperor then formally promulgated, abolished feudalism and proclaimed a modern democratic government for Japan. The Charter Oath would later be cited by Emperor Hirohito in the Humanity Declaration as support for the imposed changes in Japanese government following World War II.<sup>[32]</sup> In mid-May, he left the Imperial precincts in Kyoto for the first time since early childhood to take command of the forces pursuing the remnants of the *bakufu* armies. Traveling in slow stages, he took three days to travel from Kyoto to Osaka, through roads lined with crowds.<sup>[33]</sup> There was no conflict in Osaka; the new leaders wanted the Emperor to be more visible to his people and to foreign envoys. At the end of May, after two weeks in Osaka (in a much less formal atmosphere than in Kyoto), the Emperor returned to his home.<sup>[34]</sup> Shortly after his return, it was announced that the Emperor would begin to preside over all state business, reserving further literary study for his leisure time.<sup>[35]</sup> Only from 1871 did the Emperor's studies include materials on contemporary affairs.<sup>[36]</sup>



The 16-year old emperor, traveling from Kyoto to Tokyo at the end of 1868





Emperor Meiji in his younger years

On 19 September 1868, the Emperor announced that the name of the city of Edo was being changed to Tokyo, or "eastern capital". He was formally crowned in Kyoto on 15 October (a ceremony which had been postponed from the previous year due to the unrest). Shortly before the coronation, he announced that the new era, or *nengō*, would be called *Meiji* or "enlightened rule". Heretofore the *nengō* had often been changed multiple times in an emperor's reign; from now on, it was announced, there would only be one *nengō* per reign.<sup>[37]</sup>

Soon after his coronation, the Emperor journeyed to Tokyo by road, visiting it for the first time. He arrived in late November, and began an extended stay by distributing sake among the population. The population of Tokyo was eager for an Imperial visit; it had been the site of the Shogun's court and the population feared that with the abolition of the shogunate, the city might fall into decline.<sup>[38]</sup> It would not be until 1889 that a final decision was made to move the capital to Tokyo.<sup>[39]</sup> While in Tokyo, the Emperor boarded a Japanese naval vessel for the first time, and the following day gave instructions for

studies to see how Japan's navy could be strengthened.<sup>[40]</sup> Soon after his return to Kyoto, a rescript was issued in the Emperor's name (but most likely written by court officials). It indicated his intent to be involved in government affairs, and indeed he attended cabinet meetings and innumerable other government functions, though rarely speaking, almost until the day of his death.<sup>[41]</sup>

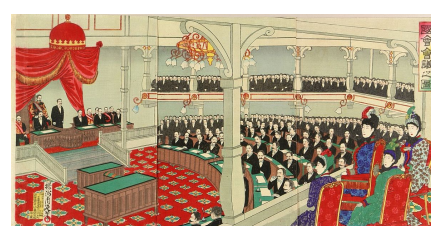
## Political reform

The successful revolutionaries organized themselves into a Council of State, and subsequently into a system where three main ministers led the government. This structure would last until the establishment of a prime minister, who would lead a cabinet in the western fashion, in 1885.<sup>[42]</sup> Initially, not even the retention of the emperor was certain; revolutionary leader Gotō Shōjirō later stated that some officials "were afraid the extremists might go further and abolish the Mikado".<sup>[43]</sup>

Japan's new leaders sought to reform the patchwork system of domains governed by the *daimyo*. In 1869, several of the *daimyo* who had supported the revolution gave their lands to the Emperor and were reappointed as governors, with considerable salaries. By the following year, all other *daimyo* had followed suit.

In 1871, the Emperor announced that domains were entirely abolished, as Japan was organized into 72 prefectures. The *daimyo* were compensated with annual salaries equal to ten percent of their former revenues (from which they did not now have to deduct the cost of governing), but were required to move to the new capital, Tokyo. Most retired from politics.<sup>[44]</sup>

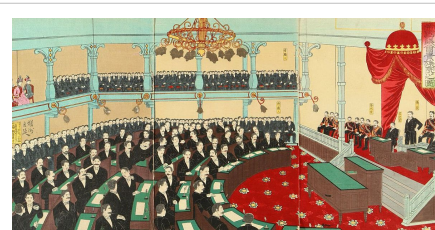
The new administration gradually abolished most privileges of the samurai, including their right to a stipend from the government. However, unlike the *daimyo*, many samurai suffered financially from this change. Most other class-based distinctions were abolished. Legalized discrimination against the *burakumin* ended. However, these classes continue to suffer discrimination in Japan to the present time.<sup>[45]</sup>



The Emperor in a formal session of the Diet.  
Ukiyo-e woodblock print by Yōshū Chikanobu,  
1890



Although a parliament was formed, it had no real power, and neither did the emperor. Power had passed from the Tokugawa into the hands of those Daimyo and other samurai who had led the Restoration. Japan was thus controlled by the *Genro*, an oligarchy, which comprised the most powerful men of the military, political, and economic spheres. The emperor, if nothing else, showed greater political longevity than his recent predecessors, as he was the first Japanese monarch to remain on the throne past the age of 50 since the abdication of Emperor Ōgimachi in 1586.



The Emperor in a formal session of the House of Peers. Woodblock print by Chikanobu, 1890

The Japanese take pride in the Meiji Restoration, as it and the accompanying industrialization allowed Japan to become the preeminent power in the Pacific and a major player in the world within a generation. Yet, the Meiji emperor's role in the Restoration remains debatable. He certainly did not control Japan, but how much influence he wielded is unknown. It is unlikely it will ever be clear whether he supported the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) or the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). One of the few windows we have into the Emperor's own feelings is his poetry, which seems to indicate a pacifist streak, or at least a man who wished war could be avoided. He composed the following pacifist poem or tanka:

よもの海

みなはらからと思ふ世に

など波風のたちさわぐらむ

Yomo no umi

mina harakara to omofu yo ni

nado namikaze no tachi sawaguramu

The seas of the four directions—

all are born of one womb:

why, then, do the wind and waves rise in discord?

Near the end of his life several anarchists, including Kotoku Shusui, were executed (1911) on charges of having conspired to murder the sovereign. This conspiracy was known as the High Treason Incident (1910).

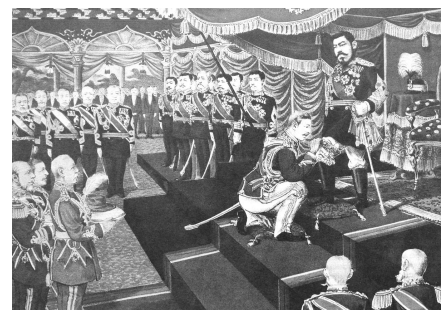
## Death

Emperor Meiji, suffering from diabetes, nephritis, and gastroenteritis, died of uremia. Although the official announcement said he died at 00:42 on 30 July 1912, the actual death was at 22:40 on 29 July.<sup>[46][47]</sup>

## Timeline of events during the life and reign of the Meiji Emperor

The Meiji era ushered in many far-reaching changes to the ancient feudal society of Japan. A timeline of major events might include:

- 3 November 1852: the Meiji emperor (then known as Sachinomiya) is born to the imperial concubine Nakayama Yoshiko and Emperor Komei
- 1853: A fleet of ships headed by Commodore Matthew Perry arrives in Japan on 8 July; considered by German Japanologist Johannes Justus Rein and described by Francis L. Hawks and Commodore Matthew Perry in their 1856 work, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan Performed in the Years 1852, 1853 and 1854 under the Command of Commodore M.C. Perry, United States Navy.*, as the "Opening" of Japan. Death of the Shogun.
- 1854–55: Treaties are signed with the United States by the Bakufu
- late 1850s–1860s: The "Sonnō jōi" movement is in full force.
- 1858: The Bakufu sign treaties with the Netherlands, Imperial Russia, and Great Britain.
- March 1860: The Tairo, Ii Naosuke, is assassinated.
- 11 November: Sachinomiya is formally proclaimed Crown Prince and given the personal name Mutsuhito.
- 1862: Namamugi Incident
- 1864–65: Bombardment of Shimonoseki by British, American, French, and Dutch ships; fighting ensues between the shogunate and Chōshū.
- 1866: Death of the Shogun Tokugawa Iemochi on 29 August; appointment of Tokugawa Yoshinobu as Shogun.
- 31 January 1867: Death of Emperor Komei from hemorrhagic smallpox, unofficial accession of Mutsuhito to the throne.
- 4 January 1868: Formal restoration of imperial rule; end of 265 years of rule by the Tokugawa Shogunate
- 12 September: Formal coronation of the emperor Meiji.
- 23 October: The nengo is changed to the first year of Meiji.
- 6 November: The capital is moved from Kyoto to Edo, renamed Tokyo.
- 5 November 1872: Emperor Meiji Receives The Grand Duke Alexei Alexandrovich of Russia
- late 1860s–1881: Period of rebellion and assassination in Japan.
- 11 January 1869: Marriage of Meiji to Ichijo Haruko, thenceforth the Empress Shoken.
- 4 September: Meiji receives The Duke of Edinburgh.
- 1871: The abolition of the han domains is proclaimed.
- 1873: Edo castle is destroyed in a conflagration; the emperor moves to the Akasaka Palace. Meiji's first children are born, but die at birth.
- 1877: The Satsuma Rebellion



The Meiji emperor receiving the Order of the Garter from Prince Arthur of Connaught in 1906, as a consequence of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.<sup>[48]</sup>

- 1878: Assassination of Okubo Toshimichi.
- 31 August 1879: Prince Yoshihito, the future Taisho Tenno and Meiji's only surviving son, is born.
- 1881: Receives the first state visit of a foreign monarch, King Kalakaua of Hawaii.
- 1889: Meiji Constitution promulgated; Ito Hirobumi becomes first Prime Minister of Japan.
- 1894: Sino-Japanese War; Japanese victory establishes Japan as a regional power.
- 1904–1905: Russo-Japanese War; Japanese victory earns Japan the status of a great power.
- 1910: The Annexation of Korea by the Empire of Japan.
- 1912: The emperor dies.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Personal information

- Father
  - Emperor Kōmei
- Mother
  - Nakayama Yoshiko, a concubine of Emperor Komei,
- Wife
  - Ichijo Masako, the Empress Shōken, also known as "Haruko"
- Concubines
  - Lady Mitsuko (1853–1873), not much is known about Lady Mitsuko, however she gave birth to the Emperor's first son. She died in childbirth.
  - Lady Natsuko (1856–1873), not much is known about Lady Natsuko, however she gave birth to the Emperor's first daughter and also died in childbirth.
  - Yanagiwara Naruko (1859–1943). Natural mother of the Taisho Emperor.
  - Chigusa Kotoko (1855–1944)
  - Sono Sachiko (1867–1947)
- Children



The Emperor, the young Crown Prince and the Empress are accompanied by court ladies on an outing to Asukayama Park. Ukiyo-e woodblock print by Yōshū Chikanobu, 1890

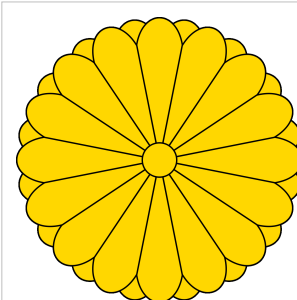


Meiji, Emperor of Japan and the Imperial Family (1900). From left to right: Fusako (Princess Kane), Empress Shōken, Nobuko (Princess Fumi), Emperor Meiji, Unknown, Crown Princess Sadako, Yoshihito (Emperor Taishō), Masako (Princess Tsune)

Name	Birth	Death	Mother	Marriage
A prince 稚瑞照彦尊	18 September 1873	18 September 1873	Lady Mitsuko 葉室光子	
A princess 稚高依姫尊	13 November 1873	13 November 1873	Lady Natsuko 橋本夏子	
Shigeko, Princess Ume 梅宮子内親王	25 January 1875	8 June 1876	Lady Naruko 柳原愛子	
Yukihito, Prince Take 建宮敬仁親王	23 September 1877	26 July 1878	Lady Naruko 柳原愛子	
Yoshihito, Prince Haru (Emperor Taishō) 明宮嘉仁親王(大正天皇)	31 August 1879	25 December 1926 (aged 47)	Lady Naruko 柳原愛子	Empress Teimei 九条節子
Akiko, Princess Shige 滋宮韶子内親王	3 August 1881	6 September 1883	Lady Kotoko 千種任子	
Fumiko, Princess Masu 宮章子内親王	26 January 1883	8 September 1883	Lady Kotoko 千種任子	
Shizuko, Princess Hisa 久宮静子内親王	10 February 1886	4 April 1887	Lady Sachiko	
Michihito, Prince Aki 昭宮猷仁親王	22 August 1887	12 November 1888	Lady Sachiko	
Masako, Princess Tsune 常宮昌子内親王	30 September 1888	8 March 1940 (aged 51)	Lady Sachiko	Tsune-hisa, Prince Takeda 竹田宮恒久王
Fusako, Princess Kane 周宮房子内親王	28 January 1890	11 August 1974 (aged 84)	Lady Sachiko	Naruhisa, Prince Kitashirakawa 北白川宮成久王
Nobuko, Princess Fumi 富美宮允子内親王	7 August 1891	3 November 1933 (aged 42)	Lady Sachiko	Yasuhiko, Prince Asaka 朝香宮鳩彦王
Teruhito, Prince Mitsu 宮輝仁親王	30 November 1893	17 August 1894	Lady Sachiko	
Toshiko, Princess Yasu 泰宮聡子内親王	11 May 1896	5 March 1978 (aged 81)	Lady Sachiko	Naruhiko, Prince Higashikuni 東久邇宮稔彦王
Takiko, Princess Sada 貞宮多喜子内親王	1897	1899	Lady Sachiko	

## Notes

- [1] "The Funeral Ceremonies of Meiji Tenno" reprinted from the *Japan Advertiser* [Article 8—No Title], (<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9D05E3DB1F3CE633A25750C1A9669D946396D6CF&scp=8&sq=order+of+meiji&st=p>) *New York Times*. 13 October 1912.
- [2] Jansen 1995, p. vii.
- [3] Gordon 2009, pp. 14–15.
- [4] Keene 2002, p. 3.
- [5] Gordon 2009, pp. 3–4.
- [6] Gordon 2009, p. 2.
- [7] Gordon 2009, pp. 4–5.
- [8] Gordon 2009, p. 19.
- [9] Gordon 2009, p. 47.
- [10] Keene 2002, p. 10.
- [11] Keene 2002, p. 14.
- [12] Gordon 2009, pp. 50–51.
- [13] Keene 2002, p. 18.
- [14] Keene 2002, pp. 39–41.
- [15] Keene 2002, p. xii.
- [16] Keene 2002, pp. 51–52.
- [17] Keene 2002, p. 46.
- [18] Keene 2002, p. 48.
- [19] Gordon 2009, pp. 53–55.
- [20] Gordon 2009, pp. 55–56.
- [21] Keene 2002, p. 73.
- [22] Keene 2002, p. 78.
- [23] Gordon 2009, pp. 57–58.
- [24] Keene 2002, pp. 94–96.
- [25] Keene 2002, p. 98.
- [26] Keene 2002, pp. 102–104.
- [27] Gordon 2009, p. 59.
- [28] Keene 2002, p. 121.
- [29] Keene 2002, p. 117.
- [30] Keene 2002, pp. 105–107.
- [31] Keene 2002, p. 133.
- [32] Jansen 1995, p. 195.
- [33] Keene 2002, p. 143.
- [34] Keene 2002, pp. 145–146.
- [35] Keene 2002, p. 147.
- [36] Keene 2002, p. 171.
- [37] Keene 2002, pp. 157–159.
- [38] Keene 2002, pp. 160–163.
- [39] Gordon 2009, p. 68.
- [40] Keene 2002, pp. 163–165.
- [41] Keene 2002, p. 168.
- [42] Gordon 2009, p. 64.
- [43] Jansen 1994, p. 342.
- [44] Gordon 2009, p. 63.
- [45] Gordon 2009, p. 65.
- [46] Takashi, Fujitani (1998). *Splendid monarchy: power and pageantry in modern Japan*. University of California Press. p. 145. ISBN 978-0520213715.
- [47] "広報 No.589 明治の終幕" (<http://town.sannohe.aomori.jp/kouhou-sannohe/kouhou-pdf/589.pdf>). Sannohe town hall. . Retrieved 18 May 2011.**(Japanese)**
- [48] "The Mikado's Garter," (<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9403E0DF1F3EE733A2575BC2A9619C946797D6CF>) *New York Times*. 28 July 1906.



Japanese Imperial kamon – a stylized chrysanthemum blossom

## References

- Gordon, Andrew (2003), *A Modern History of Japan: from Tokugawa Times to the Present*, Oxford University Press ISBN 0195110609/ISBN 9780195110609; ISBN 019511061/ISBN 9780195110616; OCLC 49704795 (<http://www.worldcat.org/title/modern-history-of-japan-from-tokugawa-times-to-the-present/oclc/49704795?referer=di&ht=edition>)
- Jansen, Marius (1961), *Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration*, Princeton University Press OCLC 413111 ([http://www.worldcat.org/title/sakamoto-ryoma-and-the-meiji-restoration/oclc/413111&referer=brief\\_results](http://www.worldcat.org/title/sakamoto-ryoma-and-the-meiji-restoration/oclc/413111&referer=brief_results))
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- Keene, Donald (2002), *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912*, Columbia University Press ISBN 023112340X/ISBN 9780231123402; OCLC 46731178 ([http://www.worldcat.org/title/emperor-of-japan-meiji-and-his-world-1852-1912/oclc/46731178&referer=brief\\_results](http://www.worldcat.org/title/emperor-of-japan-meiji-and-his-world-1852-1912/oclc/46731178&referer=brief_results))
- Wilson, George M. (1992), *Patriots and Redeemers: Motives in the Meiji Restoration*, University of Chicago Press ISBN 0226900916/ISBN 9780226900919; ISBN 0226900924/ISBN 9780226900926; OCLC 23869701 ([http://www.worldcat.org/title/patriots-and-redeemers-in-japan-motives-in-the-meiji-restoration/oclc/23869701&referer=brief\\_results](http://www.worldcat.org/title/patriots-and-redeemers-in-japan-motives-in-the-meiji-restoration/oclc/23869701&referer=brief_results))

## External links

- Meiji Shrine (<http://www.meijijingu.or.jp/english/>)
  - Meiji Emperor (<http://meijiemperor.net/>)
  - The New Student's Reference Work/Mutsuhito, Emperor of Japan
-



# Mircea I of Wallachia

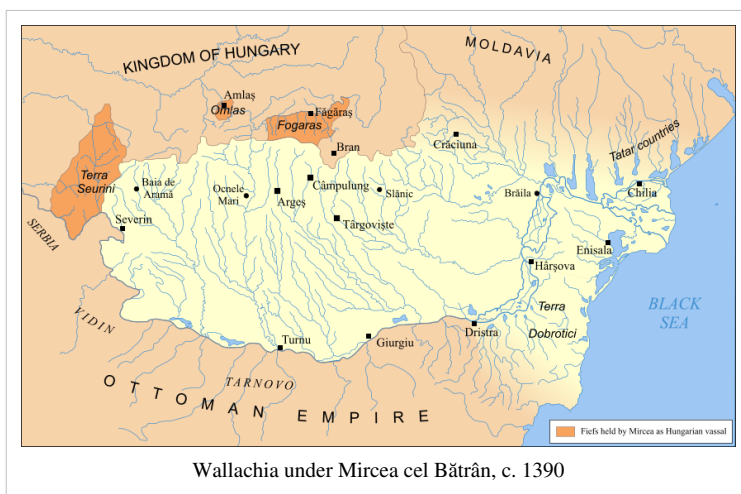
Mircea the Elder	
Voivode of Wallachia	
<div></div>	
Mircea the Elder	
Reign	1386–1418
Romanian	Mircea cel Bătrân
Born	1355
Birthplace	Wallachia
Died	1418
Place of death	Wallachia
Buried	Cozia Monastery
Predecessor	Dan I
Successor	Michael I
Consort	Maria (possibly a Lackovic)
Offspring	Mihail I, Vlad Dracul, Radu II Chelul
Royal House	House of Basarab
Father	Radu I
Mother	Calinica

**Mircea the Elder** (Bulgarian: **Мирчо Старѝ** Romanian: *Mircea cel Bătrân* pronounced [ˈmirt͡ʃea t͡ʃel bəˈtrɨn]; 1355–1418) was ruler of Wallachia from 1386 until his death. The byname "elder" was given to him after his death in order to distinguish him from his grandson Mircea II ("Mircea the Younger"). Starting in the 19th century, Romanian historiography has also referred to him as **Mircea the Great** (Romanian: *Mircea cel Mare*).<sup>[1]</sup>

## Family background and heirs

Mircea was the son of voivode Radu I of Wallachia and Lady Calinica, thus being a descendant of the House of Basarab.<sup>[2]</sup> He was the father to Vlad II Dracul and grandfather of Mircea II, Vlad the Impaler (Dracula), Vlad Călugărul and Radu the Handsome. All of these would at one time or the other rule Wallachia, with Mircea II and Vlad Țepeș both being able military commanders (the latter would eventually become one of the most notorious leaders in history, and the inspiration for the novel *Dracula* by Bram Stoker).

## Historical importance



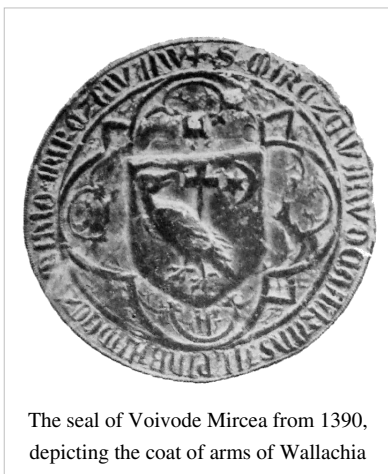
Mircea's reign is often considered to have brought stability to Wallachia. Found in a volatile region of the world, this principality's borders constantly shifted, but during Mircea's rule, Wallachia controlled the largest area in its history: from the river Olt in the north to the Danube in the south, and from the Danube's Iron Gates in the west to the Black Sea in the east.<sup>[3]</sup>

Mircea strengthened the power of the state and organized the different high offices, promoted economic development, increased the state's revenue, and minted silver money

that enjoyed wide circulation not only inside the country but also in neighboring countries. He gave the merchants of Poland and Lithuania trade privileges and renewed those his predecessors had given to the people of Brașov. As a result, Mircea was able to afford increasing his military power. He fortified the Danube citadels and strengthened "the great army" made up of townspeople and of free and dependent peasants. He also proved to be a great supporter for the Church.<sup>[4]</sup>

While organizing the country and its institutions, Mircea also formed a system of lasting alliances which enabled him to defend the independence of the country. Through the intermediary of Petru Mușat, the prince of Moldavia, he concluded a treaty of alliance with Władysław II Jagiełło, king of Poland in 1389. The treaty was renewed in 1404 and 1410. He maintained close relations with Sigismund of Luxembourg, the king of Hungary, relying on their common interest in the struggle against Ottoman expansion.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Conflicts with the Ottoman Empire



The seal of Voivode Mircea from 1390, depicting the coat of arms of Wallachia

His interventions in support of the Bulgarians south of the Danube who were fighting against the Turks brought him into conflict with the Ottoman Empire. In 1394 Beyazid I (also known as "Yıldırım Beyazıt", "the Thunderbolt") crossed the Danube river, leading 40,000 men, an impressive force at the time. Mircea had only about 10,000 men so he could not survive an open fight. He chose what today we would call guerrilla warfare by starving the opposing army and utilizing small, localized attacks and retreats (a typical form of asymmetric warfare). On October 10, 1394, the two armies finally clashed at the Battle of Rovine, which featured a forested and swampy terrain, thus preventing the Ottomans from properly spreading their army; Mircea finally won the fierce battle and threw the Ottomans out of the country. Giurescu, pp. 367. This famous battle was later epically described by the poet Mihai Eminescu in his *Third Epistle*. However, Mircea had to retreat to Hungary, while the Turks installed Vlad Uzurpatorul on the throne of Wallachia.

In 1396 Mircea participated in an anti-Ottoman crusade started by Hungary's monarch. The crusade ended with the Ottoman victory at the Battle of Nicopolis on September 25. In the next year, 1397, Mircea, having defeated Vlad the Usurper with Hungarian help, stopped another Ottoman expedition that crossed the Danube, and in 1400 he defeated yet another expedition of Turks crossing the country. Giurescu, pp. 368.

The defeat of Sultan Beyazid I by Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) at Ankara in the summer of 1402 opened a period of anarchy in the Ottoman Empire and Mircea took advantage of it to organize together with the Hungarian king a campaign against the Turks. In 1404 Mircea was thus able to impose his rule on Dobrogea again. Moreover, Mircea took part in the struggles for the throne of the Ottoman Empire and enabled Musa to ascend that throne (for a brief reign). It was at this time that the prince reached the height of his power. Giurescu, pp. 369

Towards the end of his reign, Mircea signed a treaty with the Ottomans; in return for a tribute of 3,000 gold pieces per year, the Ottomans desisted from making Wallachia a province ("pashalik"). Giurescu, p. 370.

## Cultural importance

The "bravest and ablest of the Christian princes", as he was described by German historian Leunclavius, ruled Wallachia for 32 years. Apart from his military successes Mircea was an art lover, leaving us among other monuments beautiful Cozia Monastery, built after the model of the radu Krusevac Church (Krusevac) in Serbia.

## In popular culture

### Film

Mircea was played by Sergiu Nicolaescu in the 1989 film *Mircea*, which was also directed by Nicolaescu.

## Notes

[1] Hasdeu, p. 130; Xenopol, p. 89; Iorga, p. III

[2] Giurescu, pp.362

[3] Giurescu, pp.363

[4] Giurescu, pp.364-365

[5] Giurescu, pp.366

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## Mithridates II of Parthia

**Mithridates II the Great** was king of Parthian Empire from 123 to 88 BC. His name invokes the protection of Mithra. He adopted the title Epiphanes, "god manifest" and introduced new designs on his extensive coinage. Parthia reached its greatest extent during his reign. He saved the kingdom from the Saka tribes, who occupied Bactria and the east of Iran and killed two of his predecessors in battle. Mithridates II extended the limits of the empire, according to the 3rd century Roman historian Junianus Justinus who tends to confuse him with Mithridates III, under whom Parthia received severe setbacks. He defeated King Artavasdes I of Armenia and conquered seventy valleys, making the heir to the Armenian throne, prince Tigranes, a political hostage. In 123 BC and 115 BC he received Chinese ambassadors sent by the Han emperor Wu Di to reopen the Silk Road through negotiations. His later coins show him bearded, wearing the high domed Parthian crown applied with a star. He also interfered in the wars of the dynasts of Syria. He was the first Parthian king who entered into negotiations with Rome, then represented by Lucius Cornelius Sulla, praetor of Cilicia in 92 BC.



Mithridates II the Great.



Early coin of **Mithridates II the Great of Parthia** from Seleucia on the Tigris. The reverse shows a seated goddess (perhaps Demeter) holding Nike and a cornucopia. The Greek inscription says *Coin of the Great king Arsaces, friend of the Greeks*

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- Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* xiii, xiv.

# Mithridates VI of Pontus

Mithridates VI

King of Pontus



Mithridates VI from the Musée du Louvre

Reign	120 BC – 63 BC
Successor	Pharnaces II of Pontus
Father	Mithridates V of Pontus
Mother	Laodice VI

**Mithridates VI** or **Mithradates VI** (Greek: Μιθραδάτης),<sup>[1]</sup> from Old Persian *Mithradatha*, "gift of Mithra"; 134 BC – 63 BC, also known as **Mithradates the Great (Megas)** and **Eupator Dionysius**, was king of Pontus and Armenia Minor in northern Anatolia (now Turkey) from about 120 BC to 63 BC. Mithridates is remembered as one of the Roman Republic's most formidable and successful enemies, who engaged three of the prominent generals from the late Roman Republic in the Mithridatic Wars: Lucius Cornelius Sulla, Lucullus and Pompey.

## Ancestry, family and early life

Mithridates was a prince of Persian and Greek Macedonian ancestry. He claimed descent from King Darius I of Persia and was descended from the generals of Alexander the Great and later kings: Antigonus I Monophthalmus, Seleucus I Nicator and Regent, Antipater. Mithridates was born in the Pontic city of Sinope,<sup>[2]</sup> and was raised in the Kingdom of Pontus. He was the first son and among the children born to Laodice VI and Mithridates V of Pontus (reigned 150–120 BC). His parents were distant relatives and had lineage from the Seleucid Dynasty. His father, Mithridates V, was a prince and the son of the former Pontic Monarchs Pharnaces I of Pontus and his wife-cousin Nysa. His mother, Laodice VI, was a Seleucid Princess and the daughter of the Seleucid Monarchs Antiochus IV Epiphanes and his wife-sister Laodice IV.

Mithridates V was assassinated in about 120 BC in Sinope, poisoned by unknown persons at a lavish banquet which he held.<sup>[3]</sup> In the will of Mithridates V, he left the Kingdom to the joint rule of Laodice VI, Mithridates and his younger brother, Mithridates Chrestus. Mithridates and his younger brother were both under aged to rule and their mother retained all power as regent.<sup>[4]</sup> Laodice VI's regency over Pontus was from 120 BC to 116 BC (even perhaps up to 113 BC) and favored Mithridates Chrestus over Mithridates. During his mother's regency, he had escaped from

the plotting of his mother and had gone into hiding.

Mithridates between 116 BC and 113 BC returned to Pontus from hiding and was hailed King. He was able to remove his mother and his brother from the Pontic throne, thus becoming the sole ruler of Pontus. Mithridates showed clemency towards his mother and brother, imprisoning them both.<sup>[5]</sup> Laodice VI died in prison of natural causes. However, Mithridates Chrestus could have died in prison from natural causes or was tried for treason and was executed on his orders.<sup>[5]</sup> When they died, Mithridates gave his mother and brother a royal funeral.<sup>[6]</sup> Mithridates married his first young sister Laodice.<sup>[7]</sup> Laodice was 16 years old and was her brother's first wife. Mithridates married Laodice to preserve the purity of their blood-line, as a wife to rule with him as a sovereign over Pontus, to ensure the succession to his legitimate children, and to claim his right as a ruling monarch.

## Early reign



Map of the Kingdom of Pontus, Before the reign of Mithridates VI (dark purple), after his conquests (purple), his conquests in the first Mithridatic wars (pink), as well as Pontus' ally the Kingdom of Armenia (green).

Mithridates entertained ambitions of making his state the dominant power in the Black Sea and Anatolia. After he subjugated Colchis, the king of Pontus clashed for supremacy in the Pontic steppe with the Scythian King Palacus. The most important centres of Crimea, Tauric Chersonesus and the Bosphoran Kingdom readily surrendered their independence in return for Mithridates' promises to protect them against the Scythians, their ancient enemies. After several abortive attempts to invade the Crimea, the Scythians and the allied Rhoxolanoi suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Pontic general Diophantus and accepted Mithridates as their overlord. The young king then turned his attention to Anatolia, where Roman power was on the rise. He contrived to partition Paphlagonia and Galatia with King Nicomedes III of Bithynia. It soon became clear to Mithridates that Nicomedes was steering his country into an anti-Pontic alliance with the expanding Roman Republic. When Mithridates fell out with Nicomedes over control

of Cappadocia, and defeated him in a series of battles, the latter was constrained to openly enlist the assistance of Rome. The Romans twice interfered in the conflict on behalf of Nicomedes (92–95 BC), leaving Mithridates, should he wish to continue the expansion of his kingdom, with little choice other than to engage in a future Roman-Pontic war.

## Mithridatic Wars

The next ruler of Bithynia, Nicomedes IV of Bithynia, was a figurehead manipulated by the Romans. Mithridates plotted to overthrow him, but his attempts failed and Nicomedes IV, instigated by his Roman advisors, declared war on Pontus. Rome itself was involved in the Social War, a civil war with its Italian allies. Thus, in all of Roman Asia Province there were only two legions present in Macedonia. These legions combined with Nicomedes IV's army to invade Mithridates' kingdom of Pontus in 89 BC. Mithridates, however, won a decisive victory, scattering the Roman-led forces. His victorious forces were welcomed throughout Anatolia. The following year, 88 BC, Mithridates orchestrated a massacre of Roman and Italian settlers remaining in several Anatolian cities, essentially wiping out the Roman presence in the region.<sup>[8]</sup> The Kingdom of Pontus comprised a mixed population in its Ionian Greek and Anatolian cities. The royal family moved the capital from Amasya to the Greek city of Sinope. Its rulers tried to fully assimilate the potential of their subjects by showing a Greek face to the Greek world and an Iranian/Anatolian face to the Eastern world. Whenever the gap between the rulers and their Anatolian subjects became greater, they would put emphasis on their Persian origins. In this manner, the royal propaganda claimed



heritage both from Persian and Greek rulers, including Cyrus the Great, Darius I of Persia, Alexander the Great and Seleucus I Nicator.<sup>[9]</sup> Mithridates too posed as the champion of Hellenism, but this was mainly to further his political ambitions; it is no proof that he felt a mission to promote its extension within his domains.<sup>[10]</sup> Whatever his true intentions, the Greek cities (including Athens) defected to the side of Mithridates and welcomed his armies in mainland Greece, while his fleet besieged the Romans at Rhodes. Neighboring King of Armenia Tigranes the Great, established an alliance with Mithridates and married one of Mithridates' daughters, Cleopatra of Pontus. They would support each other in the coming conflict with Rome.<sup>[11]</sup>

After conquering western Anatolia in 88 BC, Mithridates' turned to combating increasing Roman power in Anatolia. Tapping into local discontent with the Romans and their taxes he orchestrated the murder of 80,000 Roman, Italian and other foreigners in Asia Minor in an incident known as the Asiatic Vespers.<sup>[12][13]</sup> The Romans responded by organising a large invasion force to defeat him and remove him from power.

The First Mithridatic War, fought between 88 BC and 84 BC, saw Lucius Cornelius Sulla force Mithridates VI out of Greece proper. After victory in several battles, Sulla received news of trouble back in Rome posed by his enemy Gaius Marius and hurriedly concluded peace talks with Mithridates. As Sulla returned to Italy Lucius Licinius Murena was left in charge of Roman forces in Anatolia. The lenient peace treaty, which was never ratified by the Senate, allowed Mithridates VI to recoup his forces. Murena attacked Mithridates in 83 BC, provoking the Second Mithridatic War from 83 BC to 81 BC. Mithridates scored a victory over Murena's green forces before peace was again declared by treaty.

When Rome attempted to annex Bithynia (bequeathed to Rome by its last king) nearly a decade later, Mithridates VI attacked with an even larger army, leading to the Third Mithridatic War from 73 BC to 63 BC. First Lucullus and then Pompey were sent against Mithridates VI, who surged back to retake his kingdom of Pontus, but was at last defeated by Pompey. After his defeat by Pompey in 63 BC, Mithridates VI fled with a small army from Colchis (modern Georgia) over the Caucasus Mountains to Crimea and made plans to raise yet another army to take on the Romans. His eldest living son, Machares, viceroy of Cimmerian Bosphorus, was unwilling to aid his father. Mithridates had Machares killed, and Mithridates took the throne of the Bosporan Kingdom. Mithridates then ordered the conscriptions and preparations for war. In 63 BC, Pharnaces II of Pontus, one of his sons, led a rebellion against his father, joined by Roman exiles in the core of Mithridates' Pontic army. Mithridates withdrew to the citadel in Panticapaeum, where he committed suicide. Pompey buried Mithridates in the rock-cut tombs of his ancestors in Amasya, the old capital of Pontus.

## Assassination conspiracy

During the time of the First Mithridatic War, a group of Mithridates' friends plotted to kill him. These intimates were Mynnio and Philotimus of Smyrna, Clisthenes and Asclepiodotus of Lesbos. Asclepiodotus changed his mind and became an informant. He arranged to have Mithridates hide under a couch to hear the plot against him. The other conspirators were tortured and executed.<sup>[14]</sup>

## Propaganda

Where his ancestors pursued philhellenism as a means of attaining respectability and prestige among the Hellenistic kingdoms, Mithridates VI made use of Hellenism as a political tool. As protector of Greek cities on the Black Sea and in Asia against barbarism, Mithridates VI logically became protector of Greece and Greek culture, and would use this stance in his clashes with Rome.<sup>[15]</sup> Strabo mentions that Chersonesus buckled under the pressure of the barbarians and asked Mithridates VI to become its protector (7.4.3. c.308). The most impressive symbol of Mithridates VI's approbation with Greece (Athens in particular) appears at Delos: a heroon dedicated to the Pontic king in 102/1 by the Athenian Helianax, a priest of Poseidon Aisios.<sup>[15]</sup> A dedication at Delos, by Dicaeus, a priest of Sarapis, was made in 94/93 BC on behalf of the Athenians, Romans, and "King Mithridates Eupator Dionysus."<sup>[15]</sup> Greek styles mixed with Persian elements also abound on official Pontic coins – Perseus was favored

as an intermediary between both worlds, East and West.<sup>[15]</sup> Certainly influenced by Alexander the Great, Mithridates VI extended his propaganda from "defender" of Greece to the "great liberator" of the Greek world as war with Roman Republic became inevitable. The Romans were easily translated into "barbarians", in the same sense as the Persian Empire during the war with Persia in the first half of the 5th century BC and during Alexander's campaign. How many Greeks genuinely bought into this claim will never be known. It served its purpose, however. At least partially because of it, Mithridates VI was able to fight the First War with Rome on Greek soil, and maintain the allegiance of Greece.<sup>[15]</sup> His campaign for the allegiance of the Greeks was aided in no small part by his enemy Sulla, who allowed his troops to sack the city of Delphi and plunder many of the city's most famous treasures to help finance his military expenses.

## Death

When Mithridates VI was at last defeated by Pompey and in danger of capture by Rome, he is alleged to have attempted suicide by poison; this attempt failed, however, because of his immunity to the poison.<sup>[16]</sup> According to Appian's *Roman History*, he then requested his Gaul bodyguard and friend, Bituitus, to kill him by the sword:

*Mithridates then took out some poison that he always carried next to his sword, and mixed it. There two of his daughters, who were still girls growing up together, named Mithridates and Nysa, who had been betrothed to the kings of [Ptolemaic] Egypt and of Cyprus, asked him to let them have some of the poison first, and insisted strenuously and prevented him from drinking it until they had taken some and swallowed it. The drug took effect on them at once; but upon Mithridates, although he walked around rapidly to hasten its action, it had no effect, because he had accustomed himself to other drugs by continually trying them as a means of protection against poisoners. These are still called the Mithridatic drugs.*

*Seeing a certain Bituitus there, an officer of the Gauls, he said to him, "I have profited much from your right arm against my enemies. I shall profit from it most of all if you will kill me, and save from the danger of being led in a Roman triumph one who has been an autocrat so many years, and the ruler of so great a kingdom, but who is now unable to die by poison because, like a fool, he has fortified himself against the poison of others. Although I have kept watch and ward against all the poisons that one takes with his food, I have not provided against that domestic poison, always the most dangerous to kings, the treachery of army, children, and friends." Bituitus, thus appealed to, rendered the king the service that he desired.*<sup>[17]</sup> (XVI, §111)

Cassius Dio *Roman History*, on the other hand, records his death as murder:

*Mithridates had tried to make away with himself, and after first removing his wives and remaining children by poison, he had swallowed all that was left; yet neither by that means nor by the sword was he able to perish by his own hands. For the poison, although deadly, did not prevail over him, since he had inured his constitution to it, taking precautionary antidotes in large doses every day; and the force of the sword blow was lessened on account of the weakness of his hand, caused by his age and present misfortunes, and as a result of taking the poison, whatever it was. When, therefore, he failed to take his life through his own efforts and seemed to linger beyond the proper time, those whom he had sent against his son fell upon him and hastened his end with their swords and spears. Thus Mithridates, who had experienced the most varied and remarkable fortune, had not even an ordinary end to his life. For he desired to die, albeit unwillingly, and though eager to kill himself was unable to do so; but partly by poison and partly by the sword he was at once self-slain and murdered by his foes.*<sup>[18]</sup> (Book 37, chapter 13)

At the behest of Pompey, Mithridates' body was later buried alongside his ancestors (in Sinope, Book 37, chapter 14). Mount Mithridat in the central Kerch and the town of Yevpatoria in Crimea commemorate his name.

## Mithridates' antidote

In his youth, after the assassination of his father Mithridates V in 120 BC, Mithridates is said to have lived in the wilderness for seven years, inuring himself to hardship. While there, and after his accession, he cultivated an immunity to poisons by regularly ingesting sub-lethal doses of the same.<sup>[15]</sup> He invented a complex 'universal antidote' against poisoning; several versions are described in the literature. Aulus Cornelius Celsus gives one in his *De Medicina* and names it *Antidotum Mithridaticum*, whence English *mithridate*.<sup>[19]</sup> Pliny the Elder's version comprised 54 ingredients to be placed in a flask and matured for at least two months. After Mithridates' death in 63 BC, many imperial Roman physicians claimed to possess and improve on the original formula, which they touted as *Mithradatum*. In keeping with most medical practices of his era, Mithridates' anti-poison routines included a religious component; they were supervised by the *Agari*, a group of Scythian shamans who never left him. Mithridates was reportedly guarded in his sleep by a horse, a bull, and a stag, which would whinny, bellow, and bleat whenever anyone approached the royal bed.<sup>[20]</sup>

## Mithridates as polyglot

In Pliny the Elder's account of famous polyglots, Mithridates could speak the languages of all the twenty-two nations he governed.<sup>[21]</sup> This reputation led to the use of Mithridates' name as title in some later works on comparative linguistics, such as Conrad Gessner's *Mithridates de differentis linguis*, (1555), and Adelung and Vater's *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachkunde* (1806–1817).<sup>[22]</sup>

## Wives, mistresses and children

Mithridates VI had wives and mistresses, by whom he had various children. The names he gave his children are a representation of his Persian, Greek heritage and of his ancestry.

1. First wife, his sister Laodice. They were married from 115/113 BC till about 90 BC. Mithridates with Laodice had various children:
  - Sons: Mithridates, Arcathius, Machares and Pharnaces II of Pontus
  - Daughters: Cleopatra of Pontus (sometimes called Cleopatra the Elder to distinguish her from her sister of the same name) and Drypetina. (Her name is a diminutive form of Drypetis and she was Mithridates' most devoted daughter. She never lost her baby teeth, so she had a double set of teeth in adulthood<sup>[23]</sup>)
2. Second wife, the Greek Macedonian Noblewoman, Monime. They were married from about 89/88 BC till 72/71 BC. By whom, he had:
  - Daughter: Athenais, who married King Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia
3. Third wife, Greek woman Berenice of Chios, married from 86 BC – 72/71 BC
4. Fourth wife, Greek woman Stratonice of Pontus, married from after 86 BC – 63 BC
  - Son: Xiphares
5. Fifth wife, unknown
6. Sixth wife, Caucasian woman Hypsicratea, married from an unknown date to 63 BC

One of his mistresses was the Galatian Celtic Princess Adobogiona. By Adobogiona, Mithridates had two children: a son called Mithridates I of the Bosporus and a daughter called Adobogiona.

His sons born from his concubine were Cyrus, Xerxes, Darius, Ariarathes IX of Cappadocia, Artaphernes, Oxathres, Phoenix (Mithridates' son by a mistress of Syrian descent) and Exipodras. His daughters born from his concubine were Nysa, Eupatra, Cleopatra the Younger, Mithridatis and Orsabaris. Nysa and Mithridatis, were engaged to the Egyptian Greek Pharaohs Ptolemy XII Auletes and his brother Ptolemy of Cyprus.

In 63 BC, when the Kingdom of Pontus was annexed by the Roman general Pompey the remaining sisters, wives, mistresses and children of Mithridates VI in Pontus were put to death. Plutarch writing in his lives (Pompey v.45)

states that Mithridates' sister and five of his children took part in Pompey's triumphal procession on this return to Rome in 61 BC.

The Cappadocian Greek nobleman and high priest of the temple-state of Comana, Cappadocia Archelaus had descended from Mithridates VI.<sup>[24]</sup> He claimed to be a son of Mithridates VI,<sup>[25]</sup> however chronologically Archelaus may have been a maternal grandson of the Pontic King, who his father was Mithridates VI's favorite general may have married one of the daughters of Mithridates VI.<sup>[26]</sup>

## Literature

The poet A. E. Housman alludes to Mithridates' antidote, also known as **mithridatism**, in the final stanza of his poem "Terence, This Is Stupid Stuff" in *A Shropshire Lad*.

*There was a king reigned in the East:  
There, when kings will sit to feast,  
They get their fill before they think  
With poisoned meat and poisoned drink.  
He gathered all that springs to birth  
From the many-venomed earth;  
First a little, thence to more,  
He sampled all her killing store;  
And easy, smiling, seasoned sound,  
Sate the king when healths went round.  
They put arsenic in his meat  
And stared aghast to watch him eat;  
They poured strychnine in his cup  
And shook to see him drink it up:  
They shook, they stared as white's their shirt:  
Them it was their poison hurt.  
—I tell the tale that I heard told.  
Mithridates, he died old.*

— A. E. Housman, *A Shropshire Lad*

The legend also appears in Alexandre Dumas's novel *The Count of Monte Cristo*. The demise of Mithridates VI is detailed in the 1673 play *Mithridate* written by Jean Racine. This play is the basis for several 18th century operas including one of Mozart's earliest, known most commonly by its Italian name, *Mitridate, re di Ponto* (1770). He is the subject of the opera *Mitridate Eupatore* (1707) by Alessandro Scarlatti. In *The Grass Crown*, the second in the *Masters of Rome* series, Colleen McCullough, the Australian writer, describes in detail the various aspects of his life – the murder of Laodice (sister-wife of Mithridates VI of Pontus) Roman Consul, quite alone and surrounded by the Pontic army, orders Mithridates to leave Cappadocia immediately and go back to Pontus – which he does.

In Dorothy L. Sayers' Detective Novel "Strong Poison", from 1929, the protagonist, Lord Peter Wimsey, refers to Mithridates' measures to survive poisoning; as well as Albert Einstein's theory of Special Relativity, when the protagonist warns not to trust someone who looks straight in your eye: as they're trying to distract you from seeing something, "...even the path light travels is bent".

*The Last King* is an historical novel by Michael Curtis Ford about the King and his exploits against the Roman Republic. Mithridates is a major character in Poul Anderson's novel *The Golden Slave*. Mithridates of Pontus is

mentioned by E. E. "Doc" Smith in *Triplanetary*, the first novel of the famous *Lensman* science fiction series. In the story, Mithridates was supposed to be one of the humans possessed by a member of an evil alien race bent on remaking human civilization into its own image.

In the novel *Mithridates is Dead* (Spanish: *Mitrídates ha muerto* <sup>[27]</sup>), Ignasi Ribó traces parallelisms between the historical figures of Mithridates and Osama Bin Laden. Within a postmodern narrative of the making and unmaking of history, Ribó suggests that the September 11 attacks on the United States closely paralleled the massacre of Roman citizens in 88 B.C. and prompted similar consequences, namely the imperialist overstretch of the American and Roman republics respectively. Furthermore, he suggests that the ensuing Mithridatic Wars were one of the key factors in the demise of Rome's republican regime, as well as in the spread of the Christian faith in Asia Minor and eventually throughout the whole Roman Empire. The novel implies that the current events in the world might have similar, unforeseen consequences.

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## External links

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  - Livius.org: Mithridates VI Eupator (<http://www.livius.org/mi-mn/mithridates/mithridates.htm>)
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# Mstislav I of Kiev

Mstislav I of Kiev	
	
Grand Prince Mstislav I Vladimirovich built the Pirogoshcha Church of the Mother of God in Kiev	
Spouse(s)	Christina Ingesdotter of Sweden Liubava Dmitrievna
Noble family	Rurik Dynasty
Father	Vladimir II Monomakh
Mother	Gytha of Wessex
Born	1 June 1076 Turov
Died	14 April 1132 (aged 55) Kiev

**Mstislav I Vladimirovich the Great** (Russian: Мстислав Владимирович Великий) (June 1, 1076, Turov – April 14, 1132, Kiev) was the Grand Prince of Kiev (1125–1132), the eldest son of Vladimir II Monomakh by Gytha of Wessex. He figures prominently in the Norse Sagas under the name Harald, taken to allude to his grandfather, Harold II of England.

## Biography

As his father's future successor, Mstislav reigned in Novgorod the Great from 1088–93 and (after a brief stint at Rostov) from 1095–1117. Thereafter he was Monomakh's co-ruler in Belgorod Kievsky, and inherited the Kievan throne after his death. He built numerous churches in Novgorod, of which St. Nicholas Cathedral (1113) and the cathedral of St Anthony Cloister (1117) survive to the present day. Later, he would also erect important churches in Kiev, notably his family sepulchre at Berestovo and the church of Our Lady at Podil.

Mstislav's life was spent in constant warfare with Cumans (1093, 1107, 1111, 1129), Estonians (1111, 1113, 1116, 1130), Lithuanians (1131), and the principedom of Polotsk (1127, 1129). In 1096, he defeated his uncle Oleg of Chernigov on the Koloksha River, thereby laying foundation for the centuries of enmity between his and Oleg's descendants. Mstislav was the last ruler of united Rus, and upon his death, as the chronicler put it, "the land of Rus was torn apart".

In 1095, Mstislav wed Princess Christina Ingesdotter of Sweden, daughter of King Inge I of Sweden. They had many children:

1. Ingeborg of Kiev, married Canute Lavard of Jutland, and was mother to Valdemar I of Denmark
2. Malmfred, married (1) Sigurd I of Norway; (2) Eric II of Denmark
3. Eupraxia, married Alexius Comnenus, son of John II Comnenus
4. Vsevolod of Novgorod and Pskov
5. Maria, married Vsevolod II of Kiev
6. Iziaslav II of Kiev
7. Rostislav of Kiev
8. Sviatopolk of Pskov
9. Rogneda, married Yaroslav of Volinya
10. Xenia, married Briachislav of Izyaslavl

Christine died on January 18, 1122; later that year Mstislav married again, to Liubava Dmitrievna, the daughter of Dmitry Zavidich, a nobleman of Novgorod. Their children were:

1. Vladimir III Mstislavich (1132–1171)
2. Euphrosyne of Kiev, (c. 1130 – c. 1193) married King Géza II of Hungary in 1146

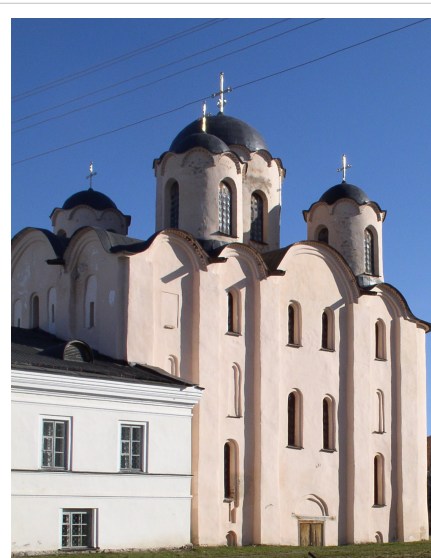
Through Euphrosyne, Mstislav is an ancestor of King Edward III of England and hence of all subsequent English and British monarchs. Through his mother Gytha, he is part of a link between Harold II of England and the modern line of English kings founded by William the Conqueror, who deposed him.

## External links

- His listing in "Medieval lands" by Charles Cawley. <sup>[1]</sup>

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St Nicholas Cathedral, built by Mstislav I near his palace at Yaroslav's Court, Novgorod, contains 12th-century frescoes depicting his illustrious family

# Naresuan

Naresuan The Great สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช	
King of Ayutthaya	
Royal statue of King Naresuan at Naresuan university, Phitsanulok province, Thailand	
Royal statue of King Naresuan at Naresuan university, Phitsanulok province, Thailand	
King of Siam	
Reign	29 July 1590 – 7 April 1605
Predecessor	Maha Thammaracha (Sanphet I)
	Ekathotsarot (Sanphet III)
House	Sukhothai dynasty
Father	Maha Thammaracha (Sanphet I)
Mother	Wisutkasat
Born	25 April 1555 Chan Palace, Phitsanulok, Thailand
Died	7 April 1605 (aged 49) Haeng, Thailand

**Somdet Phra Naresuan Maharat** (Thai: สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช) or **Somdet Phra Sanphet II** (Thai: สมเด็จพระสรรเพชญ์ที่ 2) (1555, 25 April – 1605) was the King of the Ayutthaya kingdom from 1590 until his death in 1605. Naresuan was one of Siam's most revered monarchs as he was known for his campaigns to free Siam from Burmese rule. During his reign numerous wars were fought against Burma, and Siam reached its greatest territorial extent and influence.

## Early life

**Prince Naret** was born in the city of Phitsanulok on the 25 April 1555. He was the son of King Maha Thammarachathirat of Phitsanulok and his queen Wisutkasat. His mother was a daughter of Maha Chakkrapat and Queen Sri Suriyothai. His father was a Sukhothai noble, who had defeated Vorawongsathirat in 1548 and put Maha Chakkrapat on the throne. He was therefore an influential figure.

Prince Naret was also known as the **Black Prince** (Thai: พระองค์ดำ) to distinguish him from his siblings. His younger brother Ekathotsarot was known as the White Prince, and his elder sister Suphankanlaya was known as the Golden Princess.

In 1563 Bayinnaung, the King of Pegu, led massive Burmese armies in an invasion of Siam. King Bayinnuang laid siege to Phitsanulok. Maha Thammarachathirat came to believe that the city would not be able to withstand a long siege, so he surrendered to the Burmese. King Bayinnuang took Phitsanulok and made the Kingdom of Sukhothai a Burmese tributary. Maha Thammarachathirat had to send his sons – the Black and the White Prince – to Pegu as captives to ensure the king's fidelity.

## At Pegu

Naret, along with other captive princes from other kingdoms, were educated in martial arts and war strategy of Burmese and Portuguese style. He was later noted for his new tactics that enabled him to gain victory over the Burmese. Naret then found himself under competition with Bayinnaung's grandson (Nanda Bayin's son) Minchit Sra. In 1569, Bayinnaung was able to take Ayutthaya and installed Maha Thammarachathirat as the King of Ayutthaya. After seven years of captivity, Prince Naret, along with his brother the White Prince, was released to Ayutthaya in exchange for his sister Supankanlaya as Bayinnuang's concubine.

## King of Sukhothai

<b>Phitsanulok History</b> This box contains links to selected articles with information related to the history of Phitsanulok Province.
<b>Prehistoric Era</b>
Early Nan River Civilizations · Tai
<b>Khmer Empire</b>
Song Khwae
<b>Singhanavati City-State</b>
Boromma Chayasiri · Nakhon Thai
<b>Sukhothai Period</b>
Wat Chula Manee · Wat Aranyik Wat Chedi Yod Thong Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat
<b>Ayutthaya Period</b>
Boromma Trailokanat Wat Ratchaburana · Wat Nang Phaya Boromma Racha III · Naresuan Boromma Kot
<b>Modern Siam / Thailand</b>
19th Century · 20th Century · Recent Events

Maha Thammarachathirat made Naret the *Uparaja* and King of Phitsanulok as **Naresuan** in 1569, aged 14. In 1574, Naresuan joined his father in the expedition to conquer Vientiane but he suffered smallpox.

In 1581, Bayinnuang died, to be succeeded by his son Nanda Bayin. In 1583, Nanda Bayin's uncle who was the Lord of Innwa rebelled against his nephew at Pegu. Nanda Bayin then requested for Siamese troops and supports against Innwa. Naresuan marched the Siamese armies to Innwa but slowly to leave the rebellion defeated before he would reach Innwa or else the Lord of Innwa would get Nanda Bayin.

However, this raised Nanda Bayin's suspicions about Naresuan's loyalty. Nanda Bayin then secretly ordered his son Minchit Sra to defeat Naresuan's army and kill him upon reaching Pegu and ordered Kiet and Ram – the two Mons of the city of Kraeng on the Sittoung River – to attack Naresuan on the rear after he had passed Kraeng while Minchit Sra would attack the front.

Naresuan reached Kraeng in 1584. However, Ram and Kiet were Naresuan's childhood acquaintances, so they informed Naresuan about Nanda Bayin's plans. Naresuan, upon realising the intentions of Nanda Bayin, performed a ceremony to denounce Burmese tributary, saying;

All the holy deities with universal knowledge, the King of Hanthawaddi doesn't embrace the fidelity as the kings should do but is indeed intended to hurt me. From now on, the alliance of Ayutthaya and Hanthawaddi breaks, forever.

Naresuan then levied the Mons to join his campaigns under the leadership of Kiet and Ram and then marched to Pegu. However, Nanda Bayin had already defeated the Lord of Innwa and was marching back to Pegu. Naresuan decided to retreat but Minchit Sra himself led the Peguan army to follow Naresuan. The Burmese caught the Siamese at Sittoung River, culminating the Battle of Sittoung River. The legend says that Naresuan shot a fire at a Burmese general accurately across the Sittoung River – called the *Royal Shot Across the Sittoung River* (Thai: พระแสงปืนข้ามแม่น้ำสะโตง). After the death of his general, Minchit Sra retreated.

In 1583, Naresuan ordered all northern cities including Phitsanulok to be evacuated as it would become the warfronts between Ayutthaya and Pegu. So, Phitsanulok ceased to be the seat of Sukhothai kingdom and Naresuan became, therefore, the last king of Sukhothai.

In the same year Nanda Bayin ordered his uncle the Lord of Patheingyi and Noratra Mangsaw the Burmese King of Lanna to lead the Burmese armies into Siam but was defeated by the Siamese. In 1586, Nanda Bayin himself led the Burmese armies to Ayutthaya and laid siege on the city for 13 months and failed. In 1590, Maha Thammarachathirat died. Naresuan was crowned as the King of Ayutthaya as **Sanphet II**.

## Reign as King of Ayutthaya

King Naresuan made his brother the White Prince the *Uparaja* with equal honor as Naresuan himself. In 1590, Minchit Sra marched into Siam through Chedi Sam Ong. Instead of taking defensives at Ayutthaya, Naresuan chose to march to Chedi Sam Ong. Minchit Sra, thinking that the Siamese would stay at Ayutthaya for defensive, marched unprepared. The Burmese were persuaded into a field and ambushed by Naresuan's armies. With his armies scattered, Minchit Sra retreated back to Pegu.

## Yuddhahatthi

In 1592, Nanda Bayin ordered his son to attack Ayutthaya again. Minchit Sra, along with the Lord of Pyaw, Natshinnaung the son of the Lord of Toungoo, and the Burmese King of Lanna, led the Burmese into Siam. Minchit Sra himself went through Chedi Sam Ong peacefully and reached Suphanburi, while other came from the north. Naresuan was planning to conquer Cambodia, but then he had to change his intentions. Naresuan encamped his armies at Nong Sarai. The Burmese then arrived, leading to the Battle of Nong Sarai.

During the battle, the elephants of Naresuan and Ekathotsarot went mad and ran into the midst of the Burmese. Siamese Chronicles stated that there were fake Minchit Sras but Naresuan pointed out the real one from the honorary decorations. Naresuan then urged Minchit Sra to fight with him:

My brother, why do you hide yourself in the canopy shadows? Let us fight the elephant battle for our own honors. No future kings will do what we are going to do.

[1]

The personal battle between Naresuan and Minchit Sra was a highly-romanticized historical scene known as Yuddhahatthi, the *Elephant battle*. After narrowly missing Naresuan and cutting his head (on display in Bangkok) Minchit Sra was slashed to death on the back of his elephant. This was on Monday, the 2nd waning day of the 2nd month of the Buddhist calendar Chulasakarat Era year 954. Calculated to correspond to Monday, 18 January, AD 1593 of the Gregorian calendar, this date is now observed as Royal Thai Armed Forces day. Naresuan then built a pagoda on the site of Yutthahadhi as a victory monument. However, modern historians are still unable to locate the pagoda.

Naresuan intended to execute all the soldiers in the battle of Nong Sarai who had provided no support to him and his brother. Somdet Phra Wannarat – a bhikkhu – calmed Naresuan to get him to lift the punishment. Naresuan then

instead ordered them to take Tavoy and Tenasserim.

### Tavoy and Tenasserim

In 1593, Naresuan sent Siamese forces to lay siege on Tavoy – a Mon city – by the Minister of *Krom Tha* and Tenasserim and Mergui by the *Samuha Kalahom*, all quickly fell. Nanda Bayin launched Burmese fleets to recapture the cities. The *Samuha Kalahom* then seized the galleons at Mergui to construct a fleet and sailed and marched his armies on land to counter Burmese attack from Martaban. The Siamese were then able to repel the Burmese.

### Capture of Lovek

After Yuttahadhi, Naresuan then launched his campaigns to subjugate Cambodia. He sent four armies to capture Champasak, Banteymas (modern Ha Tien in Vietnam), Siem Reap, and Naresuan himself Battambang – all to be joined at Lovek. In 1594, they all reached Lovek and looted Lovek to the grounds. King Borommaracha V fled to Vientiane. Naresuan took Borommaracha's brother Sri Suriyopora as captive and took his daughter as his concubine.

Naresuan left a Siamese army at Oudong to oversee Cambodia, only to be driven out by Rama Chungprey in 1595.

### Capture of Martaban

As Burmese control over the tributaries had weakened, the Mons took this opportunity to free themselves. The Mon governor of Moulmein rebelled against Pegu and requested Siamese support. Naresuan sent troops to take the Mon city of Martaban that sided with Pegu. Nanda Bayin sent the Lord of Toungoo to Martaban but was repelled and retreated. Capture of Martaban exerted Siamese control over the Mon state.<sup>[2]</sup>

### Invasion of Pegu

Naresuan eventually marched his troops to Pegu in 1595. He laid siege on the city for three months but was unable to enter. The huge forces of the Lords of Pyay, Toungoo, and Ava then arrived to free Pegu. Naresuan decided to retreat.

The Lord of Pyay staged a rebellion against Nanda Bayin in 1595, followed by Toungoo, Rakhine, Lanna, and Lan Xang. King Nokeo of Lan Xang prepared to march through Lanna to Pegu to rescue the Laotian captives. Noratra Mangsori of Lanna (Nanda Bayin's brother) then put his kingdom under Siamese tributary to get Ayutthayan supports. Naresuan sent Siamese forces to prevent Laotian forces from entering Lanna.

After the series of upheavals in the Burmese Empire, Naresuan decided to invade Pegu again in 1599. Naresuan allied himself with Rakhine. However, the Lord of Toungoo feared that if Naresuan had taken Pegu the Siamese power would have been too large and might engulf Toungoo itself. So, the Lord of Toungoo has plan to help Pegu from Siam invasion.



King Naresuan entered Hanthawadi (now Pegu), mural painting by Phraya Anusatchitrakon, Wat Suwandaram, Ayutthaya.

### Invasion of Toungoo and Lanna



In 1599 Naresuan attacked Burma again. He occupied city of Pegu but Minye Thihathu Viceroy of Toungoo took Nanda Bayin and left for Toungoo. When Naresuan reached Pegu, He requested Minye Thihathu to sent Nanda Bayin back to him but Minye Thihathu refused. After that Naresuan was attacked Toungoo, Naresuan laid the siege on Toungoo. He can capture the city and Minye Thihathu has left for Pinyinmana. In 1606 Naresuan had fallen ill and then went back to Ayutthaya. In 1607 Minye Thihathu allied himself with Nyaungyan Min (which has army based out of Ava in central Burma) to drive out of Siamese from Burmese territory. Naresuan sent his brother Ekathotsarot to calm the Burmese conflicts. Nyaungyan Min army has driven out the Siamese army from Burma, but he was killed by Ekathotsarot during the battle.

## Death

Anaukpetlun crowned himself as the King of Ava to counter Toungoo and went on his campaigns to subjugate the Shans. However, the Shan King of Hsenwi was Naresuan's childhood friend. So, he marched armies to rescue Hsenwi. During his journey, however, Naresuan died in 1605.

Recent studies of Burmese records by historians of Silpakorn University showed that he returned to Wiang Haeng, where he died of disease, probably smallpox.

His brother King Ekathotsarot became his successor as king.

According to the Shan, King Naresuan helped them win independence for the Shan State in 1600 with his ally, the Prince of Hsenwi. Both had been hostages at the Burmese court, and King Naresuan died while rushing to the aid of a friend of his youth, they say.

Many Shan believe King Naresuan was cremated and his ashes interred in a stupa in Mongton, in the Daen Lao Range, in the southern part of the Shan State.<sup>[3]</sup>

## Legacy

- Royal Thai Armed Forces Day, 18 January, commemorates victory.
- HTMS Naresuan, Royal Thai Navy frigate.
- Naresuan University in Phitsanulok is named after the king and features a large statue of the king.
- One of the two largest dams in Phitsanulok Province is named the Naresuan Dam. It controls water flow of the Nan River north of the city of Phitsanulok.
- King Naresuan has been incorrectly attributed to winning his freedom through kickboxing matches with Burmese fighters, a feat actually accredited to Nai Khanom Tom.

## In media

- *King Naresuan* is a 2007 film series based on the king's life.
  - *Khan Kluay* is a 2006 animated Thai film based on the life of the king's war elephant.
  - *King Naresuan Online* is a fantasy massively multiplayer online role-playing game (MMORPG) released in 2010.
  - In the 2010 PC game *Civilization V*, Siam has a unique unit named "Naresuan's Elephant" in honor of the king's elephant armies.
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## External links

- The Flight of Lao War Captives from Burma back to Laos in 1596:A Comparison of Historical Sources (<http://web.soas.ac.uk/burma/pdf/Ferquist1.pdf>) Jon Fernquest, Mae Fa Luang University, SOAS bulletin, Spring 2005

Reference sources are inadequate to corroborate any information given. Ref no.1 goes nowhere. Ref no.2 is in Thai. Ref no.3 is a newspaper article which in a nutshell says historians are still debating much of King Naresuan's life

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# Narai

Narai the Great สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช	
<i>King of Ayutthaya</i>	
Statue of King Narai	
Statue of King Narai	
King of Siam	
<b>Reign</b>	26 August 1656 – 11 July 1688
<b>Predecessor</b>	Suthammaracha (Sanpet IV)
<b>Successor</b>	Phetracha
<b>Issue</b>	
Princess Sudavadi, the Princess Yothathep	
<b>House</b>	Prasat Thong Dynasty
<b>Father</b>	King Prasat Thong
<b>Mother</b>	Princess Siri Galyani
<b>Born</b>	1629
<b>Died</b>	11 July 1688 (aged c. 58–59)

**Somdet Phra Narai** (Thai: สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช; 1633 – 11 July 1688) or **Somdet Phra Ramathibodi III** (Thai: สมเด็จพระรามาธิบดีที่ 3) was the king of Ayutthaya from 1656 to 1688 and arguably the most famous Ayutthayan king. His reign was the most prosperous during the Ayutthaya period and saw the great commercial and diplomatic activities with foreign nations including the Persians and the West. During the later years of his reign, Narai gave his favorite – the Greek adventurer Constantine Phaulkon – so much power that Phaulkon technically became the chancellor of the state. Through the arrangements of Phaulkon, the Siamese kingdom came into close diplomatic relations with the court of Louis XIV and French soldiers and missionaries filled the Siamese aristocracy and defense. The dominance of French officials led to frictions between them and the native mandarins and led to the turbulent revolution of 1688 towards the end of his reign. Narai’s reign was also known for the Siam–England war (1687) and the invasion of Burmese Lanna in 1662.

Nevertheless, the presence of numerous foreigners from the French Jesuits to the Persian delegates has left historians with rich sources of material on the city of Ayutthaya and its courtly life in the seventeenth century that otherwise would not have survived the complete destruction of the capital in 1767.

## Succession

Prince Narai was born in 1633 to King Prasat Thong and his Queen Sirikalayani, who was a daughter of Songtham. Prasat Thong had just usurped the throne from the ruling Sukhothai dynasty in 1629 and founded a dynasty of his own. Narai had an elder half-brother, Prince Chai, and an uncle Prince Sri Sudhammaraja. Upon Prasat Thong's death in 1656, Prince Chai succeeded his father as King Sanpet VI.

However, it was a Thai tradition gave brothers a higher priority over sons in succession. Prince Sudhammaraja plotted with his nephew, Prince Narai, to bring Sanpet VI down. After nine months of ascension, Sanpet VI was executed following a coup. Narai and his uncle marched<sup>[1]</sup> into the palace, and Sri Sudhammaraja crowned himself king. Sri Sudhammaraja appointed Narai as the *Uparaja*, or the Front Palace. However, Narai was also an ambitious prince and had requested Dutch support against his uncle. Sri Sudhammaraja's rule was weak and he fell under the control of *Chao Phraya Chakri*, an ambitious mandarin who also wanted the throne.

In 1656, Narai and his uncle finally alienated each other. Sri Sudhammaraja lusted after Narai's sister, Princess Rajakalayani. He ordered his soldiers to surround her residence and entered the house. The princess hid in the book chest and thus was moved to the Front Palace, where she met her brother.

Enraged at his uncle's behavior, Narai decided to take action. He drew his support from the Persian and Japanese mercenaries that had been persecuted during his father's reign. He also had the support of his brothers and the *Okya* Sukhothai, a powerful nobleman. On the Day of Ashura, the Persians and Japanese stormed the palace. The prince engaged in single combat with his uncle, until the king fled to the Rear Palace. Sri Sudhammaraja was captured and was executed at Wat Kok Phraya in October 1656.

## Domestic Policy

Domestic policies in King Narai's reign were greatly affected by the interference of foreign powers most notably the Chinese to the north, the Dutch to the South, and the English who were making their first forays into India to the west. Policies revolved around either directly countering the influence, or creating a delicate balance of power between the different parties.

Fearing a possible weakening of influence in the northern vassal states following the successful Chinese invasion of Ava in 1660, King Narai mounted an expedition to bring Chiang Mai under the direct control of Ayutthya. Although the expedition was successful in taking control of Lampang and other smaller cities, a second expedition had to be conducted to bring Chiang Mai under control.

There was also trouble on the Tenasserim coast at the port of Mergui. In July 1687, an incident that came to be known as the Mergui massacre occurred that resulted in the massacre of some sixty Englishmen. The incident had origins in a deterioration of the relationship between Siam and the East India Company. Phaulkon had appointed two English acquaintances of his as governors of Mergui, and they used the port as a base for privateering expeditions against the Kingdom of Golconda, which had friendly relations with the East India Company. In April 1687 the East India Company demanded £65,000 compensation from Narai and blockaded Mergui. Fearing a trial on the charge of piracy, the two English governors of Mergui lavishly entertained the captains of the ship. However, the entertainment aroused the suspicion of the Siamese authorities, who took matters into their own hands and opened fire on the English ships and massacred all the Englishmen they could lay their hands on. Narai then declared war on the East India Company, and handed control of Mergui over to a French governor and a small French garrison.<sup>[2]</sup> At



Memorial plate in Lopburi showing king Narai with French ambassadors.

the same time, he also granted a concession of the strategic port of Bangkok to France with the view of countering Dutch influence.<sup>[3]</sup>

King Narai also constructed a new palace at present-day Lopburi ("Louvo" in the French accounts) utilising the expertise of Jesuit architects and engineers. European influences are clearly evident in the architectural style, especially the use of wide windows. The move to Lopburi was arguably prompted by the Dutch naval blockade of Ayutthaya in 1664 to enforce a fur monopoly.

Although Catholic missions had been present in Ayutthaya as early as 1567 under Portuguese Dominicans, King Narai's reign saw the first concerted attempt to convert the monarch to Catholicism under the auspices of French Jesuits who were given permission to settle in Ayutthaya in 1662. The conversion attempt ultimately failed and arguably backfired but Catholics were to remain in Siam up to the present day.

Most controversially, King Narai allowed the rise of Constantine Phaulkon, a Greek adventurer who arrived in Ayutthaya in 1675. Within a few years, Phaulkon had managed to ingratiate himself with the king and became Narai's closest councillor. Under Phaulkon's guidance, King Narai balanced the influence of the Dutch by favouring the French. Phaulkon also encouraged French interest by initially leading them to believe that the king was about to convert to Catholicism. Although King Narai did display a degree of interest in Catholicism, he also displayed an equal interest in Islam and there is no concrete evidence that he wished to convert to either.<sup>[4]</sup> However, both Catholic and Islamic missions were to come to the conclusion that Phaulkon was responsible for their failures.<sup>[5][6]</sup> Siamese courtiers also resented Phaulkon's influence and he quickly became the focus of xenophobic sentiments at court, with the future King Phetracha at their head.



King Narai observes a lunar eclipse with French Jesuits at Lopburi, 1685

## Foreign Missions

The most remarkable aspect of King Narai's reign were the diplomatic missions that he sent and received during his reign. Missions were sent as far afield as France, England, and the Vatican, although at least two missions were lost at sea. Ties with states closer to Ayutthaya were not neglected as missions were also sent to Persia, Golconda (India), China, as well as other neighbouring states.

Undoubtedly, the most celebrated of these missions were those to Europe, in particular France. In 1673, a French ecclesiastical mission arrived at the Siamese court with letters from Pope Clement IX and King Louis XIV of France. King Narai reciprocated by sending a mission to France in 1680 led by Phya Pipatkosa.<sup>[7]</sup> Although the mission was lost at sea near Madagascar,<sup>[8]</sup> the French responded positively by sending a commercial mission to Ayutthaya headed by Monsignor Pallu in 1682.



Kosa Pan presents King Narai's letter to Louis XIV at Versailles, 1 September 1686

## Rising French influence

The later half of Narai's reign was the period of the growing French influence until the coup of 1688. This was achieved through a Greek adventurer with the Latinized name of Constantine Phaulkon who formerly worked for the English East India Company. Phaulkon was introduced into the court by Kosa Lek in 1681 as a witty interpreter and quickly gained the royal favor. In 1682 he served as the interpreter



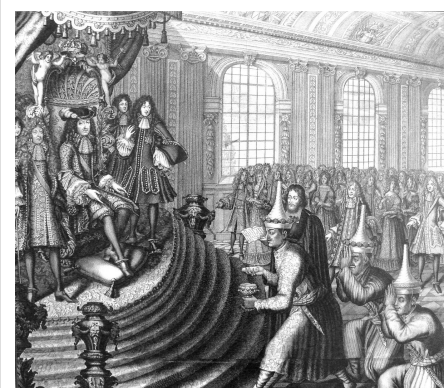
during the royal audience with François Pallu, who arrived with letters from Louis XIV. Phaulkon suggested his plan of the reconstruction of the fort of Mergui in polygonal European style, which was strongly opposed by Kosa Lek. Kosa Lek was found out receiving bribery from the peasants who did not want to be levied into the Mergui construction. He was beaten to death under royal orders.

Narai responded the French by the dispatch of Siamese mission to France in January 1684 led by *Khun* Pijaivanit and *Khun* Pijitmaetri accompanied by missionary Benigne Vachet. They reached Calais by November and eventually had the French royal audience. Louis XIV sent de Chaumont and de Choisy to lead the French mission in 1685 to return the Siamese ambassadors and to convert Narai to Catholicism. The mission contained a large number of Jesuit priests and scientists. Colbert sent his letter to Phaulkon to instruct him to persuade the Siamese king to concede to French requests with the promises of knighting him as a count.

Though not convert to Christianity, Narai agreed to allow the French troops to be stationed in Siamese ports. Chevalier de Forbin was made the commander of Bangkok fort and trainers of Siamese armies in Western warfare. Several Siamese forts including Mergui, Ligor, Singora (Songkhla), Lavo, and Ayutthaya itself were reconstructed in European style. Another Siamese mission to France was led by *Phra* Visutsundhorn (Kosa Pan, younger brother of Kosa Lek) and Guy Tachard in 1686 with enthusiastic European reception. A fragmentary Siamese account of the mission compiled by Kosa Pan was re-discovered in Paris in the 1980s.<sup>[9]</sup>

Samuel White, the governor of Mergui fort and companion of Phaulkon, conflicted with the English fleets from India in 1687, leading to the English blockade of Mergui. The Siamese native mandarins massacred the local Englishmen out of frustration. With English fleets threatening Narai decided to denounce the English and executed the mandarins.

In March 1687 the new French mission left Brest for Ayutthaya. The mission includes Kosa Pan returning home, Guy Tachard again, Simon de La Loubère, Claude Céberet du Boullay, and the General Desfarges. The large number of French army and navy was sent with this mission to station in Siamese forts with Desfarges as the military commander. Narai agreed to station French troops at Mergui and Bangkok, both turned into a Western fort, with Desfarges at Bangkok. (The fort is now called the Vijaiprasit Fort Thai: ป้อมวิไชยประสิทธิ์ later the royal fort of King Taksin). The last Siamese embassy was led by Ok-khun Chamnan in 1688 visiting Rome and Pope Innocent XI.



Siamese embassy to Louis XIV in 1686, by Nicolas Larmessin.



Pope Innocent XI receives the Siamese envoys, led by Father Tachard who reads the translation of the message from King Narai, December 1688

## The "Revolution" of 1688

Narai spent his whole reign reducing the power of native mandarins that caused much bloodshed during his predecessors' time. He firstly supported Persian and later the French guards and advisors against the Thai mandarins. Even his ascension to the throne was orchestrated by Persian mercenaries. The French eventually enjoyed special favors from religious affairs to the military activities. One of the critical turning points concerned with the construction of the French forts and military barracks in Bangkok, at the river mouth. In dealing with the activities, the French mostly depended on Constantine Phaulkon, the king's favorite. The threat of the French military presence, reportedly, was felt among the court noble. All in all, factionalism, favoritism and nepotism became apparent.



The native mandarin somehow managed to reserve their powers, most notably Kosa Lek. With the death of Kosa Lek, Petracha, the chief of the Royal Elephant Department, emerged as the leading native power. Petracha had familial connections to Narai, with his mother as the king's milkmaid and his sister as the king's concubine.

Narai is said to fear of fathering a son. He therefore ordered the abortion of any of his impregnated consorts. He, however, adopted a son of a minor mandarin with the name of Phra Piya and made him his successor. The young prince was embraced by the French who managed to convert him to Catholicism.

Matters were brought to a head when King Narai fell gravely ill in March 1688 while the king stayed in Lopburi palaces. Aware of the coming succession dispute, in May 1688 Narai called together his closest councillors: Phaulkon, Phra Phetracha, and Mom Pi and nominated his daughter, Kromluang Yothathep to succeed him. The three councillors were to act as regents until the princess took on a partner of her choice from one of the two Siamese councillors.<sup>[10]</sup> Far from calming the situation, Narai's decision spurred Phetracha to act. With Narai essentially incapacitated by his illness, Phetracha was given a free hand to usurp the throne with the support of a resentful court as well as the Buddhist clergy and ethnic-Persian mandarins. Mom Pi and Phaulkon were arrested and executed as Narai laid furious on his deathbed, unable to do anything to save his favourite.

On the death of King Narai, Phetracha proclaimed himself king, expelled the French and virtually severed all ties with the West. Siamese troops attacked the French troops at Bangkok fort, ending with the flee of the French. After an initial confinement, missionaries were allowed to continue their work in Ayutthaya under some restrictions. Contact between Siam and the West remained sporadic, and would not return to the level seen in the reign of King Narai until the reign of King Mongkut in the mid-nineteenth century.

## Legacy

Although King Narai's reign witnessed the greatest extent of foreign influence at the Siamese court, his diplomatic achievements were to be reversed by his successor. It is debatable whether the new introspective attitude of his successors contributed to the weakening and eventual fall of Ayutthaya. On the other hand, the curtailing of foreign influences in the court may have prevented the colonisation of Ayutthaya. Nevertheless, his reign's diplomatic achievements contributed to him being posthumously styled "the Great," one of seven recognised as such in the history of Thailand.

At the same time, the records of those involved in the diplomatic missions, particularly those from the west, have allowed historians to obtain a rare glimpse into the world of the Ayutthayan court as most original Ayutthaya records were destroyed with the city in 1767. These include the French accounts of the Chevalier de Chaumont, the Abbé de Choisy, Fr. Tachard, Claude de Forbin, de la Loubere and the Persian account of Muhammad Rabi' ibn Muhammad Ibrahim. Domestically, the relative stability during his reign also gave rise to the revival of Siamese literature during his reign.<sup>[11]</sup>



Contemporary French depiction of King Narai.

Further afield, one of the main streets of the city of Brest as well as another in Marseilles have been named "Rue de Siam" to commemorate Narai's missions. In addition, among the gifts that were exchanged between the Siamese and the French courts, two items from Siam were to have an unexpected impact on French history. The items were a pair of silver cannons that were eventually stored in the Royal Furniture Repository in Paris since they were classed as gifts rather than weapons. After failing to find usable weapons at the Arsenal, rioting Parisians broke into the Repository and discovered some 20 cannons. However, the

Siamese cannons were the only ones that still functioned, and so they were hauled to the Bastille. The date was 14 July 1789.<sup>[12]</sup>

## Notes

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- [3] Cruysse, Dirk van der (2002). *Siam and the West*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm. pp. 343.
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# Odo the Great

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**Odo the Great** (also called *Eudes* or *Eudo*) (died c. 735), Duke of Aquitaine, obtained this dignity by 700. His territory included the Duchy of Vasconia in the south-west of Gaul and the Duchy of Aquitaine (at that point located north-east of the river Garonne), a realm extending from the Loire to the Pyrenees, with capital in Toulouse. He retained it until his abdication in 735.

His earlier life is obscure, as are his ancestry and ethnicity. Several Dukes of Aquitaine have been named as Odo's father: Boggis or Bertrand, to whom errant historians ascribed descent from the Merovingian Charibert II (based on the forged Charte d'Alaon), as also Duke Lupus I, who was not Merovingian at all. Odo is called the brother of Hubertus.

Odo succeeded to the ducal throne maybe as early as 679, probably the date of the death of Lupus, or 688. Other dates are possible, including 692, but he was certainly in power by 700. In 715 he declared himself independent during the civil war raging in Gaul. It is not likely that he ever took the title of king.

In 718, he appears as the ally of Chilperic II of Neustria and the Mayor of the Palace Ragenfrid, who may have offered recognition of his kingship over Aquitaine. They were fighting against the Austrasian mayor of the palace, Charles Martel; but after the defeat of Chilperic at Soissons that year, he probably made peace with Charles by surrendering to him the Neustrian king and his treasures.

Odo was also obliged to fight both the Umayyads and the Franks who invaded his kingdom. On June 9, 721, he inflicted a major defeat upon Anbasa ibn Suhaym Al-Kalbi at the Battle of Toulouse, a victory celebrated with gifts from the Pope and solidifying Odo's independence. To help secure his borders he married his daughter, probably named Lampegia, to the Muslim rebel lord Uthman ibn Naissa, called "Munuza" by the Franks, the deputy governor of what would later become Catalonia.

The peace was not to last. In 731, the Frankish Charles Martel, after defeating the Saxons, turned his attention to the rival southern realm of Aquitaine, crossed the Loire and broke the peace treaty held with Odo. Odo engaged the Frankish troops but was defeated. Charles in turn looted Aquitaine and went back to Francia. Meanwhile, the Umayyads were gathering forces to attack Odo's ally in the Pyrenean region of Cerdanya Uthman ibn Naissa. Busy as Odo was trying to fend off Charles's thrust, he didn't make it to help his ally and Uthman ibn Naissa was overcome and killed by Abdul Rahman Al Ghafiqi.

In 732, Abdul Rahman Al Ghafiqi's troops raided Vasconia, advanced towards Bordeaux and ransacked the city. Odo engaged them but was defeated near Bordeaux by the Umayyads. Following the defeat, Odo pleaded with Charles Martel, Mayor of the palaces of Neustria and Austrasia, for assistance in fighting the Arab advance. The alliance defeated the Umayyads at the Battle of Tours in 732, and repelled the Arabs out of Aquitaine. Odo played a major role in planning the victory.

In 735 the Duke Odo abdicated and was succeeded by his son Hunald. He died thereafter, probably in a monastery, perhaps as late as 740. His popularity in Aquitaine is attested by the *Vita Pardulfi*.

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# Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor

Otto the Great	
The Magdeburger Reiter: a tinted sandstone equestrian monument, c. 1240, traditionally intended as a portrait of Otto I, Magdeburg	
The <i>Magdeburger Reiter</i> : a tinted sandstone equestrian monument, c. 1240, traditionally intended as a portrait of Otto I, Magdeburg	
Holy Roman Emperor	
<b>Reign</b>	February 2, 962 – May 7, 973 (11 years, 94 days)
<b>Coronation</b>	February 2, 962 St. Peter's Basilica, Rome
<b>Predecessor</b>	Berengar of Friuli
<b>Successor</b>	Otto II
King of Italy	
<b>Reign</b>	December 25, 961 – May 7, 973 (11 years, 133 days)
<b>Coronation</b>	October 10, 951 Pavia
<b>Predecessor</b>	Berengar II
<b>Successor</b>	Otto II
King of Germany	
<b>Reign</b>	July 2, 936 – May 7, 973 (36 years, 309 days)
<b>Coronation</b>	August 7, 936 Aachen Cathedral
<b>Predecessor</b>	Henry the Fowler
<b>Successor</b>	Otto II
Duke of Saxony	
<b>Reign</b>	July 2, 936 – May 7, 973 (36 years, 309 days)
<b>Predecessor</b>	Henry the Fowler
<b>Successor</b>	Bernard I
<b>Consort</b>	Eadgyth of England (929-946) Adelaide of Italy (951-973)
<b>Issue</b>	<i>illegitimate</i> William, Archbishop of Mainz <i>with Eadgyth</i> Liutgarde of Saxony Liudolf, Duke of Swabia <i>with Adelaide</i> Matilda, Abbess of Quedlinburg Otto II, Holy Roman Emperor
<b>House</b>	Ottonian
<b>Father</b>	Henry the Fowler
<b>Mother</b>	Matilda of Ringelheim

<b>Born</b>	November 23, 912 Wallhausen, East Francia
<b>Died</b>	May 7, 973 (aged 60) Memleben, Holy Roman Empire
<b>Burial</b>	Magdeburg Cathedral
<b>Religion</b>	Roman Catholicism

**Otto I** (November 23, 912 – May 7, 973), also known as **Otto the Great**, was the founder of the Holy Roman Empire and the first Holy Roman Emperor, reigning from 962 until his death in 973. The son of Henry I the Fowler and Matilda of Ringelheim, Otto was "the first of the Germans to be called the emperor of Italy".<sup>[1]</sup>

Otto inherited the Duchy of Saxony and the kingship of the Germans upon the death of his father in 936. He continued his father's work of unifying all of the German tribes into a single kingdom, greatly expanding the powers of the king at the expense of the aristocracy. Through strategic marriages and personal appointments, Otto installed members of his own family to the Kingdom's most important duchies. This reduced the various Dukes, who had previously been co-equals with the king, into royal subjects under the king's authority. Otto also transformed the Roman Catholic Church in Germany into a major royal power base and subjected the Church to his personal control.

After putting down a brief civil war, Otto defeated the Magyars in 955, ending the Hungarian invasions of Europe and as well as securing his hold over his kingdom. The victory against the pagan Magyars earned Otto the reputation as the savior of Christendom. By 961, Otto had conquered the Kingdom of Italy and extended the his Kingdom's borders to the north, east, and south. In control of much of central and southern Europe, the patronage of Otto and his immediate successors caused a limited cultural renaissance of the arts and architecture. Following the example of Charlemagne, the Frankish king who had been crowned Emperor in 800, Otto was crowned Emperor in 962 by Pope John XII in Rome. His coronation marks the founding of the Holy Roman Empire.

Otto died of natural causes in 973, with his son Otto II succeeding him as Emperor.

## Heir Apparent

Otto was born on November 23, 912, the oldest son of the Duke of Saxony Henry the Fowler and his second wife Matilda of Ringelheim, the daughter of the Saxon Count of Westphalia. Henry had previously married Hatheburg, daughter of a Saxon count, in 906 but divorced her in 909 after she had given birth the Henry's first son and Otto's half-brother Thankmar. Otto had four full siblings: Hedwig (b. 910), Gerberga (b. 913), Henry (b. 919), and Bruno (b. 925). Little else is known of Otto's youth and education, though he certainly received training in the army. His first experience as a military commander came when the German Kingdom fought against Slavic tribes on the kingdom's eastern border. While campaigning against the Slavs, in 929 Otto's illegitimate son William, the future Archbishop of Mainz, was born to a Slavic mother.

On December 23, 918, Conrad I of Germany, the King of East Francia and Duke of Franconia, died. According to the *Res gestae saxonicae* by chronicler Widukind of Corvey, Conrad on his deathbed persuaded his younger brother Duke Eberhard of Franconia, Conrad's presumptive heir, to offer the crown to Otto's father Henry<sup>[2]</sup>. Although Conrad and Henry had been at odds with one another since 912, Conrad considered Henry to be the only German duke capable of holding the German kingdom together in the face of internal rivalries among the dukes and the continuous Hungarian raids. It was not until May 919, however, when Eberhard and the other Frankish and Saxon nobles accepted Conrad's advice and elected Henry as king at the Reichstag of Fritzlar. Henry's election marked the first time a Saxon instead of a Frank reigned over the kingdom. In accordance with tradition, the Archbishop of Mainz offered to anoint Henry but he refused, the only king not to undergo this rite.

Burchard II, Duke of Swabia soon swore fealty to the new King, but Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria did not recognize Henry's position. According to the *Annales Iuvavenses*, Arnulf was elected king by the Bavarians in opposition to Henry. Arnulf's "reign" was short-lived. Henry defeated him in two campaigns in 921, finally besieged his residence

at Ratisbon (Regensburg) and forced Arnulf into submission. Henry spared Arnulf's life on two conditions: Henry's sovereignty over Bavaria was confirmed and Arnulf renounced his claims to the throne.

With Henry's dominion over the entire Kingdom secured by 929, Henry's family was given the right of sole succession over the Kingdom. Henry arranged for his succession and had the arrangement ratified by an Reichstag at Erfurt. After his death, his lands and wealth were to be divided between his four sons: Thankmar, Otto, Henry, and Bruno.<sup>[3]</sup> Otto, however, was designated by his father to receive the crown, confirming Otto as Henry's heir apparent. This represented a significant development as the German kingship was traditionally elected by the various Dukes and because Henry gave up the principle of division, in which each member of the royal family was granted a piece of the kingdom to rule as his own. Henry's actions founded individual succession within Germany, thus ensuring the indivisibility of the monarchy.

While Henry consolidated power within Germany, he also prepared for an alliance with Saxon England by finding a bride for Otto. By aligning himself with Saxon England, Henry would gain addition legitimacy through associate with another royal house while also strengthening the bonds between the two Saxon kingdoms. To seal the alliance, King Æthelstan of England sent to Henry his two half sisters Eadgyth and Edgiva with instructions to select the one which best pleased him. Henry selected Edgitha as Otto's bride. The two were married in 929.

## Reign as King

### Coronation

Henry died of a cerebral stroke on July 2, 936, at his palace in Memleben. At his death, all of the German tribes were united in a single German kingdom. He was buried at Quedlinburg Abbey, established by his wife Matilda in his honor. At the age of 23, Otto assumed his father's positions as Duke of Saxony and King of Germany. His coronation was held weeks later in Charlemagne's former capital of Aachen, where he was anointed and crowned by Hildebert, the Archbishop of Mainz. Though he was a Saxon by birth, Otto appeared at the coronation in Frankish dress in an attempt to demonstrate his sovereignty over the Duchy of Lotharingia as well as to link his reign to the legitimacy of Charlemagne.



The throne of Charlemagne at Aachen Cathedral. Otto was crowned King of Germany on Charlemagne's throne in 936.

From the outset of his reign, Otto signaled that he was the true successor to Charlemagne, whose last heirs in East Francia had died out in 911, and that he had the German church, with its powerful bishops and abbots, behind him. However, West Francia was still under the rule of the Carolingian dynasty.

According to the Saxon historian Widukind of Corvey, at his coronation banquet, Otto had the four other dukes of the empire, those of Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria and Lorraine, act as his personal attendants: Arnulf I of Bavaria as marshal (or stablemaster), Herman I, Duke of Swabia as cupbearer, Eberhard III of Franconia as steward (or seneschal), and Gilbert of Lorraine as Chamberlain.<sup>[4][5]</sup> By performing this traditional service, the Dukes signaled cooperation with the new king, and also clearly showed their submission to his reign.



Despite his peaceful transition, Otto's family was not harmonious during his early reign. Otto's younger brother Henry also claimed the throne despite his father's action in 929. According to "The Lives of Queen Matilda" (*ita Mathildis reginae antiquior*), Otto's mother Matilda of Ringelheim had favored Henry as king over Otto. Henry had been "born in the purple" whereas Otto had not, and shared their father's name, granting Henry greater dignity than his older brother.

Otto also faced internal opposition from various local aristocrats. According to the Saxon historian Widukind of Corvey, in 936, Otto, as Duke of Saxony, appointed Hermann Billung as Margrave and granting him a authority over a march north of the Elbe River between the Limes Saxoniae and Peene River. As military governor of the area, Hermann extracted tribute from the Polabian Slavs inhabiting area and often fought against the West Slavic tribes of Lutici, Obotrites, and Wagri. Hermann's appointment angered Count Wichmann the Elder, Hermann's older brother. As the elder and wealthier of the two, Wichman believed his claim to office were greater. Additionally, Wichmann was related by marriage to the dowager queen Matilda. In 937, Otto further offended the sensibilities of the nobility through the appointed of Gero to succeed his older brother, Siegfried, as Count and Margrave of a border region abutting the Wends on the lower Saale. His appointment frustrated Thankmar, the Otto's half-brother and Siegfried's cousin, who felt he held a greater right to the appointment.

## Rebellion of the Dukes

### First Rebellion

The year 937 also brought the death of Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria. He was succeeded by his son Eberhard as Duke. Eberhard quickly came into conflict with Otto, who opposed the sovereignty over Bavaria Otto exercised as part of the peace treaty between the former King Henry and Arnulf. Refusing to recognize Otto's supremacy, Eberhard rebelled against the king. In two campaigns in the spring and fall of 938, Otto defeated and exiled Eberhard from the kingdom and stripped him of his titles. In his place, Otto appointed Eberhard's uncle Berthold, the then Duke of Carinthia, as the new Duke of Bavaria on the condition that Berthold recognize Otto as the sole authority to appoint bishops and to administer royal property within the Duchy.<sup>[5]</sup>



The Kingdom of Germany during Otto's reign with the its main duchies: Saxony (yellow), Franconia (blue), Bavaria (green), Swabia (orange) and Lorraine (pink). The various dukes of the kingdom rebelled against Otto's rule in 937 and again in 939.

At the same time, Duke Eberhard of Franconia, the brother of former King Conrad I of Germany, soon came into conflict with Otto. Eberhard besieged Helmern castle near Peckelsheim, located within the Duchy of Franconia near the border of the Ducky of Saxony, but under control by a Saxon commander who refused to swear fieltly to any non-Saxon. Otto called the feuding parties to a his court at Magdeburg where Eberhard was ordered to pay a fine and his lieutenants were sentenced to carry dead dogs in public, a particularly dishonoring punishment.

Infuriated with Otto's actions, Eberhard joined Otto's half-brother Thankmar, Count Wichmann, and Archbishop Frederick of Mainz and rebelled against the king in 938.<sup>[6]</sup> The three besieged Warstein in the Arnsberg Forest and freed Otto's brother Henry from imprisonment there. However, the rebels had limited further success. Herman I,

Duke of Swabia, one of Otto's closest advisors, warned the king of the rebellion. Otto moved to quickly put down the revolt. Wichmann was soon reconciled with Otto and joined the king's forces against his former compatriots.<sup>[7]</sup> Otto besieged Thankmar at Eresburg and had him murdered at the altar of the church of Saint Peter. Following Otto's victories, Eberhard and Frederick sought reconciliation with Otto. After a brief exile in Hildesheim, Otto pardoned both men and restituted them to their former positions.<sup>[8]</sup>

### **Second Rebellion**

Following his brief reconciliation, Eberhard prepared a new rebellion against Otto as he promised to assist Otto's younger brother Henry in claiming the throne. Eberhard recruited Gilbert, Duke of Lorraine to join his rebellion. At the time, Gilbert was married to Otto's sister Gerberga of Saxony. In opposition to Otto, Gilbert swore fealty to King Louis IV of France. Otto exiled Henry from Germany, who fled to King Louis' court. King Louis, in hopes of regaining West Frankish dominion over Lorraine once again, joined forces with Henry and Gilbert. In response, Otto allied with Louis' chief antagonist: the Count of Paris Hugh the Great, the husband of Otto's sister Hedwige of Saxony.<sup>[9]</sup> Henry march on and captured Merseburg and then marched to join Gilbert in Lorraine, but Otto besieged them at Chevreumont near Liege. Before he was defeat them, however, he was forced to set out against Louis, who had marched on and captured Verdun. Otto subsequently drove Louis back to his capital at Laon.

While Otto won initial victories, he was unable to capture the other conspirators and end the rebellion. Archbishop Frederick sought to mediate a peace between Otto and the rebels but Otto refused. Under Otto's direction, Duke Herman of Swabia lead an army against the conspirators into Franconia and Lorraine. Otto recruited allies from Duchy of Alsace, who crossed the Rhine River and surprised Eberhard and Gilbert at the battle of Andernach on October 2, 939. Otto's forces gained complete victory: Eberhard was killed in battle and Giselbert drowned in the Rhine while attempting to escape. Left alone to face his brother, Henry submitted to Otto and the rebellion ended. With Eberhard dead, the Duchy of Franconia became Otto's direct possession. The same year, Otto made peace with Louis VI whereby Louis recognized Otto's suzerainty over Lorraine. In return, Otto withdrew his army from France and arranged for his sister Gerberga of Saxony (the widow of Gilbert) to marry Louis IV. As a reward for Duke Herman's loyalty during the rebellion, Otto arranged for his son Liudolf to marry Herman's only daughter Ida.

In 940, Otto and Henry were reconciled through the efforts of their mother.<sup>[5]</sup> Henry returned to Germany and Otto appointed Henry as the new Duke of Lorraine to succeed Gilbert. However, Henry again conspired against his older brother in an attempt to claim the throne. With the assistance of Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, Henry planned to have Otto assassinated on Easter in 941 at Quedlinburg Abbey. Otto, however, discovered the plot and had both men arrested and imprisoned at Ingelheim. Otto later released and pardoned both men only after they publicly performed penance on Christmas that same year.

### **Consolidation of Power**

The decade between 941 and 951 is marked by Otto's exercise of undisputed domestic power. Through the subordination of the dukes to his authority, Otto asserted the power to make decisions without first obtain the consensus of the dukes. He deliberately ignored the claims and ranks of the nobility, who wanted dynastic succession in the assignment of office, by freely appointing individuals of his choice to the kingdom's offices. Loyalty to Otto, not lineage, was the pathway towards advancement under his rule. His mother Matilda disapproved of this policy and was accused by Otto's royal advisors of undermining his authority. After Otto briefly exiled her to her Westphalian manors at Enger in 947, Matilda was brought back to court at the urging of his wife Eadgyth.

The nobility found it difficult to adopt to Otto as the kingdom had never before followed individual succession to the throne. Whereas tradition dictated that all the sons of the former king were to receive a portion of the kingdom, Henry's succession plan placed Otto at the head of a united kingdom at the expense of his brothers. Otto's authoritarian style was also in stark contrast to that of his father. Henry had purposely waived Church anointment at coronation as a symbol of his election by his people and governing his kingdom on the basis of "friendship pacts"

(*amitica*). Henry regarded the kingdom as a confederation of duchies and saw himself as first among equal. Instead of seeking to administer the kingdom through royal representatives, as Charlemagne had done, Henry allowed the dukes to maintain complete internal control of their holdings as long as his superior status was recognized. Otto, on the other hand, had accepted Church anointment and regarded his kingdom as a feudal monarchy with himself holding divine right to rule it, allowing him to reign without concern for the internal hierarchy of kingdom's noble families

This new structural system ensured Otto's position as undisputed master of the kingdom. Members of his family and other aristocrats who rebelled against Otto were forced to publicly confesses their guilt and unconditionally surrender to him, hoping for a pardon from their king. For the elite, Otto's punishments was typically mild and the elites were usually restored to a position of authority afterwards. Consider Otto's policy towards his brother Henry, who twice rebelled against him, and who Otto twice pardoned and appointed as Duke of Lorraine and then later as Duke of Bavaria. Commoners who rebelled against the king, however, were not so lucky: Otto usually had them executed.

Otto continued to reward loyal vassal for the service but his appointments began to noticeable change. Appointments were still made at his discretion and those nobles held office at his pleasure but they were increasingly intertwined with dynastic politics. Where Henry relied upon the "friendship pacts", Otto relied upon family ties. Otto refused to accept uncrowned rulers as his equal. Under Otto, the integration of important vassals took place through marriage connections: the King Louis IV of France had married Otto's sister Gerberga of Saxony in 939 and Otto's son Liudolf had married Ida, the daughter of Hermann I, Duke of Swabia in 947. The former diplomatically tied the royal house of West Francia to that of East Francia and the latter secured his son's succession to the Duchy of Swabia as Hermann had no sons. Otto's plans came the fruition when, in 950, Liudolf became Duke of Swabia and when, in 954, Otto's nephew Lothair of France became King of France.

Otto further managed dynastic politics through the case of Conrad the Red. A Salian Frank by birth, Conrad was a nephew of former king Conrad I of Germany. In 944 Otto appointed Conrad as Duke of Lorraine and brought him into his extended family through his marriage to Otto's daughter Liutgarde in 947. Following the death of Otto's uncle Berthold, Duke of Bavaria in 947, Otto also satisfied his brother Henry's claim to power through his marriage to Judith of Bavaria, daughter of Arnulf, and appointing Henry as the new Duke of Bavaria in 948. Henry appointment as Duke finally brought about peace between the brothers as Henry thereafter abandoned his claims to the throne. Through his familial ties to the Dukes, Otto had strengthen both the sovereignty of the crown and the overall cohesiveness of the kingdom.

On January 29, 946, Otto's wife Edgithas died suddenly at the age of 35. The union had lasted seventeen years and produced two children. Otto buried her in the Cathedral of Magdeburg. With Edgithas' death, Otto began to make arrangement for his own succession. Like his father before him, Otto intended to transfer sole rule of the kingdom to his son Liudolf upon his death. Unlike his succession, however, Liudolf's sole right to the throne would not have be militarily enforced. Otto called together all the Dukes of the kingdom and had them sworn and oath of allegiance to Liudolf, thereby promising to recognize his sole claim to throne following the Otto's death and confirming his position as Otto's heir apparent.

## Foreign Relations

### France

From the very beginning of his reign, Otto viewed himself as the true heir to Charlemagne, much to the disdain of the Carolingian Kings of the Western Franks. Otto's decision to hold his coronation at the Aachen Cathedral further exacerbated the problem of relations with the Western Franks. Aachen was located within the Duchy of Lorraine, territory the West Frankish Kings still claimed authority over. However, the Carolingian house in West Francia had been severally weakened, losing considerable royal power to the aristocracy. By holding his coronation at Aachen, Otto was directly challenging the Western Frank's legitimacy to rule Lorraine. During Henry's rebellion in 938 and

again in 940, King Louis IV of France tried to assume control over Lorraine. In 938 Louis attempt a military invasion but was defeated by Otto's army and because Louis IV's chief domestic rival, Hugh the Great, supported Otto. Hugh had previously married Otto's sister Hedwig of Saxony in 936. Louis IV's second attempt to reign over Lorraine in 940 was more peaceful: he asserted a claim to be the rightful Duke of Lorraine due to his marriage to Gerberga of Saxony, Otto's daughter and the widow of the fallen Gilbert, Duke of Lorraine. Otto did not recognize Louis IV's claim and instead appoint his brother Henry as Duke, keeping Lorraine within his kingdom and securing his link to Charlemagne.

Louis IV and Hugh, as Count of Paris, were constant domestic political rivals. With both men now tied to his family through marriage bonds, Otto intervened to bring about peace in West Francia. In 942, Otto announced a formal reconciliation between the two: Hugo was to perform an act of submission to Louis IV, and in return Louis IV was to waive any claims to Lorraine. The peace between the two rival did not last long, however. In 946, the West Frankish kingdom fell into a crisis caused by treachery when Louis VI was captured by the Normans, who presented him to Hugh. Hugh released Louis VI only on the condition that the king would surrender the fortress of Laon to him. At the urging of his sister Gerberga, Otto invaded France on behalf of Louis VI. However, Otto's military strength was not strong enough to take the key cities of Laon, Reims, and Paris. After a three month siege, Otto finally lifted the siege without defeating Hugh. However, Otto was successful in removing Hugh of Vermandois from his position as Archbishop of Reims, restoring Artald of Reims as the Archbishop.<sup>[10]</sup>

The long-running dispute between Louis IV and Hugh was over control of the Archdiocese of Reims. To settle the issue, Otto called for a synod at Ingelheim in 948. The synod was attended by 34 bishops, including all of the archbishops of Germany. In September 948, the synod confirmed Otto's appointment of Artald as Archbishop of Reims and Hugh was excommunicated until he made peace with Louis IV. It was not until Easter 951, however, that the powerful vassal restored Laon to Louis IV and not 953 did Hugh fully reconcile with his king. By calling for the synod to meet in Germany, Otto demonstrated both his supremacy over the affairs of East Francia and his dominion over the German Church, further strength his claim as Charlemagne's true successor.

## **Burgundy**

Otto continued the peaceful relationship between Germany and the Kingdom of Burgundy began by his father Henry: King Rudolf II of Burgundy had married Bertha of Swabia, the daughter of one of Henry's chief advisors, in 922. Burgundy was originally a part of Middle Francia, the central portion of Charlmange's empire prior to the empire's division under the Treaty of Verdun in 843. On July 11, 937, Rudolf II died. Hugh of Provence, the King of Italy and Rudolf II's chief domestic opponent, claimed the Burgundian throne for himself. Otto intervened in the succession, supporting Rudolf II's son Conrad of Burgundy. With Otto's backing, Conrad secured the throne and brought Burgundy firmly within Otto's sphere of influence. Burgundy remained at peace with Germany for all of Otto's reign, with Otto respecting Burgundy's independence subject to his influence.

## **Bohemia**

Boleslaus I, Duke of Bohemia, assumed the Bohemian throne in 935. The next year, following Otto's father King Henry the Fowler's death, Boleslaus stopped paying tribute to Germany, in violation of the peace treaty Henry had established with Boleslaus' brother Saint Wenceslaus I, Duke of Bohemia. Otto responded by invaded Bohemia. The prolonged war, presumably consisting of border raids, reached its conclusion in 950 when Boleslav signed a peace treaty with Otto. Despite being undefeated, he promised to resume the payment of the tribute to Otto and to recognize him as his overlord. The Duchy of Bohemia was then incorporated into the German Kingdom.

## **Byzantine Empire**

Otto developed close relations with the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who reigned over the Byzantine Empire from 905 until his death in 959. East and West sent multiple ambassadors to one another during this time. In particular, German Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg records that in 945 and again in 949, "twice the Greek [Byzantine] envoys brought gifts to our king [Otto] from their emperor". It was during this time that Otto sought to link himself to the Eastern Empire through marriage negotiations.

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## Slavic Wars

### Eastern Slavic Wars

As Otto was finalizing his actions to suppress his brother's rebellion, the Slavs on the Elba River revolted against German rule. Having been subdued by Otto's father Henry in 928, the Slavs saw Henry's rebellion as an opportunity to regain their independence. Otto's lieutenant in east Saxony, Count Gero, was performing exceptionally well. The Count of Thuringia since 937, Gero had successfully repulsed many Slavic incursions. As reward for his military successes, in 939 Otto promoted Gero to the rank of Margrave and granted him command over the entire eastern border theater, named the March of Gero in his honor, making Gero the most powerful Margrave in Otto's kingdom.

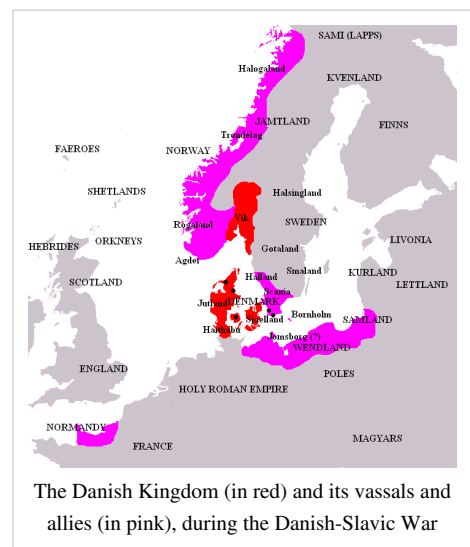
With his new high command, Otto charged Gero with subduing the pagan Polabian Slavs to both Otto's rule and to convert them to Catholicism. Under the guise of honoring his promotion, Gero invited many Slavic chieftains to a banquet. When the chieftains arrived at the banquet, Gero unleashed his soldiers upon his unsuspecting guests, massacring them. One chieftain, however, managed the escape and informed the other Slavs of Gero's treachery.<sup>[11]</sup> The Slavs demanded revenge and marched against Gero with an enormous army. Gero's military resources proved insufficient to stop the increased Slavic assault. When Otto heard news of the invasion, he made peace with his rebellious brother Henry and hurried from Lorraine in the west to the eastern front. Otto arrived in Saxony and had some success, giving Gero an opportunity to regroup his forces. Otto could not remain in the east long, however. After an initial peace with his brother, Henry recruited a new alliance in rebellion against Otto's rule, calling Otto back to the west, leaving Gero to face the Slavs alone.

In 941, to bring the Slavs to heel, Gero again turned to treachery. He soon turned to a Slav named Tugumir, a Hevelli chieftain who had been a Saxon captive since the time of King Henry I. Gero promised to support him in claiming the Hevelli throne if, in return, Tugumir would recognize Otto as his overlord. Tugumir agreed and made his way towards the Slavs. Due to Gero's massacre the previous year, few Slavic chieftains remained, causing the Slavs to quickly proclaim Tugumir as prince. Upon assuming the throne, Tugumir murdered his chief rival and proclaimed his loyalty to Otto, incorporating his territory into the German Kingdom. Otto granted Tugumir the title of "duke" and allowed Tugumir to rule his people, subject to Otto's suzerainty, in the same manner as the German dukes<sup>[12]</sup>. With Gero and Tugumir's treachery, the Slavic federation broke apart. In control of the key Hevelli stronghold of Brandenburg, Gero was able to successfully attack the divided Slavic tribes. The submission of the West Slavs allowed the Germans to extend their control into Eastern Europe, both through militarily colonization and through the establishment of churches.

### Northern Slavic Wars

As the Slavs in east Saxony rebelled against German rule, so too did the Slavs in north Saxony. Otto's lieutenant there, Margrave Hermann Billung of the Billung March, had initial success in driving the Slavs back across the Elba but the poor decisions of a subordinate had severely weakened his position. The northern Wend Slavs were soon joined by the Danes from Jutland under King Gorm the Old. The Danes, like the Slavs, had been subdued by Otto's father Henry years before. The new Slavic-Danish alliance, under the command of Gorm's son Harold Bluetooth, pushed deep into Hermann's territory, ultimately capturing the margrave as a prisoner of war in 947.

Harold's joint Slavic-Danish army was left unchallenged in northern Saxony for three years until 950 when Otto led an army north to



The Danish Kingdom (in red) and its vassals and allies (in pink), during the Danish-Slavic War



counter their advance. Otto's powerful army defeated Harold and forced him back into Jutland. Otto pursued Harold, devastated Denmark with a policy of scorched earth. His people starving, Harold sued for peace with Otto. Otto demanded that Harold renounce his German conquests, release Hermann, recognize Otto as his overlord, and convert to Christianity. Without the Danes to aid them, the Wend Slavs' confederation in north Saxony quickly fell apart. Tribe after tribe submitted to Otto's rule. Otto required the conquered Slavs to pay heavy tribute, support the building of churches, and submit to military conscription<sup>[13]</sup>.

## Expansion into Italy

### Disputed Italian Throne

In 888, with the death of Emperor Charles the Fat, the empire of Charlemagne was permanently divided into four kingdoms, never to be fully reunited: East Francia, West Francia, Kingdom of Burgundy, and the Kingdom of Italy with each of the four kingdoms being ruled by their own kings. Though the Pope in Rome continued to appoint the kings of Italy as "Emperor" of Charlemagne's empire, these "Italian Emperors" never exercised any effective authority north of the Alps. Without the unity of an "Emperor", each of the rulers of the former Carolingian realms was left to claim the imperial title for themselves. With the assassination of Emperor Berengar I of Italy in 924, the last nominal heir to Charlemagne was dead and the title "Emperor" was left unclaimed. From his coronation in 936, Otto demonstrated his desire in claiming the title and the dignity of Charlemagne with it. However, for as long as his wife Eadgyth was alive, Otto appears to have focused his attentions on Germany.



Statues of Otto I, right, and Adelaide in Meissen Cathedral. Otto and Adelaide were married after Otto's annexation of Italy to his domain.

Berengar's death created a power vacuum in Italy. King Rudolf II of Upper Burgundy, and Hugh, Count of Provence and effective ruler of Lower Burgundy, both held competing claims to the throne of Italy. By 926, Hugh forced Rudolf to flee Italy, establishing *de facto* control over the Italian peninsula. Hugh later induced the Italian nobility to recognise his son Lothair II of Italy as their next king and crowned him in April 931. Hugh and Rudolf II eventually concluded a peace treaty in 933, with Rudolf II renouncing his claims to the Italian throne and Hugh granting control over Lower Burgundy to Rudolf II, which he combined with Upper Burgundy into a new Kingdom of Burgundy. To seal the peace, Rudolf II betrothed his infant daughter Adelaide to Hugh's son Lothair.

In 940, Margrave of Ivrea Berengar II, the grandson of former King Berengar I, led a revolt of Italian nobles against his uncle Hugh. Forewarned by Lothair, Hugh exiled Berengar from Italy and Berengar fled to the protection of Otto's court in 941. In 945, Berengar II returned from exile in Germany, gladly welcomed by the Italian nobility. With the aid of hired mercenaries, Berengar II defeated Hugh in battle and forced him into permanent retirement in Provence. As part of a peace deal, Hugh was allowed to remain *nominal* king of Italy but with Berengar II becoming the power behind the throne. When Hugh died in April 10, 948, his son Lothair succeeded him as nominal king but with Berengar II continuing to hold all real power. Months earlier, on December 16, 947, Lothair was finally married to the sixteen-year-old Adelaide.<sup>[14]</sup>

Lothair's brief "reign" came to end with his death on November 22, 950, presumably poisoned by Berengar, leaving Adelaide widowed before her twenty-birthday. Berengar II then crowned himself king with his son Adalbert of Italy as his co-ruler and heir apparent. Failing to receive wide-spread support for his right to the crown, Berengar II attempted to legitimize his reign by forcing Adelaide, the respective daughter, daughter-in-law, and widow of the last three Italian kings, into marriage with Adalbert. However, Adelaide fiercely refused and was imprisoned by Berengar II at Garda Lake. With the help of Count Adalbert Atto of Canossa, she managed to escape. Besieged by Berengar II in Canossa, Adelaide sent an emissary across the Alps seeking Otto's protection and marriage. Otto,

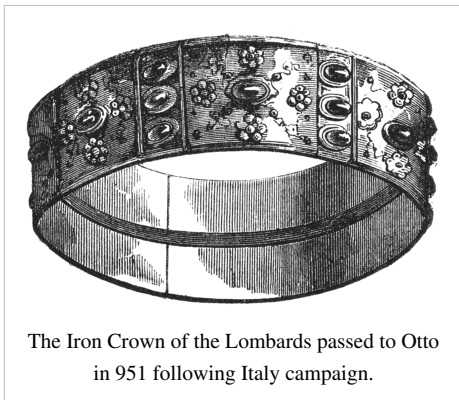


widowed since 946, knew a marriage to Adelaide would allow him to fulfill his ambition of ruling Italy and, ultimately, claiming the imperial crown as Charlemagne's true heir. Knowing of Adelaide's great beauty and immense wealth, the thirty-eight year old Otto accepted nineteen year old queen's marriage proposal and prepared for an expedition into Italy.

## First Italian Expedition

In the early summer of 951, before his father marched across the Alps, Otto's son Liudolf, Duke of Swabia, invaded Lombardy in northern Italy. From his stronghold in Swabia located just north of the Alps, Liudolf was in closer proximity to the Italian border than his father in Saxony. While the exact reason for Liudolf's actions are unclear, dynastic concerns and family ties to Adelaide may have been a factor. Adelaide's mother, Bertha of Swabia, was a daughter of Regelinda, the mother of Liudolf's wife Ida, from her first marriage to Burchard II, Duke of Swabia. Liudolf, therefore, may have intervened in the Italian campaign at the request of Adelaide's relatives. Additionally, Liudolf, 19 years old himself, did not view the idea of a young step-mother as in his best interests. Though Otto had named him as his successor, Liudolf feared any potential step-brother may usurp his claim to the German throne.

The purpose of Liudolf's Italian campaign was to overthrow Berengar II and therefore render Otto's own expedition into Italy, and thus his marriage to Adelaide, unnecessary. However, Bavarian Duke Henry, Otto's brother and Liudolf's uncle, conspired against Liudolf. Swabia and Bavaria shared a long common border and the two dukes were involved in a border dispute. Henry, with malice towards his nephew, influenced the Italian aristocrats not to join Liudolf's campaign. When Liudolf arrived in Lombardy, he found no support and was unable to sustain his army. His army was near destruction until Otto's own army crossed the Alps. Otto reluctantly received Liudolf's forces into his command, angry at his son for his inconsiderate and independent actions.



The Iron Crown of the Lombards passed to Otto in 951 following Italy campaign.

Otto and Liudolf arrived in northern Italy in September 951 without opposition from Berengar II. As they descended into the Po River valley, the Italian nobles and clergy withdrew their support and provided aid to Otto and his advancing army. Recognizing his weakened position, Berengar II fled from his capital in Pavia. When Otto arrived at Pavia on September 23, 951, the city willingly opened its gate to the German king. In accordance with Lombard tradition, Otto was crowned with the Iron Crown of the Lombards on October 10. Like Charlemagne before him, Otto was now both king of Germany and king of Italy. Otto then sent word to his brother Henry in Bavaria to escort his bride from Canossa to Pavia. The two were promptly

married and Otto became the most powerful monarch in Europe.

Soon after his father's marriage, Liudolf left Italy and return to Swabia. Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, the primate of Germany and Otto's longtime domestic rival, returned to Germany alongside Liudolf.

Despite Otto's plans to claim the imperial title, trouble arose in northern Germany, forcing Otto to return with the majority of his army back across the Alps. Otto did, however, leave a portion of his army behind in Italy and appointed his son-in-law Conrad, Duke of Lorraine, as his regent and tasked him with subduing Berengar II.



Manuscript depiction (c. 1200) of Otto accepting the surrender of Berengar II of Italy. Header reads *Otto I Theutonicorum rex* ("Otto the First, King of the Germans")

## Aftermath

The Italian expedition greatly worsened the relation between Otto and his son Liudolf, Duke of Swabia. Liudolf viewed Otto's marriage to Adelaide as potentially threatening to his role as Otto's designated successor and any male child born from the union could potential usurp his position as heir apparent. Liudolf also distrusted the growing influence of his uncle, the former rebel Henry I, Duke of Bavaria. The two men quarreled over who should hold the second highest position within the kingdom: the king's brother or the king's son.

When Otto returned to Germany in 952, he left Conrad, Duke of Lorraine, in Italy as his regent to settlement affairs and to bring King Berengar II of Italy to heel. Though Otto took most of the Germany army with him, he did leave Conrad a small contingent of troops. Understand his weak position, Conrad employed diplomacy over warfare and opened peace negotiations with Berengar II. Conrad recognized that a military occupation of Italy would impose great costs upon Germany, both in manpower in treasure. At a time when the kingdom was facing military invasion from the north by the Danes and from the east by the Slavs and Hungarians, all available resource were required north of the Alps. Conrad believed a client state relationship with Italy, therefor, would be in Germany's best interests. Conrad concluded a peace treaty in which Berengar II would remain king of Italy on the condition that he recognized Otto as his overlord.<sup>[15]</sup> Berengar II agreed and the pair traveled north to seal meet Otto and seal the agreement.

Conrad's treaty, however, was met with disdain from both Adelaide and Henry. Though Adelaide was Burundian by birth, she was raised as an Italian. Her father Rudolf II of Burgundy was briefly king of Italy prior to being deposed and she herself had briefly been queen of Italy until his husband Lothair II of Italy's death. Adelaide also bore hatred for Berengar II for imprisoning her when she refused to marry his son Adalbert of Italy and she desired revenge against him. Likewise, Henry too disapproved of the peace treaty. As Duke of Bavaria, Henry controlled territory on the northern side of the German-Italian border. Henry had hope that with Berengar II being deposed, Henry's territory would be greatly expanded by incorporating territory south of the Alps. Henry and Conrad were already not on good terms, and Conrad's proposed treaty further drove the two dukes apart. As such, both Adelaide and Henry conspired together to persuade Otto to reject Conrad's treaty, insulting both Berengar II and Conrad in the process.<sup>[16]</sup>

Conrad and Berengar II meet Otto at Magdeburg but Adelaide demanded that the pair wait three days before receiving an audience with Otto. This was a humiliating offense for the man Otto had named his regent. Though Adelaide and Henry desired for Otto to reject the treaty, Otto recognized the danger in doing so and so referred the issue to the Reichstag. Appearing before the Reichstag in August 952 in Augsburg, Berengar II and his son Adalbert were forced to swear fealty to Otto as his vassal. In return, Otto granted Berengar II Italy as his fief and restored the title "King of Italy" to him Berengar II. The Italian king, however, was forced to pay an enormous annual tribute and was required to cede the Duchy of Friuli south of the Alps to Otto. As reward for Henry's loyalty, Otto assigned the duchy as then reorganized March of Verona to the control of the Bavarian Duke, making the Duchy of Bavaria the most powerful duchy in Germany.<sup>[17]</sup>

## Liudolf's Civil War

### Rebellion Against Otto

With the humiliating failure of his own Italian campaign fresh on his mind, Liudolf began contemplating a rebellion against his father. On Christmas Day 951, Liudolf held a grand feast at Saalfeld which was attended by many important figures from across the king, most notably the primate of Germany and Otto's chief domestic rival Archbishop Frederick of Mainz. Contemporaries recalled how Otto's brother Henry hold held a similar such fest ten years prior in 941 before he himself launched an armed rebellion against Otto.

Liudolf was able to successfully recruit his brother-in-law Conrad, Duke of Lorraine, to his rebellion. Otto's forcing of Berengar II to cede control of Italian territory humiliated Conrad. As Otto's regent in Italy, Conrad fully believed

Otto would confirm the entire agreement he had conducted. Instead of the voluntary alliance Conrad had promised, Berengar II was made Otto's subject and his kingdom reduced. Conrad felt betrayed and insulted over Otto's handling of the peace treaty, especially over the empowerment of Henry. These actions allowed Liudolf to successfully recruit his brother-in-law Conrad to join his rebellion. Conrad, as did Liudolf, viewed Otto as being controlled by his foreign born wife and his power-hungry brother and together resolved to rescue the kingdom from their domination.

In winter 952, Adelaide gave birth to a son, whom she named Henry after her brother-in-law and the child's grandfather, Henry the Fowler. Rumors spread that Otto had been persuaded by his wife and brother to propose this child as his heir instead of Liudolf. For many German nobles, this rumor represented Otto's final transforming from a policy focused on Germany to an Italian-centered one. The idea that Otto would ask them to revoke the succession rights of Liudolf prompted many nobles into open rebellion. Instead of Otto as their target, however, Liudolf and Conrad led the nobles against Henry in Bavaria, in spring 953. Liudolf and Conrad first targeted Henry's domain of Bavaria. Henry, who was appointed by Otto as Duke in 947, was unpopular with the Bavarians due to his Saxon heritage and so quickly rebelled against him.<sup>[18]</sup>

Word of the rebellion reached Otto at Ingelheim. To secure his position, Otto traveled to his stronghold at Mainz. Mainz was also the seat of Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, who acted as the spokesman for the rebels. Frederick offered himself as a mediator between Otto and the rebels, who quickly joined Otto in Mainz. History does not record the details of the meeting or of the specifics of the negotiated treaty, but Otto soon left Mainz with a peace treaty favorable to the demands of the conspirators, mostly like confirming Liudolf as heir apparent and approving Conrad's original agreement with Berengar II, making the treaty counter to the desires of both Adelaide and Henry.

When Otto returned to Saxony, Adelaide and Henry persuade the king to declare the treaty void. Summoning the Reichstag at Fritzlar, Otto declared Liudolf and Conrad as outlaws in absentia.<sup>[19]</sup> Otto also reasserted his desires for dominion over Italy and to claim the imperial title. Otto sent emissaries to the Duchy of Lorraine and stirred the local nobles against Conrad's rule there. Conrad was a Salian Frank by birth and the unpopular with the people of Lorraine, who pledged their support to Otto.

Otto's actions before the Reichstag prompted the people of the Duchy of Swabia and the Duchy of Franconia into civil war against their king. After initial defeats by Otto, Liudolf and Conrad fell back to the rebellion headquarters in Mainz. In July 953, Otto and his army laid siege to the city, supported by Henry's army from Bavaria. After two months, however, the city had not fallen and rebellions against Otto's rule grew stronger in southern Germany. Faced with these challenges, Otto opened peace negotiations with Liudolf and Conrad. Bruno the Great, Otto's youngest brother and royal chancellor since 940, had accompanied his older brothers and saw to the arrangements for the negotiations to take place. As the newly appointed Archbishop of Cologne, Bruno was eager to end the civil war in Lorraine which was in his ecclesiastical territory. The rebels demanded ratification of the treaty they had previously agreed to with Otto, but Henry's actions during the meeting caused the negotiations to break down.<sup>[20]</sup> Conrad and Liudolf left the meeting with Otto to continue the civil war. Angered by their actions, Otto stripped Liudolf and Conrad of their duchies of Swabia and Lorraine, respectively. Otto then appointed his brother Bruno, the royal chancellor and archbishop of Cologne, as the new Duke of Lorraine. Never before had an ecclesiastical figure occupied a dukedom.

While he was on campaign with Otto, Henry had appointed the Bavarian Count Palatine Arnulf II, son of Arnulf the Bad whom Henry displaced as Duke, to governing the duchy in his absence. The choice proved to be a poor one. Seeking revenge against Henry for deposing his father, Arnulf II deserted Henry and joined the rebellion against Otto. Lifting the siege of Mainz, Otto and Henry marched south to regain control over Bavaria. However, the local nobles refused to aid the pair, forcing their retreat back to Saxony.<sup>[21]</sup>

Otto's situation seemed to grow worse each day. The duchies of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia were in open civil war against him and even in his native Saxony revolts began to spread. By the end of 953, the civil war was threatening to depose Otto and permanently end his claims to be Charlemagne's successor.

## End of the Rebellion

In early 954, Margrave Hermann Billung, Otto's longtime ally in Saxony, was faced with increased Slavic invasion into Germany territory. Using the civil war as a cover, the Slavs raided deeper and deeper across the border. Likewise, the Hungarians raided German territory from the south into southern Germany.

Though Liudolf and Conrad prepared defenses against the invasions, the Hungarians devastated Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia. Otto's brother Henry quickly spread rumors that Conrad and Liudolf had invited the Hungarians into Germany. Public opinion quickly turned against the rebels in these duchies. With this change in opinion and the death of his wife Liutgarde, Otto's only daughter, Conrad began peace negotiations with Otto, which were eventually joined by Liudolf and Archbishop Frederick.<sup>[22]</sup> A truce was declared, and Otto convened a meeting of the Reichstag on June 15, 954, at Langenzenn. Before the Reichstag convened, both Conrad and Frederick were reconciled with Otto. At the Reichstag, however, Henry accused his nephew Liudolf of conspiring with the Hungarians. Henry's accusations enraged Liudolf, who refused to end the rebellion. Though both Conrad and Frederick implored Liudolf to seek peace, Liudolf left the Reichstag determined to continue the civil war.

Liudolf, with his lieutenant Arnulf II (the effective ruler of Bavaria), took his army south towards Regensburg in Bavaria, followed quickly by Otto. The armies met at Nurnberg and engaged in a deadly, though not decisive, battle. Liudolf retreated to Regensburg, and there besieged by Otto. Though Otto's army was unable to break through the city's walls, after two months of siege, starvation set in within the city. Liudolf then sent a message to Otto seeking to open peace negotiations and the siege ended. Otto demanded unconditional surrender, which Liudolf refused. Fighting continued, eventually claiming the life of Arnulf II. With his lieutenant dead, Liudolf fled from Bavaria for his domain of Swabia, quickly followed by Otto. Previously stripped of his ducal title, Liudolf's allies within Swabia had been persecuted by Otto's followers. The two armies met near Illertissen near the Swabian-Bavarian border. After a costly battle, Liudolf agreed to end hostilities against Otto. A truce was declared between father and son until a Reichstag would be assembled to ratify the peace. Bruno arranged for Otto and Liudolf to meet to conclude peace terms. Otto forgave his son of all transgressions and Liudolf agreed to accept any punishment his father felt appropriate.<sup>[23]</sup>

Soon after the peace agreement between Otto and Liudolf, the aging and sick Archbishop Frederick died in October 954. With the surrenders of Liudolf, the rebellion had been put down throughout Germany except in Bavaria. Otto convened the Reichstag in December 954 at Arnstadt. Before the assembled nobles of the kingdom, both Liudolf and Conrad declared their fealty to Otto and restored control over all territories their armies still occupied. Through Otto did not restore their former ducal title to them, he did allow them to retain their private estates. The Reichstag ratified Otto's actions:

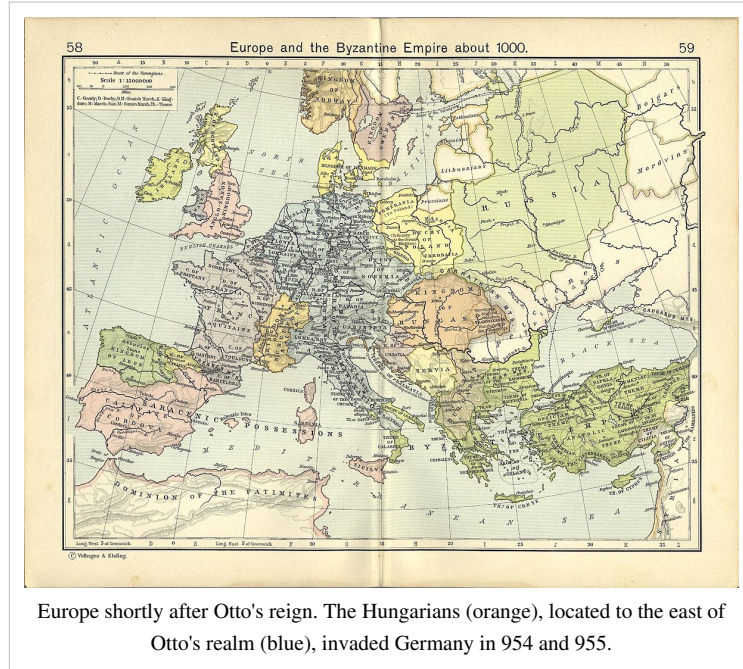
- Liudolf was promised regency over Italy and command of an army to depose Berengar II
- Bruno remained as Duke of Lorraine
- Conrad was promised military command against the Hungarians
- Henry was reconfirmed as Duke of Bavaria
- Otto's oldest son William, an illegitimate child from a Slavic mother, was appointed Archbishop of Mainz and Primate of Germany
- Burchard III, son of former Swabian Duke Burchard II, is appointed Duke of Swabia
- Otto retained the Duchies of Saxony and Franconia as his personal domains

Otto's actions in December 954 finally brought an end to the two-year long civil war. Liudolf's rebellion, though temporarily weakening, ultimately strengthened Otto's position as absolute ruler of Germany. The rebellion and its aftermath, however, came at a heavy price for Otto. His son-in-law, Conrad, the former Duke of Lorraine, was killed in the battle of Lechfeld and his brother Henry I, Duke of Bavaria, was mortally wounded, dying a few months later on November 1. With Henry's death, Otto appointed his four-year old nephew Henry II, to succeed his father as Duke, with his mother Judith of Bavaria as his regent. Otto appointed Liudolf in 956 as the commander of an expedition against King Berengar II of Italy, but soon died of fever on September 6, 957. Otto buried him at St. Alban's Abbey

in Mainz. The deaths of Henry, Liudolf, and Conrad took from Otto the three most prominent of his royal family, including his heir apparent. Additionally, his first two second from his marriage to Adelaide of Italy, Henry (b. 952), and Bruno (b. 953) had also died by 957. This left Otto's third son by Adelaide, the two-year old Otto II, as the kingdom's crown prince.

## Hungarian Invasions

The Hungarians invaded Otto's domain, part of the larger Hungarian invasions of Europe, and ravaged southern Germany during Liudolf's civil war. Though Otto had installed the Margraves Hermann Billung and Gero on his kingdom's northern and northeastern borders, the Principality of Hungary to the southeast were a permanent threat to German security. The Hungarians knew of the kingdom's civil war and its internal weaknesses, which gave them an opportunity to invade the Duchy of Bavaria in spring 954. Though Liudolf, Duke of Swabia, and Conrad, Duke of Lorraine, had successfully prevented the Hungarians from invade their own territories in the west, the invaders managed to make it to the Rhine River, sacking much of Bavaria and Franconia in the process.



On Palm Sunday, 954, Liudolf held a great feast at Worms and invited the Hungarian chieftains to join him. There, he presented the invaders with gifts of gold and silver. These actions proved to be the undoing of Liudolf's rebellion. Rumor quickly spread that the rebels had invited the Hungarians into Germany in hopes of using them against Otto, causing popular support for the rebellion to quickly dry up. Support lost, the rebels called a truce with Otto. Conrad and Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, two of Liudolf's primary conspirators, made peace with Otto. Liudolf continued the civil war, but within two months he submitted to his father's rule. By December 954, the civil war had ended and domestic peace returned to Germany.

The Hungarians, encouraged by their previously successful raids, made another invasion into Germany in spring 955. Otto's army, now unhindered by civil war, was able to defeat the invasion and the Hungarians sent an ambassador seeking peace with Otto. The ambassador proved to be a decoy, however, Otto's brother Henry I, Duke of Bavaria, sent word to Otto that the Hungarians had crossed into his territory from the southeast. The main Hungarian army had camped along the Lech River and besieged Augsburg. While the city was defended by the Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, Otto assembled his army and marched south to face the Hungarians.





A 1457 illustration of the battle of Lechfeld in Sigmund Meisterlin's codex about the history of Nuremberg.

Otto and his army faced the Hungarian force on August 10, 955, at the battle of Lechfeld. Under Otto's command was his vassal Boleslaus I, Duke of Bohemia, and Burchard III, Duke of Swabia, who had married the daughter of Otto's brother Henry. The pair was soon joined by Otto's son-in-law Conrad. Though outnumbered nearly two to one, Otto was determined to push the Hungarians back. According to the chronicler Widukind of Corvey, Otto "pitched his camp in the territory of the city of Augsburg and joined there the forces of Henry I, Duke of Bavaria, who was himself lying mortally ill nearby, and by Duke Conrad with a large following of Franconian knights. Conrad's unexpected arrival encouraged the warriors so much that they wished to attack the enemy immediately."<sup>[24]</sup> Otto carried the Holy Lance, which he inherited from his father, into battle with him.<sup>[25]</sup>

The Hungarians crossed the river and immediately attacked the Bohemians under Boleslaus, then the Swabian under Burchard, but retreated after a short fight. As Otto received word of the attack, he ordered Conrad to recover the baggage train, and Conrad

succeeded in doing so. Conrad then returned to the main forces. For Otto it became evident that this was the time to attack the Hungarians, and he did not hesitate. Despite a volley of arrows from the Hungarians, Otto's army smashed into the Hungarian line, and began to sweep over it. The Germans were able to fight hand-to-hand with the Hungarians, giving the traditionally nomadic warriors no room to use their favorite shoot-and-run tactics. The Hungarians feigned a retreat in an attempt to lure Otto's men into breaking their line in pursuit, but to no avail. The German line maintained formation and routed the Hungarians from the field, killing approximately a third of the Hungarian army in the process. On the field of battle, the German lords raised Otto on their shields in the Germanic manner and proclaimed him *Emperor*.

Though Otto's son-in-law Conrad was killed during the battle and Otto's brother Henry was mortally wounded, Otto's action at Lechfeld marked a turning point in German-Hungarian relations. While the battle was not a crushing defeat for the Hungarian, as Otto was not able to chase the fleeing army into Hungarian lands, the defeat effectively ended almost 100 years of Hungarian invasions into Western Europe.<sup>[26]</sup>

Otto had little time to celebrate his victory, however. With his main army in southern Germany, the Obortrie Slavs in the north were in a state of insurrection. Count Wichmann the Younger, still Otto's opponent over the king's refusal to grant Wichmann the title of Margrave in 936, marauded through the lands of the Obortries in the Billung March, causing the followers of Slavic Prince Nako to revolt. The Obotrites invaded Saxony in fall 955, killing the men of arms-bearing age and carrying off the women and children into slavery. According to Widukind of Corvey, in the aftermath of Lechfeld, Otto rushed to the north and pressed hard into Slav territory. Otto razed the Slav population centres and soon had encircled them: he offered to spare his enemies if they would surrender. A Slav embassy traveled to Otto held and offered to pay annual tribute in return for being allowed self-government under German overlordship instead of direct German rule.<sup>[27]</sup> Otto refused, and the two sides met on October 16 at the battle of Recknitz. Otto's forces massacred the Slavic invaders. Of the 9000 Slavic soldiers, 4,500 lay dead and 2,000 wounded by battle's end. After the battle, the Slavic commander's head was raised on a pole and hundreds of captured Slavs were executed before sundown.<sup>[28]</sup>



Celebrations for Otto's victory over the pagan Hungarians and Slavs were held in churches across the kingdom, with bishops attributing the victory to divine intervention and as proof of Otto's divine right to rule. The battles of Lechfeld and Recknitz mark a turning point in Otto's reign. Otto's victory over the Hungarians and Slavs sealed his hold on power over Germany. From 955 on, Otto would not experience another rebellion against his rule.

## Reign as Emperor

### Second Italian Expedition and Imperial Coronation

Liudolf's death in fall 957 deprived Otto of both the kingdom's crown prince as well as the commander of Otto's expedition against King Berengar II of Italy. Beginning with the unfavorable peace treaty of 952 in which he became Otto's vassal, Berengar II was always a rebellious subordinate. With the death of Liudolf and Henry I, Duke of Bavaria, and with Otto campaigning in northern Germany, in 958 Berengar II attacked the March of Verona, which Otto had stripped from his control under the 952 treaty, and laid siege to Count Adalbert Atto of Canossa there. Berengar II's forces also attacked the Papal States and the city of Rome, bringing Berengar II into conflict with Pope John XII. By Christmas 960, with Italy in political turmoil, the Pope sent word to Otto seeking his aid against Berengar II. Several refugees across to the Alps into Germany, including Walpert, the Archbishop of Milan, and Ubald, the Bishop of Como, also requested Otto's protection. With the call for aid from the Pope, Otto demanded the Pope crown him Emperor in return for his intervention. The Pope agreed and Otto prepared his army.



The Imperial Crown of the Holy Roman Empire. Otto was crowned as Emperor on February 2, 962, by Pope John XII.

In preparations for his second Italian campaign and his imperial coronation, Otto planned for the kingdom's future. At an assembly of the Reichstag at Worms in May 961, Otto named his seven-year old son Otto II as his heir apparent and co-ruler and had him crowned at Aachen Cathedral on May 26, 961.<sup>[29]</sup> Otto was anointed by Archbishops Bruno I of Cologne, William of Mainz, and Henry I of Trier. Otto then appointed his brother Bruno and illegitimate son Henry as Otto II's co-regents in Germany as Otto crossed the Alps into Italy, accompanied by Archbishop Henry.

Otto's army descended into Italy in August 961 through the Brenner Pass at Trento in northern Italy. Otto then marched on Pavia, the old Lombard capital of Italy, where he celebrated Christmas. At Pavia, Otto officially deposed Berengar II as king and assumed the title for himself. Berengar II's army retreated to their strongholds to avoid battle with Otto, allowing Otto to advance unopposed to the Pope in Rome.

Otto reached Rome on January 31, 962. Three days later, Otto was crowned at St. Peter's Basilica by Pope John XII as *Holy Roman Emperor*. The Pope also anointed Otto's wife Adelaide of Italy, who had accompanied Otto on his Italian campaign, as Empress. With Otto's coronation as Emperor, the kingdom of German and the kingdom of Italy were unified into the *Holy Roman Empire*. Following his coronation, the new Emperor returned to Pavia and conducted a campaign against Berengar II, sieging him at San Leo. By 963, Berengar II surrendered to Otto.

## Papal Politics

On February 12, 962, Emperor Otto and Pope John XII called a synod in Rome to cement their relationship. At the synod, Pope John XII approved Otto's long desired Archdiocese of Magdeburg. The Emperor had planned for the establishment of the archdiocese to commemorate his victory at the battle of Lechfeld over the Hungarians and to further convert the Slavs to Christianity. To ensure the success of the archdiocese, the Pope named St. Maurice as the archdiocese's patron saint and called upon the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne to support the new archdiocese.

The next day Otto and John XII ratified the *Diploma Ottonianum*, confirming John XII as the spiritual head of the Church and Otto as the secular protector of the Church. In the Diploma, Otto confirmed the earlier Donation of Pepin of 754 between King of the Franks Pepin the Short and Pope Stephen II. Otto recognized the Pope's secular control over the Papal States, and expanded his domain to include Rome, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Duchy of Spoleto and the Duchy of Benevento. Though the Pope had control over these territories, Otto was recognized as the overlord of all Italy. The Diploma also regulated papal election, which granted the right to elect the pontiff exclusively with the clergy and people of Rome. However, before the Pope-elect could be confirmed in his position he must issue an oath of allegiance to the Emperor, effectively granting the Emperor a veto over any papal candidate.

With the Diploma signed, Otto marched against Berengar II to reconquer Italy. Upon the successful completion of Otto's campaign, John XII had a change of heart. The power shift in Italy caused John XII to suddenly fear the Emperor's power. The Pope began negotiations with Berengar II's son Adalbert of Italy to depose Otto. The Pope also sent envoys to the Hungarians and the Byzantine Empire to join him and Adalbert in an alliance against Otto. Otto discovered the Pope's plot, however, and after defeating and imprisoning Berengar II marched on Rome. John XII fled from Rome, and Otto, upon his arrival in Rome, subsequently summoned a council and summarily deposed John XII as Pope and appointed Leo VIII as his successor.<sup>[30]</sup>

Otto returned to Germany by the end of 963, confident his rule in Italy and at Rome was secure. Leo VIII, a layman with no former ecclesiastical training, was soon found to be unacceptable to the Roman populace, however. In February 964, at the provoking of John XII, the Roman people forced Leo VIII to flee the city. In his absence, Leo VIII was deposed and John XII was restored to the chair of St. Peter. On the sudden death of John XII in May 964, the Romans elected Pope Benedict V as his successor. Upon hearing of the Romans' actions, Otto mobilized his army and returned to Italy. After marching on Rome and laying siege to the city in June 964, Otto compelled the Romans to accept his appointee Leo VIII as Pope and exiled Benedict V.<sup>[31]</sup> With his action in Rome, Otto effectively subjugated the entire Catholic Church to his will.

### Third Italian Expedition



Believing affairs settled in Italy, Otto returned to Saxony in fall 965. Months before the Emperor's return, Otto's long serving lieutenant on the eastern front, Margrave Gero, had died on May 20. At the time of his death, Gero commanded a "super-march" (the *Marca Geronis*) stretching from the Billung March in the north to the Duchy of Bohemia in the south. Though not popular with the nobles of the Empire, Gero had long been one of Otto's most trusted lieutenants since the very beginning of his reign in 936. Otto was even the godfather of Gero's children. After his death, the huge territory Gero had conquered from the Slavs was divided by the Emperor into five different marches, each ruled by their margrave: the Northern March under Dietrich of Haldensleben, the Eastern March under Odo I, the March of Meissen under Wigbert, the March of Merseburg under Günther, and the March of Zeitz under Wigger I.

The peace in Italy would not last long. Adalbert of Italy, son of the deposed King Berengar II of Italy, rebelled against Otto's rule over Italy, seeking revenge for the ousting of his father. Otto dispatched his nephew-in-law Burchard III, Duke of Swabia and one of Otto's closest advisors, to Italy in 966 to crush the rebellion. Burchard III met Adalbert at the battle of the

Po on June 25 that year, defeating the rebel and restoring Italy to Ottonian control. Italy would not remain pacified, however. Pope Leo VIII had died on March 1, 965, leaving the chair of St. Peter vacant. The Church elected on October 1, with Otto's approval, John XIII to succeed Leo VIII as Pope.<sup>[32]</sup> John XIII's behavior and foreign backing, however, made him disliked among the Roman people. Ten weeks into his reign as Pope, John XIII was taken prisoner by the Romans and imprisoned in Campania. The Pope sent word to Otto begging for his health. Otto received John XIII's message and prepared his army for a third expedition into Italy. Otto would not return to Germany for six years until 972.

In August, 966, at Worms, Otto announced his arrangements for the government of Germany in his absence. Otto's illegitimate son Archbishop William of Mainz would serve as Otto's regent over all of Germany while Otto's trust lieutenant, the Margrave Hermann Billung, would be his personal administrator over the Duchy of Saxony. Otto then marched with his army to Chur in the Apls, his wife Empress Adelaide and eleven-year old son Crown Prince Otto II accompanying him.

### Reign from Rome

Upon arriving in Italy, the Emperor restored John XIII to his papal throne on November 16, 966, without opposition. Otto then captured the twelve leaders of the militia which had deposed and imprisoned the Pope: the Emperor had them tortured and then crucified. Taking up permanent residence at Rome, the Emperor and Pope travelled to Ravenna to celebrate Easter in 967. The first few months of the year 968 brought the deaths of Otto's illegitimate son William, the Archbishop of Mainz and regent of Germany, as well as Otto's mother, the Dowager Queen Matilda of

Ringelheim.

With Otto's new permanent capital in Rome, the Emperor began looking to expand his Empire to the south. Since February 967, the Duke of Benevento, the Lombard Pandolf Ironhead, had accepted Otto as his overlord. This brought Otto the ire of the Byzantine Empire, which had claimed sovereignty over Benevento. The eastern Empire also objected to Otto's use of the title "Emperor", believing only the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus Phocas was the true successor of the ancient Roman Empire. Otto granted Duke Pandolf control of the vacant Duchy of Spoleto with instruction to wage war against the Byzantine Empire's possession in the heel and toe of Italy.

Despite Otto's warlike ways, the Byzantines opened peace talks with Otto. Otto gladly accepted as he desired both an eastern imperial prince as a bridge for his son and successor Otto II as well as the legitimacy and prestige the connection of his Imperial House in the West with that of the Macedonian dynasty in the East. In order to further his dynastic plans, and in preparation for the union between East and West, Otto returned to Rome in winter 967 where the Emperor had his son Otto II crowned Co-Emperor by Pope John XIII on December 25, 967.<sup>[33]</sup> Although Otto II was now the nominal co-ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, he exercised no real authority until the death of his father several years later.

It would be several years before Otto received a bride for his son from the east. In 969, Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus was assassinated by John I Tzimiskes in a military revolt, who succeeded him as Byzantine Emperor. Finally recognizing Otto's imperial title, the new eastern emperor sent his niece Theophanu to Rome in 972. Otto II and Theophanu were married on April 14, 972<sup>[34]</sup> With the marriage between East and West, the conflict over southern Italy between the Byzantine Empire and the Holy Roman Empire was resolved, though the exact terms of the peace are unknown. Both Otto and John I would jointly rule southern Italy as part of an alliance.

## Final Years and Death

With his son's wedding completed and peace with the Byzantine Empire concluded, Otto led the imperial family over the Alps and back to Germany in August 972. In spring 973, the Emperor visited Saxony and celebrated Palm Sunday in Magdeburg. At the ceremony, Margrave Hermann Billing, Otto's trusted lieutenant and personal administrator over Saxony during his years in Italy, was received like a king by Archbishop Adalbert of Magdeburg. The actions annoyed the emperor, which Adalbert intended to be a protests against the Emperor's prolonged absence from Germany.

Celebrating Easter in 973 in Quedlinburg, Emperor Otto was the most powerful man in Europe. At Quedlinburg, he received envoys not only from Denmark, Poland and Hungary but also from the Byzantine Empire, Rome, and even from Muslim Spain. To mark the Rogation Days, Otto travelled to his palace at Memleben, the place where his father had died 37 years earlier. While there, Otto became seriously ill with fever and, after receiving his last sacraments, died on May 7, 973, at the age of 60.



Grave of Otto I in Magdeburg

The transition of power to his seventeen-year old son Otto II was seamless. On May 8, the lord of the Empire confirmed Otto II as their new ruler. Otto II arranged for a magnificent thirty day funeral, finally laying his father to rest beside his first wife Eadgyth in Magdeburg Cathedral.

## Legacy

### Otto and the German Church

After the battle of Lechfeld, Otto worked to further consolidate power over his kingdom. The undisputed master of Germany, Otto worked to further reduce the duchies under the authority of the king. However, in the 950s, Otto used the Catholic Church as a tool of his dominance. Otto increasingly associated himself with the Church and to his divine right to rule the kingdom, viewing himself as the protector of the Church. As a key element of his new domestic policy, Otto sought to strengthen ecclesiastical authorities, chiefly bishops and abbots, at the expense of the secular nobility who threatened his own power. To control the forces that the Church represented, Otto made consistent use of three institutions. Otto controlled the various bishops and abbots by investing with them the symbols of their offices, both spiritual and temporal, in which Otto secured his bishops and abbots as his vassals through a commendation ceremony. "Under these conditions clerical election became a mere formality in the Ottonian empire, and the king filled up the ranks of the episcopate with his own relatives and with his loyal chancery clerks, who were also appointed to head the great monasteries".<sup>[35]</sup>



A medieval king investing a bishop with the symbols of office. Otto centralized his control over Germany through the investiture of bishops and abbots, making the clergy-class his personal vassal.

Otto's prototype for this blended royal-ecclesiastical service was his own brother Bruno the Great. Otto had appointed Bruno as his Chancellor in 940, as Archbishop of Cologne in 953, and as Duke of Lorraine in 953. In control of the western most German lands, Bruno was also Otto's ambassador to West Francia. Holding these positions simultaneously made Bruno the second most powerful man in Germany behind Otto. Other important religious officials within Otto's government include Archbishop William of Mainz (Otto's illegitimate son), Archbishop Adalag of Bremen, and Hadamar, the Abbot of Fulda.

Otto endowed the bishoprics and abbeys of his kingdom numerous gifts, including not only land but also royal prerogatives such as the power to levy taxes and to maintain an army. Over these Church lands secular authorities had neither the power of taxation nor legal jurisdiction. This raised the Church above the various dukes, instead being answerable directly to Otto himself as king. These donations also committed the entire German Church to serve the king as his personal vassal. By the reign of Otto's successor, Otto II, the Church provided two-thirds of the kingdom's military forces. In return, Otto made tithing mandatory for all inhabitants of Germany in order to support the Church.

Otto granted the various bishops and abbots of the kingdom the rank of count as well as the legal rights of counts within their territory. Because Otto personally appointed all bishops and abbots, these reforms strengthened his central authority, and the upper ranks of the German Church functioned in some respect as an arm of the royal bureaucracy. Otto also established a policy of appointing his personal court chaplains to the various bishop positions throughout the kingdom. While attached to the royal court, the chaplains would perform the work of the government through services to the royal chancellery. After years at court, Otto would reward their service by promotion to a diocese.

Thus, the Church under Otto distinguished itself from the earlier Church in German by two primary characteristics: first by a much stronger connect to the royal court, and second, by a closer integration of spiritual and secular duties of the clergy. This intimacy with the court and a total dependence upon the king for advancement further linked the church and state under Otto. Conflict over these powerful bishoprics between Otto's successors, and the growing power of the Papacy during the Gregorian Reforms would eventually lead to the Investiture Conflict and the undoing of central authority in Germany in the 11th century.

## The Ottonian Renaissance

A limited renaissance of the arts and architecture depended on court patronage of Otto and his immediate successors. The "Ottonian Renaissance" was manifest in some revived cathedral schools, such as that of Bruno I, Archbishop of Cologne, and in the production of illuminated manuscripts, the major art form of the age, from a handful of elite scriptoria, such as that at Quedlinburg Abbey, founded by Otto in 936. The Imperial abbeys and the Imperial court became the centers of religious and spiritual life, led by the example of women of the royal family. Scandalized by the state of the liturgy in Rome, Otto commissioned the first ever Pontifical Book, a liturgical book containing both prayers and ritual instruction. The compilation of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, as it is now called, was overseen by Archbishop William of Mainz.

## Modern World

Emperor Otto I was selected as the main motif for a high value commemorative coin, the €100 Imperial Crown of the Holy Roman Empire commemorative coin, minted in 2008 by Austria. The obverse shows the Imperial Crown of the Holy Roman Empire. The reverse shows Emperor Otto I with old St. Peter's Basilica in Rome in the background, where his coronation took place.

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# K'inich Janaab' Pakal

K'inich Janaab' Pakal

Ajaw of Palenque



Pacal the Great

Reign	July 29, 615 – August 31, 683 CE
Full name	K'inich Janaab' Pakal
Born	March 23, 603
Died	March 31, 683 (aged 80)
Buried	Temple of the Inscriptions, Palenque
Predecessor	Sak K'uk'
Successor	K'inich Kan B'alam II
Offspring	K'inich Kan B'alam II K'inich K'an Joy Chitam II
Father	K'an Mo' Hix
Mother	Sak K'uk'

**K'inich Janaab' Pakal** (23 March 603 – 28 August 683)<sup>[1]</sup> was ruler of the Maya polity of Palenque in the Late Classic period of pre-Columbian Mesoamerican chronology. During a long reign of some 68 years Pakal was responsible for the construction or extension of some of Palenque's most notable surviving inscriptions and monumental architecture.

## Name

Before his name was securely deciphered from extant Maya inscriptions, this ruler has been known by an assortment of nicknames and approximations, common ones including **Pakal** (or **Pacal**), "Sun Shield", "8 Ahau", and (familiarily) as **Pacal the Great**. The word *pakal* means "shield" in the Maya language.

In modern sources his name is also sometimes appended with a regnal number,<sup>[2]</sup> to distinguish him from other Janaab' Pakals that either preceded or followed him in the dynastic lineage of Palenque. Confusingly, he has at times been referred to as *either* "Pakal I" or "Pakal II". The reference to him as Pakal II takes into account that his maternal grandfather (who died in 612) was also named Janaab' Pakal. However, although his grandfather was a personage of *ajaw* ranking most recent inscriptional interpretations hold that he probably did not himself hold the actual rulership position over the Palenque city-state. When instead the name Pakal I is used, this serves to distinguish him from two later known successors to the Palenque rulership, Upakal K'inich Janaab' Pakal (ruled c. 742, *aka* "[K'inich Janaab'] Pakal II") and Wak Kimi Janaab' Pakal (*aka* [Janaab'] Pakal III), the last-known Palenque ruler who acceded in 799.

## Biography

Pakal ascended the throne at age 12 on July 29, 615, and lived to the age of 80. He saw expansion of Palenque's power in the western part of the Maya states, and initiated a building program at his capital that produced some of Maya civilization's finest art and architecture. He was preceded as ruler of Palenque by his mother, Lady Sak K'uk'. As the Palenque dynasty seems to have had Queens only when there was no eligible male heir, Sak K'uk' transferred rulership to her son upon his official maturity.

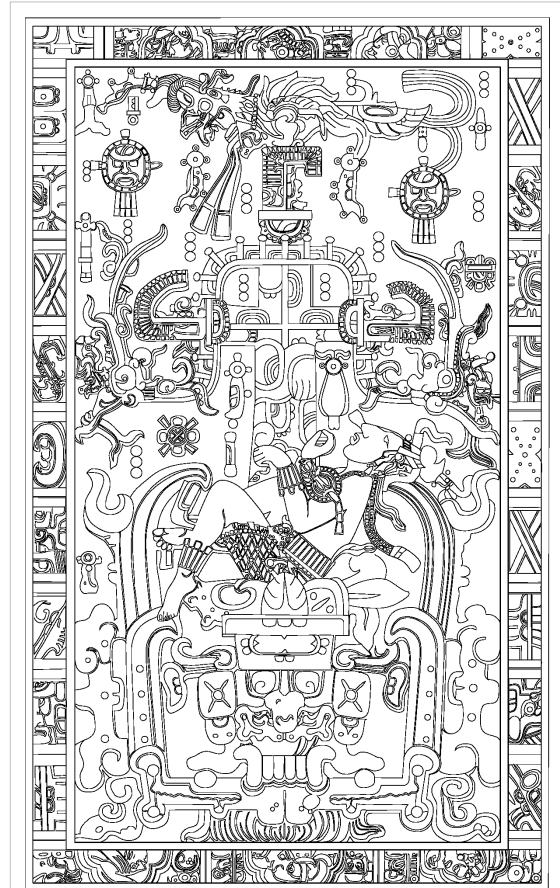
After his death, Pakal was succeeded by his son Chan Bahlum II. A younger son, Kan Xul II, succeeded his brother Chan Bahlum II. After his death, Pakal was deified and said to communicate with his descendants. Pakal was buried within the Temple of Inscriptions. Though Palenque had been examined by archaeologists before, the secret to opening his tomb—closed off by a stone slab with stone plugs in the holes, which had until then escaped the attention of archaeologists—was discovered by Mexican archaeologist Alberto Ruz Lhuillier in 1948. It took four years to clear the rubble from the stairway leading down to Pakal's tomb, but was finally uncovered in 1952 [3]. His skeletal remains were still lying in his coffin, wearing a jade mask and bead necklaces, surrounded by sculptures and stucco reliefs depicting the ruler's transition to divinity and figures from Maya mythology. That the bones within the tomb are really those of Pakal himself is under debate due to the fact that the analysis of wear on the skeleton's teeth places the age of the owner at death as 40 years younger than Pakal would have been at his death. Epigraphers insist that the inscriptions on the tomb indicate that it is indeed K'inich Janaab' Pakal entombed within, and that he died at the age of 80 after ruling for around 70 years. Some contest that the glyphs refer to two people with the same name or that an unusual method for recording time was used, but other experts in the field say that allowing for such possibilities would go against everything else that is known about the Maya calendar and records of events. The most commonly accepted explanation for the irregularity is that Pakal, being an elite, had access to softer, less abrasive food than the average person so that his teeth naturally acquired less wear [3]. Despite the controversy, it remains one of the most spectacular finds of Maya archeology. A replica of his tomb is found at the National Museum of Anthropology and History in Mexico City.

## Pacal's sarcophagus lid

The large carved stone sarcophagus lid in the Temple of Inscriptions is a famous piece of Classic Maya art. The widely accepted interpretation of the sarcophagus lid is that Pakal is descending into Xibalba, the Maya underworld. Around the edges of the lid are glyphs representing the Sun, the Moon, Venus, and various constellations, locating this event in the nighttime sky. Below him is the Maya water god, who guards the underworld [4]. Beneath Pakal are the "unfolded" jaws of a dragon or serpent, which Pakal is escaping from, ascending towards the world tree. This is a common iconographic representation of the entrance to the underworld. Other examples of this imagery are found in sculpture on Monument 1 "El Rey" and Monument 9 at the Olmec site of Chalcatzingo, Morelos, on Altar 4 at the Olmec site of La Venta, Tabasco, and in recently discovered murals at the Late Preclassic Maya site of San Bartolo, Guatemala.

## Erich von Däniken's "Maya Astronaut"

Pakal's tomb has been the focus of attention by some "ancient astronaut" enthusiasts since its appearance in Erich von Däniken's 1968 best seller, *Chariots of the Gods?*. Von Däniken reproduced a drawing of the sarcophagus lid (incorrectly labeling it as being from "Copan") and comparing Pakal's pose <sup>[5]</sup> to that of 1960s Project Mercury astronauts, interpreting drawings underneath him as rockets, and offering it as evidence of a supposed extraterrestrial influence on the ancient Maya.



Carved lid of the tomb of K'inich Janaab' Pakal in the Temple of the Inscriptions.

In the center of that frame is a man sitting, bending forward. He has a mask on his nose, he uses his two hands to manipulate some controls, and the heel of his left foot is on a kind of pedal with different adjustments. The rear portion is separated from him; he is sitting on a complicated chair, and outside of this whole frame, you see a little flame like an exhaust.

Von Däniken's claim is not considered a credible interpretation by any professional Mayanist. For example Ian Graham responded, "Well I certainly don't see any need to regard him as a space man. I don't see any oxygen tubes. I see a very characteristically drawn Maya face"<sup>[6]</sup>

## José Argüelles' "Pacal Votan"

Another example of this carving's manifestation in pseudoarchaeology is José Argüelles' identification of "Pacal Votan," of whom he claims to be an incarnation named "Valum Votan," who will act as a "closer of the cycle" in 2012 (an event that is also significant on Argüelles' "13 Moon" calendar). Daniel Pinchbeck, in his book *2012: The Return of Quetzalcoatl* (2006), also uses the name "Votan" in referring to Pakal. However, this name is not used for Pakal by Mayanist researchers such as academic archaeologists, epigraphers, and iconographers. Argüelles claims a connection between Pakal and the semi-historical Toltec figure Topiltzin Ce Acatl Quetzalcoatl, but this is not supported by archaeological or epigraphic evidence. New Age interpretations of Pakal's tomb are a cornerstone of contemporary Mayanism.

## Notes

- [1] These are the dates indicated on the Maya inscriptions : in Mesoamerican Long Count calendar, 9.8.9.13.0 and 9.12.11.5.18 (Tiesler & Cucina 2004, p. 40).
- [2] Maya rulership titles and name glyphs themselves do not use regnal numbers, they are a convenience only of modern scholars.
- [3] [http://research.famsi.org/whos\\_who/people.php?mathewsnumber=PAL%20011](http://research.famsi.org/whos_who/people.php?mathewsnumber=PAL%20011)
- [4] <http://members.shaw.ca/mjfinley/vondaniken.html>
- [5] [http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/monuments/TI\\_sarcophagus/099.html](http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/monuments/TI_sarcophagus/099.html)
- [6] (<http://members.shaw.ca/mjfinley/vondaniken.html>)

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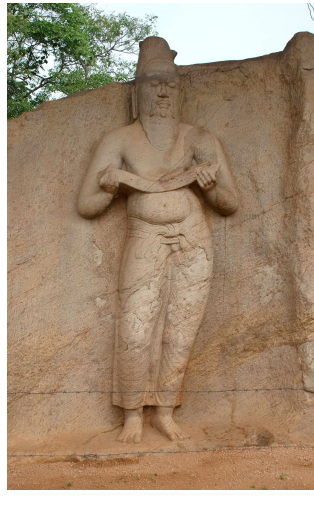
## External links

- Drawings of the sarcophagus of Pacal the Great ([http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/monuments/TI\\_sarcophagus/index.html](http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/monuments/TI_sarcophagus/index.html))
  - Photo of the sarcophagus of Pacal II ([http://www.7is7.com/otto/travel/photos/20030404/palenque\\_62\\_pacaltombstone2\\_p.html](http://www.7is7.com/otto/travel/photos/20030404/palenque_62_pacaltombstone2_p.html))
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# Parakramabahu I of Polonnaruwa

## Parākramabāhu I (Parakramabahu the Great)

King of Polonnaruwa



The statue in Polonnaruwa traditionally held to be of Parākramabāhu the Great

<b>Reign</b>	1153–1186
<b>Born</b>	1123
<b>Birthplace</b>	Punkhagama
<b>Died</b>	1186
<b>Place of death</b>	Polonnaruwa
<b>Predecessor</b>	Gajabahu II
<b>Successor</b>	Vijayabāhu II
<b>Consort</b>	Queen Lilavati
<b>Royal House</b>	Polonnaruwa Kingdom
<b>Father</b>	King Manabharana
<b>Mother</b>	Queen Ratnavali

**Parākramabāhu I** (Sinhala: මහා පරාක්රමබාහු *Maha Parākramabāhu* (**Parākramabāhu the Great**),<sup>[1][2]</sup> 1123–1186) was king of Sri Lanka from 1153 to 1186. During his reign from his capital Polonnaruwa, he unified the three sub kingdoms of the island, becoming one of the last monarchs in Sri Lankan history to do so. He oversaw the expansion and beautification of his capital, constructed extensive irrigation systems, reorganized the country's army, reformed Buddhist practices, encouraged the arts and undertook military campaigns in southern India and in Myanmar. The adage "not even a little water that comes from the rain must flow into the ocean without being made useful to man" is one of his most famous utterances.<sup>[3]</sup>

Parākramabāhu spent much of his youth in the courts of his uncles Kitti Sri Megha and Sri Vallabha, the kings of the principalities of Dakkinadesa and Ruhuna respectively, as well as in the court of the King of Rajarata, Gajabahu II. He succeeded his uncle Kitti as king of Dhakkinadesa around 1140 and over the next decade improved both Dhakkinadesa's infrastructure and military. Following a protracted civil war, he secured power over the entire island around 1153 and remained in this position until his death in 1186. During Parākramabāhu's reign, he launched a



punitive campaign against the kings of Myanmar, aided the Pandyas against the Chola Empire in southern India and maintained extensive trade relations with China and countries in the Middle East.<sup>[4]</sup> Within the island, he consecrated religious monuments, built hospitals, social welfare units, canals and large reservoirs, such as the Sea of Parakrama.

## Background

### Early 12th century

The island of Sri Lanka was in part dominated by the powerful Chola polity of South India, following Raja Raja Chola I's invasion of Sri Lanka in 993. These regions remained under Chola control until the reign of King Vijayabahu I (1055–1100). Vijayabahu I successfully drove the Chola invaders out at the beginning of his reign and shifted the capital of Rajarata from Anuradhapura to a new, planned city, Polonnaruwa (Pulatthinagara). By the reign of King Vikramabāhu I (1111–1132), the island was divided into three kingdoms—Rajarata, Dhakkinadesa, and Ruhuna. Vikramabāhu was however regarded as the greatest in dignity as he possessed Rajarata with its sites of religious and historical importance. However, Manabharana, king of Dhakkinadesa ("South Country"), and his brothers Sri Vallabha and Kittī Sri Megha, the joint kings of Ruhuna, were formidable rivals for the crown.<sup>[5]</sup> Furthermore all three were the descendants of Vijayabahu's sister, and thus had a strong claim to the throne; they are referred to in the Culavamsa as the Arya branch of the royal dynasty, whilst Vikramabāhu I is of the Kalinga branch.

### Birth

According to the ancient chronicle Culavamsa, Parākramabāhu's birth was predicted by a figure akin to a god seen in a dream by his father, King Manabharana of Dhakkinadesa.<sup>[6]</sup> A son was duly born to Manabharana's wife Ratnavali, and was named Parākramabāhu because of his "foe-crushing arms".<sup>[7]</sup> Though the year of his birth cannot be known exactly confirmed, it is generally thought to be around 1123. The location would almost certainly have been the capital of Dhakkinadesa, Punkhagama.<sup>[8]</sup>

Upon being informed of the child's birth, Vikramabāhu I in Polonnaruwa ordered that the boy be brought up as the heir to his throne. This kind of adoption may have been an olive branch of sorts on the part of Vikramabāhu, who wished to keep the throne until his death, after which it would be passed on to Parākramabāhu. Manabharana, however, rejected the offer, stating that "It is not (prudent) ... to send away such a jewel of a son". He also speculated that "...if the boy is taken thither, the party of Vikkamabahu... will gleam with mighty, up-shooting flames, but our misfortune, alas so great, will become still worse!"<sup>[9]</sup> The schism that existed between the royal clans of Sri Lanka was too deep to allow for this manner of accommodation.

Soon after the child's birth, Manabharana fell ill and died. His younger brother Kittī Sri Megha, who was joint king of Ruhuna, ascended the throne of Dakkinadesa, while Sri Vallabha was declared sole king of Ruhuna. Parākramabāhu, his mother Ratnavali and his two sisters Mitta and Pabhavati, were sent to live in Mahanagahula, the capital of Ruhuna, under the care of Sri Vallabha.<sup>[10]</sup>



Extent of the Chola Empire on the eve of Vijayabahu I's rebellion

## Youth

### In Ruhuna and Dhakkinadesa

The politics of Sri Lanka inevitably played a significant role in Parākramabāhu's upbringing. Whilst he was still young, his eldest sister Mitta was forcibly married to their cousin, Manabharana, the son of Sri Vallabha of Ruhuna, against the wishes of Queen Ratnavali.<sup>[11]</sup> Ratnavali was herself of the Kalinga clan of the royal family, and though she was the widow of a king of the Arya branch of the royal family, she preferred to see her daughters married to a king from the Kalinga clan. During his time at Sri Vallabha's court, Parākramabāhu met his future *mahesi* (queen consort) Lilavati, Sri Vallabha's daughter,<sup>[12]</sup> who following Parākramabāhu's death went on to rule the country in her own right.<sup>[13]</sup>

In 1132, following the death of Vikramabāhu, Gajabahu II succeeded to the throne of Rajarata. Taking advantage of the new king's youth, the two monarchs of the Arya branch of the Royal family, Sri Vallabha and Kitti Sri Megha, tried unsuccessfully to seize Rajarata by force.<sup>[14]</sup> Gajabahu established himself firmly as ruler and therefore nominally senior to the two Arya kings<sup>[14]</sup> and neither Sri Vallabha nor Kitti Sri Megha would live to see the king of Rajarata dethroned.

After the end of the Arya-Kalinga civil war, Parākramabāhu left Sri Vallabha's palace in Ruhuna and returned to Sankhatthali, the new capital of Dhakkinadesa, where he took up residence with his uncle.<sup>[15]</sup> The Culavamsa attributes the departure to his impatience and lack of stimulation in Ruhuna.<sup>[16]</sup> It may also have been caused by Sri Vallabha's plans to place Manabharana of Ruhuna on the throne of Rajarata, which made Parākramabāhu's position increasingly precarious in court.<sup>[16]</sup> In Dhakkinadesa, on the other hand, he was well received by Kitti Sri Megha, who had no sons of his own, where he was essentially adopted; the Culavamsa thereafter refers to Kitti as Parākramabāhu's father. During his time at Dhakkinadesa, he studied important works of Kautilya, and subjects such as grammar, literature, elephant-riding, martial arts, song and dance.<sup>[17]</sup>

### In Rajarata

Some time after his coming of age, the young prince left Dhakkinadesa in secrecy and set out for Gajabahu II's realm in Rajarata. Having met his allies at Badalattha (modern Batalagoda), he visited the *Senapathi* (commander) Sankha, on the border between Rajarata and Dhakkinadesa. When Sankha tried to inform Kitti Sri Megha of the prince's journey, Parākramabāhu had him killed.<sup>[18]</sup> Sankha had been his guardian and Kitti Sri Megha described him as 'mightiest vassal in my kingdom', making the murder all the more serious.<sup>[19]</sup> Parākramabāhu then seized Buddhagama (modern Menikdena Nuwara) and all of Sankha's property.<sup>[8]</sup> He continued his journey, having evaded a force sent against him by Kitti Sri Megha, who feared complications with the court of Polonnaruwa, and traveled through the Malaya region to Gajabahu's court.<sup>[8]</sup>



Few Sri Lankan kings built as many dagobas as Parākramabāhu.

The reasons for Parākramabāhu behavior are considered uncertain, but according to the Culavamsa, his journey was essentially one of reconnaissance.<sup>[20]</sup> Although the three monarchs of the provinces were united, they all harbored the wish to govern the kingdom of Rajarata. At the time, however, it was suggested that none of them could take control of Rajarata, due to the limited resources available in their small provinces.<sup>[20]</sup> Parakramabahu did not wish to believe this, and thus traveled to Rajarata to learn the conditions of the province himself.<sup>[20]</sup>

The reason provided for Kitti Sri Megha's efforts to bring the prince back to Dhakkinadesa are presented as nothing more than concern for the well being of his nephew as well as concerns that Parākramabāhu

may reignite hostilities between the Arya and Kalinga factions. However, that the king of Dhakkinadesa was "tenderly attached" to his nephew is regarded as "fiction", and it is pointed out that "the spirit in which the accounts of these conflicts are conceived is irreconcilable with the theory of untroubled relations between uncle and nephew."<sup>[21]</sup>

During his time in Gajabahu's court, the Parākramabāhu did two things of significance. The first was to enmesh the court of Gajabahu in a web of espionage and the other was to marry one of his sisters called Bhaddavati, to King Gajabahu. Through this marriage, and various other acts, Parākramabāhu managed matters that the ruler (Gajabahu I) completely trusted him, as much as he did the royal family.<sup>[22]</sup> Nevertheless, he retained the entirety of Bhaddavati's dowry for himself, and entered into secret negotiations with Gajabahu's general Gokanna. Gajabahu eventually grew suspicious of Parākramabāhu's activities, and Parākramabāhu departed Rajarata in secrecy by night and returned to Dhakkinadesa.<sup>[23]</sup>

## Return to Dhakkinadesa

In Dhakkinadesa, Parākramabāhu was reluctant to enter the capital Sankhatthali to see his uncle, King Kitti Sri Megha, until persuaded by his mother Ratnavali to do so. Kitti Sri Megha however died soon after Parākramabāhu's return and the Culavamsa notes that the prince "was not mastered by the agitation called forth by the grief at his father's (sic) death"—perhaps a sign of lingering ill feeling between the two.<sup>[24]</sup> Parākramabāhu was now king of Dhakkinadesa.

## King of Dhakkinadesa

### Government

Parākramabāhu's objective for Dhakkinadesa was to expand it so that it would surpass the greatness of other kingdoms, in a short period of time.<sup>[25]</sup> He started a huge program of construction and renovation, the remnants of which can still be seen in central Sri Lanka today. It is mentioned of him as having restored an ancient causeway called the Kotabaddha, over the Deduru Oya (Deduru Lake) near modern Kurunegala.<sup>[26]</sup> The new king's personality was illustrated when the architects commissioned to the project informed him that it was well-nigh impossible to carry out, to which Parākramabāhu replied that "What is there in the world that cannot be carried out by people of energy?"<sup>[27]</sup> He ordered the construction of canals and dams, and cleared a large area of forest around them for new fields. Most notably, he constructed the Parakrama Samudra (Sea of Parakrama), a giant reservoir from which a large swathe of territory derived its water supply. On islands in the middle of the reservoir he constructed a palace and a dagoba.<sup>[28]</sup>

He transformed the royal court, making it a hub of cultural activity, attracting young nobles skilled in various arts such as riding elephants or horses, swordsmanship, in the use of foreign tongues and in dance and song. He reformed the government of Dhakkinadesa, creating two ministries; the military affairs and the internal administration to which he later added a third department, which oversaw the management of mines. Trade was an important component of Dhakkinadesa's income since the island of Sri Lanka, given its geographical position, had always been at the junction of several major trade routes. Chinese silk was a significant import and was used in the consecration of statues and shrines.<sup>[29]</sup> Pearls and gems (of which the king took particular interest) constituted an important part of the island's exports, as did cinnamon (which remained, until the 19th century, Sri Lanka's major export), and war elephants.<sup>[30]</sup> Most trade was carried out through the main seaports of the principality, Kalpitiya, Halaavatha (Chilaw) and Colombo.<sup>[31]</sup>



Ruins of the royal palace of Polonnaruwa, beautified during Parākramabāhu's reign

### Preparation for war

Parākramabāhu's army had a diverse ethnic make-up. Some of his officers were from the two grand old clans of Sri Lanka, the Moriya and the Lambakanna, who had between them dominated Rajarata from Anuradhapura. A group of Tamil soldiers from near Kurunegala also rallied to him, under a man styling himself the king of Malaya (modern Dumbura). By the time hostilities broke out between Dhakkinadesa and Rajarata, the former's forces also included Veddas,<sup>[32]</sup> Cheras, and people from the lower castes not traditionally involved in martial activities. The Culavamsa places the number of soldiers at somewhere around 100,000 people, but the real figure was probably lower.<sup>[33]</sup> Parākramabāhu would have been able to field war elephants, cavalry, and siege engines, and his force represented a serious threat to Gajabahu's power in the north.

## Conquest of Rajarata

### War with Gajabahu

Around 1150, Parākramabāhu made his first move by seizing control of Malaya, strategically securing his eastern flank. He then moved his forces against various chieftains on the border of Rajarata. The final stage of this early campaign was the defeat of an army of Gajabahu himself, after which there was a brief ceasefire between the two sides.<sup>[34]</sup>

Hostilities resumed soon afterwards. Gajabahu had resorted to securing support from abroad, and by the time hostilities resumed between him and Parākramabāhu, the army of Rajarata included nobles of heretical faith from abroad.<sup>[35]</sup> Parākramabāhu himself did not participate in the invasion of Rajarata, but was responsible for the overall strategy of the campaign, which was based on the writings of Kautilya.<sup>[36]</sup>

The forces of Dhakkinadesa struck at the fortress of Mallavalana near the mouth of the Kala Oya, seizing it and occupying the western coast of Sri Lanka. The army then sailed up to the north and landed at a place called Muttakara or Mutukara ('Pearl-mine') near modern Mannar.<sup>[37]</sup> In the meantime, Gajabahu's senior general Gokanna suffered several defeats in the vicinity of Kala Vewa and was forced to appeal to the king of Rajarata for reinforcements.<sup>[38]</sup> Despite receiving these and meeting with some success in Malaya, Gokanna was again defeated by Parākramabāhu's general Mahinda, a rout so total that Gokanna fled the battle scene leaving behind his umbrella, an important status symbol in medieval Sri Lanka. The remnants of his force constructed a fortress in a jungle and took no further part in the war.<sup>[39]</sup>



A temple bearing a striking similarity to Khmer architecture, reflecting the ethnically varied populace of the country

By 1153, Parākramabāhu's forces were in a position to take Polonnaruwa. Rakkha and a junior general named Sukha inflicted another defeat on Gajabahu just 15 kilometres (**unknown operator: u'strong'** mi) from the city, seizing the capital of Rajarata soon afterwards.<sup>[40]</sup> The king and his two sons, Colaganga and Vikramabāhu, were imprisoned. Parākramabāhu was magnanimous in defeat, and laid out clear orders for the treatment of both the former king and the townspeople to his generals:<sup>[41]</sup>

“If the heads of districts and the officers, grown insolent by their victory in fight, slay the King (Gajabahu) whom they have captured, that is not right. And if they plunder the town and ill-treat the people and become unbridled, that is likewise not right. The gaining of the royal dignity takes place for the welfare of the order (Sangha) and the people alone, but not for the purpose of slaying... Therefore thou must go there, hold the unbridled in check, take the King under thy protection and make the town secure”

However some members of Parākramabāhu's army are known to have disregarded his commands and broken open house doors in Polonnaruwa, plundered goods and stole raiment and ornaments from the people of the city.<sup>[41][42]</sup>

The pillaging of Polonnaruwa was to have dire consequences for Parākramabāhu. Angered by the actions of the forces from Dhakkinadesa, the nobles and allies of Gajabahu—including his general Gokanna—appealed to Manabharana of Ruhuna, who was at Sorabara, in the center of the country, for assistance. Despite having an alliance with Gajabahu, Manabharana had remained neutral in the war up till that point. Then, on the eve of Parākramabāhu's victory, he stepped into the conflict and launched an invasion of Rajarata.<sup>[43]</sup>

### War with Manabharana and Gajabahu

Parākramabāhu sent his *Senpathi* (commander) Deva to restore order to Polonnaruwa, but he found himself in battle with Manabharana before he could reorganize his troops.<sup>[43]</sup> The king of Ruhuna kept to his word and delivered Parākramabāhu's forces a crushing blow, driving them from Polonnaruwa. For the Kalinga clan however, the alliance with Manabharana backfired as it was soon made clear that Manabharana intended to keep the city for himself. He put to death many of Gajabahu's senior officials, and imprisoned Gajabahu in a dungeon.<sup>[43]</sup> Manabharana's mother, Sugala (the niece of Vijayabahu I), and his wives were soon summoned from the south to live in Rajarata. The sacred Tooth Relic and the Alms Bowl Relic, long kept in the south, were now returned under his aegis to the north.<sup>[44]</sup>

Gajabahu then appealed to Parākramabāhu for assistance, and Parākramabāhu ordered his troops to cut off grain supplies to Polonnaruwa and harass travelers on the roads between Ruhuna and Rajarata. As a result, all the people in the town with King Manabharana became "weakened birds in a cage".<sup>[45]</sup> With the sporadic attacks from Dhakkinadesan forces slowly grinding down his power in the north, Manabharana left Polonnaruwa to attack a force commanded by Rakkha that had been wreaking havoc in western Rajarata. In his absence Parākramabāhu's forces seized Polonnaruwa, liberated Gajabahu II, and took into their possession the entirety of Manabharana's treasury. The disheartened king of Ruhuna returned to the south with his family and the sacred relics.

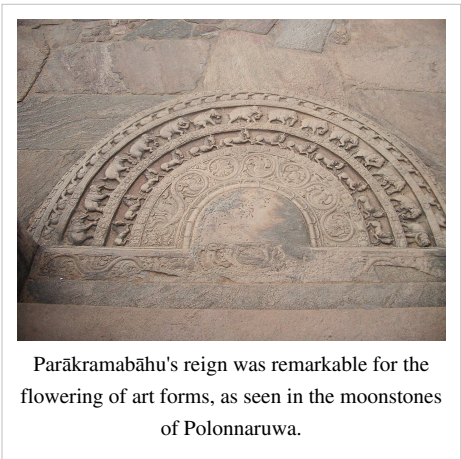
Gajabahu, who had been set free, left Polonnaruwa before Parākramabāhu arrived and decided to leave the country by ship. However, an attack by some of Gajabahu's followers on Parākramabāhu's troops reignited hostilities between the two, and Parākramabāhu sent his army to capture Gajabahu. By late 1153, after suffering a number of defeats, Gajabahu realized his capture was imminent, and appealed to the Sangha to intervene.<sup>[46]</sup> They persuaded Parākramabāhu that the ailing king no longer posed a threat, and that he should be allowed to live out the rest of his days in peace. Manabharana tried to woo the king back to the battle against Parākramabāhu, but Gajabahu refused,<sup>[46]</sup> having the words "I have made over Rajarata to Parākramabāhu" inscribed on a stone tablet to confirm his abdication in favor of Parākramabāhu.<sup>[47]</sup> Gajabahu moved to Gantale (Kantalai<sup>[48]</sup>), where he died in the 22nd year after his coronation as king of Rajarata.<sup>[8]</sup>



Coronation and defeat of Manabharana

Parākramabāhu was immediately crowned king of Rajarata, but the war was far from over. Manabharana struck again, sending his armies to the Mahaweli River and attempting to cross into Rajarata via two fords. In the meantime, Narayana, a chieftain based at Anuradhapura, rose in rebellion, and Parākramabāhu's hold in the north was again threatened.

On this occasion Parākramabāhu decided to vanquish Manabharana once and for all; "Not even in Rohana will I permit King Manabharana who is here crushed in war, to find a hold".<sup>[49]</sup> Rakkha was commanded to hold the fords at the Mahaweli River, whilst Parākramabāhu himself attacked from Dhakkinadesa into Ruhuna. Narayan's rebellion was suppressed by another force, leaving Rakkha, who had successfully held the fords at the Mahaweli River, free to invade from the north.



If Parākramabāhu had hoped for a swift victory, it did not happen. Manabharana defeated Rakkha's army and drove them back to Rajarata. Parākramabāhu found himself facing dissension within his own ranks and the defeat of his forces in Malaya; Manabharana even recaptured Polonnaruwa and with it most of Rajarata.<sup>[50]</sup> Despite this Parākramabāhu persevered with the offensive, withdrawing from his southern campaign and concentrating his forces in the north. Manabharana once again found himself besieged in Polonnaruwa. Both sides were exhausted by the incessant warfare of the preceding years, and Manabharana eventually fled the city for Ruhuna. His forces were overtaken at the Mahaweli River by Parākramabāhu's army and annihilated; the king returned to the south in time to pass away from a combination of disease and exhaustion.<sup>[51]</sup>

Parākramabāhu was finally the unquestioned lord of the entire island of Sri Lanka, even though it had been at the cost of around five years of incessant warfare. In years to come the king himself was to regard this war as one of the most significant events of his reign, mentioning it in several of his edicts carved on stone, such as the one near Devangala.<sup>[52]</sup> He celebrated by summoning Manabharana's son to Polonnaruwa and concluding a peace with him, followed by a lavish coronation ceremony.<sup>[53]</sup>

Timeline of accession of Parākramabāhu to the throne											
Kingdom	Monarch										
	1090	1100	1110	1120	1130	1140	1150	1160	1170	1180	
Rajarata			Vikramabāhu I			Gajabāhu II					
Dakkinadesa	Vijayabāhu I		Manabharana		Kitti Sri Megha		Parākramabāhu I				
Ruhuna			Sri Vallabha & Kitti Sri Megha		Sri Vallabha	Manabharana					



## Reign

Parākramabāhu established himself at Polonnaruwa (Pulatthinagara as mentioned in the Chulavamsa) from 1153 onwards and ruled over the entirety of Sri Lanka for the next 33 years. During this time he undertook much of the work he is best remembered for, most significantly in the areas of religious reform, construction, and war.

## Religious reform

During the reign of king Vatta Gamini Abhaya (king Valagamba) (104 BCE, 88 BCE – 76 BCE), the sangha (Buddhist monks) of the country had divided into three rival orders—the Theravada order of the Maha Vihara, the order of the Abhayagiri Vihara and the order of the Dhakkina Vihara.<sup>[54]</sup> One of Parākramabāhu's ambitions was the reunification of these groups into one order, as had existed at the time of King Dutugemunu. Furthermore, much of the sangha had become corrupted over the years, with monks marrying and having children, and in many cases behaving much like laymen in their pursuit of worldly gain.<sup>[55]</sup>



The Vatadage, Parākramabāhu's Temple of the Tooth Relic

Around 1165, a council was called in Polonnaruwa to discuss the reform of the sangha.<sup>[8]</sup> Parākramabāhu's chief agent in the enterprise was to be the Mahathera Kasyapa, an experienced monk who "knew the Tipitaka and was exceedingly well versed in the Vinaya".<sup>[56]</sup> There was immense resistance to Parākramabāhu's efforts, in particular from the Abhayagiri sect who now adhered to the heretical Vetullavada tradition, and whom the king found to be particularly corrupt. Many monks moved abroad rather than participate in the reforms, whilst others simply abandoned the cloth and returned to lay life. In this they may well have been encouraged by Parākramabāhu, who seems to have felt that the "purification" of the priestly orders depended as much on the expulsion and exclusion of the corrupt as it did on the rewarding and encouragement of the orthodox.<sup>[57]</sup> There are several references to individuals being given "lucrative positions" in order to keep them out of their respective Orders.<sup>[58]</sup> Finally, the king summoned the leaders of the sangha on the island once a year, centering the visit on a ritual on the banks of the Mahaweli river—possibly a practical means of keeping up-to-date with their progress and their standards.<sup>[57][58]</sup>

Following the crushing of Queen Sugala's rebellion in 1157, Parākramabāhu had the Tooth Relic and the Alms Bowl Relic brought to Polonnaruwa; the former was placed inside a jewel in the Temple of the Tooth Relic in Polonnaruwa.<sup>[59]</sup> Such constructions became a hallmark of Parākramabāhu's reign; his buildings for the sangha are described in great detail in the Culavamsa and comprise an impressive body of work, often accompanied with inscriptions stating his intentions and accomplishments, such as at the Gal Vihare.<sup>[60]</sup>

## Construction

Parākramabāhu's constructions work made up a significant chunk of the material history of Sri Lanka. Much of the remnants of Polonnaruwa date from his reign, as well as sites in western and south-eastern Sri Lanka. One of Parākramabāhu's first projects was the restoration of Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of Sri Lankan Kings which had been utterly destroyed by the Chola army, including the restoration of Thuparamaya (which had been lost to the jungle), Mihintale, and Ruwanwelisaya.<sup>[62][63]</sup> Then, having founded an administrative center called Parakramapura, he turned his attention on Polonnaruwa. Unsurprisingly, due to the near-yearly sieges, the city had suffered and had reached a state that nothing but its name remained. It is perhaps because of this that so little of pre-12th century Polonnaruwa remains today.<sup>[29]</sup>

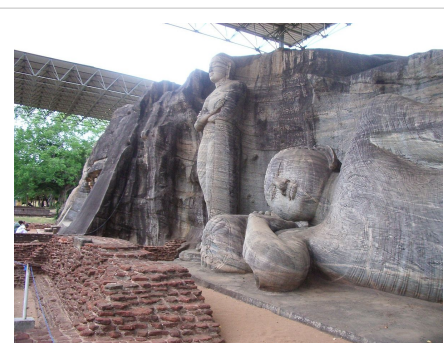
The king initially divided the city into four districts or suburbs, each marked with its own alms-giving house for the clergy, containing "vessels of bronze, cushions and pillows, mats, carpets and bedsteads".<sup>[64]</sup> He ordered the construction of hospitals, which he visited on several occasions.<sup>[65]</sup> He also expanded Polonnaruwa's city walls, constructing an elaborate three-walled complex featuring turrets for archers and fourteen gates. None of which has survived till modern times. Beyond the city precinct it is believed he constructed or renovated three smaller townships, in addition to Parakramapura - Rajavesi Bhujanga, Raja Kulantaka (Sinhapura), and Vijitapura.<sup>[66]</sup> Extensive gardens were also laid down around Polonnaruwa, featuring ponds and bathing-pools, one of which, the Twin Pools, survives till this date. One such garden, the 'Island Garden', extended into the middle of Thupa Vewa ('Vewa' meaning 'tank' or 'reservoir' in Sinhala) on a promontory.<sup>[67]</sup>

Much else survives, such as the Gal Vihare, or "Stone Shrine", near Polonnaruwa. The Culavamsa attributes the monument in its entirety to Parākramabāhu, though in truth his contribution may have been extensive refurbishment.<sup>[68]</sup> The Vatadage, or "Circular Temple", was constructed around 1157 following the suppression of Queen Sugala's revolt in Ruhuna, to host the recently recovered Tooth Relic and Alms Bowl Relic. The Lankatilaka Temple, Alahena Pirivena, Jetavanaramaya and the Demala Maha Cetiya were also constructed in his reign. At the center of Polonnaruwa Parākramabāhu expanded and beatified the royal palace. Little of it remains today, but its soaring walls hint at the grand scale of the king's vision.

Parākramabāhu also continued his program of hydraulic works begun in Dhakkinadesa, including the renovation and reconstruction of reservoirs and canals wrecked during the Chola invasion. Inscriptions detailing his work can be found at the Maha Vewa near Uruwela, Padaviya Vewa and Panda Vewa in North-Western Province. A column discovered at the bottom of the Padaviya Vewa in the 19th century included the inscription "Made for the benefit of the whole world by the prosperous Sri Parakrama-Bahu, born at Sinhapura, minded of what was fit to be done".<sup>[69]</sup> Though the Culavamsa attributes the *construction* of various tanks to him, it has been suggested that much of Parākramabāhu's work was *renovation*, and indeed that some of the projects undertaken by his successor Nissanka Malla may have been attributed to him.<sup>[70]</sup> In all Parākramabāhu is said to have restored or constructed over 216 reservoirs and tanks.



The Parakrama Samudra (Sea of Parakrama), the largest irrigation tank built by Parakramabahu<sup>[61]</sup>



Gal Vihare ('The Stone Shrine') features three statues of the Buddha in three different poses carved from the same large rock.

Despite their magnificence, Parākramabāhu's works exacted a heavy toll on the populace and the treasury. For much of the work in Anuradhapura he utilized Tamil prisoners of war seized during the Pandyan War.<sup>[71]</sup> Nevertheless taxation and *rajakariya* (a feudal system in which work was owed to the king by commoners) contributed in large part to the projects. An interesting indicator of the burden of taxation is the disappearance of larger gold coins towards the end of Parākramabāhu's reign.<sup>[8]</sup>

## Military campaigns

Parākramabāhu's reign is memorable for two major campaigns—in the south of India as part of a Pandyan war of succession, and a punitive strike against the kings of Ramanna (Myanmar) for various perceived insults to Sri Lanka. He also had to suppress revolts against him in Ruhuna on several occasions.

### Revolts

In 1156, Queen Sugala of Ruhuna, the mother of Manabharana of Ruhuna who had fought Parākramabāhu bitterly for the throne, joined a revolt against Parākramabāhu. The situation turned dire when a group of mercenaries took the opportunity afforded by the absence of Parākramabāhu's army, and his most formidable general Rakkha, to revolt in 1157.

Whilst the insurrection continued in the north, Parākramabāhu dispatched another general, Bhuta, to assist Rakkha, who had become bogged down in conflict in Ruhuna. The Culavamsa mentions the soldiers in Bhuta's army wearing "doublets made of buffalo hide"<sup>[72]</sup> to protect themselves against arrows. Despite reinforcements Rakkha and Bhuta appear to have become stuck in a war of attrition not unlike Parākramabāhu's wars for the throne. Certainly it outlasted a simultaneous rebellion in the north, which after three months of fighting ended after an engagement in the vicinity of Dik Vewa. The only major victory of this early phase of the rebellion in Ruhuna was the seizure of the Sacred Relics in late 1157.

The tide finally turned when reinforcements arrived in Ruhuna, probably in early 1158, through Sabaragamuwa, and from the western coast.<sup>[8]</sup> Mahagama was seized and Queen Sugala captured. The forces of Parākramabāhu then inflicted something of a bloodbath on the nobility and citizens of Ruhuna, seemingly with the king's approval. "They caused many foes to whom severity was due, to be brought before them, and at villages and market-towns they had numbers of stakes set up on which they impaled many hundreds of the enemy. Many other foes they had hanged on the gallows and burnt and showed forth in every way the majesty of Parākramabāhu".<sup>[73]</sup> It may well have been the case that the king was tired of the constant animosity directed at him by the kingdom. The brutal suppression of the rebellion ensured that, apart from a brief insurrection in 1160, Ruhuna remained quiet for the rest of his reign. The fate of Queen Sugala is not recorded. The only other rebellion of Parākramabāhu's reign occurred in the region of modern Mantota in from 1168–1169.

### War with Bagan, 1164–1165

The kingdom of Bagan (Arimaddhanapura) in what is now Myanmar, and Sri Lanka had enjoyed a cordial relationship based on trade and a common faith (Theravada Buddhism) for a long time. Bagan emerged as a power in the 9th century and by the 11th century its capital city, Arimaddhanapura, was a centre of Buddhist learning.

However with the accession of Narathu (1160–1165), the grandson of Alaung Sithu, to the throne, the situation changed dramatically. Initially he deprived the envoys of the King of Sri Lanka the maintenance they were previously granted.<sup>[74]</sup> He also issued an order prohibiting the sale of elephants to foreign countries and did away with the age old custom of presenting an elephant to every foreign vessel which brought him gifts. He later had the Sri Lankan envoys imprisoned and tortured, and had all their possessions, including their money, their elephants and their vessels confiscated. He later summoned them and declared,

“Henceforth no vessel from the Sinhala country shall be sent to my kingdom. Give us now in writing the declaration that if [messengers] from there are again sent to us, in case we should slay the envoys who have come here, no blame of any kind will attach to us. If ye give not the declaration ye shall not have permission to return home.”<sup>[74]</sup>

It is not certain whether this was part of a particular move against Sri Lankan merchants, or a general closing down of Baganese borders. Whatever the reason, Parākramabāhu was incensed. Assembling a fleet at Pallavavanka, he dispatched to Bagan a formidable force. The size of the army is not known, but it is recorded as containing a year's supply of grains, specially modified arrows, and Sri Lanka's fearsome war elephants. Despite setbacks en route, including the sinking of one ship and the loss of a few others, the army arrived at the city of Kusumiya (modern Patheina) on the banks of the Bago river, and captured it.<sup>[8][75]</sup> Thereafter, the armies captured several other cities, including Arimaddhanapura, killed Narathu, and restored relations between the two countries to normal.

The account of the campaign in Bagan is possibly exaggerated, particularly as Burmese chronicles do not contain any information on a massive invasion from Lanka. Nevertheless there is evidence to indicate that there was some form of campaign undertaken, and that it was a successful one. The story of a Sri Lankan invasion that dethroned Narathu is known in Myanmar.<sup>[76]</sup> Furthermore, contemporary inscriptions from Devanagala mentions the awarding of land to the general Kittu Nagaragiri for his leadership in a campaign to 'Ramanna', naming the king of Bagan as 'Bhuvanaditta', a possible Lankanization of 'Narathu'.<sup>[77]</sup>

### Pandya War, 1167–1183

In 1167 the Pandyan king Parakrama appealed to his namesake in Lanka for assistance against an alliance of his rival Kulasekhara Pandya and the Cholas. Such an appeal was not unusual, as the Pandya had long found allies in the Sinhalese against the Cholas, and their nobility had spent some time in exile at the court of Mahinda IV (956–972) after the invasion of their land by Parantaka Chola II.

On this occasion however the Sri Lankan help came too late. By the time Parākramabāhu's general Lankapura arrived in Pandya Nadu, Kulasekhara had captured the capital Madhurai and killed King Parakrama's wife and children. His son Prince Virapandu however had managed to escape. Rather than head for Madhurai, Lankapura landed in the vicinity of Ramanathapuram and captured the city of



Bagan, the capital of the kingdom against which Parākramabāhu launched an invasion in 1164



Parākramabāhu's alliance with Parakrama Pandya contributed in significantly shrinking the Chola empire by 1120

Rameswaram, which remained in Sri Lankan hands for the next thirty years or so.<sup>[8]</sup> Here they built a fortress called Parakramapura. In this early phase of the war they fought Kulasekhara on several occasions, eventually laying siege to him in Madhurai and seizing the city. Virapandu was restored to power, but apparently only as a puppet, as the Sri Lankan army under Lankapura remained in Madhurai and continued to engage the Chola across south India.<sup>[78]</sup>

The Culavamsa dedicates much of chapter LXXVII to a description of the ensuing war between Lankapura and Kulasekhara, who apparently fought on with assistance from the Cheras. The Lankan effort was so successful that Parākramabāhu appears to have established a near-permanent authority over Pandya Nadu (the chapter is entitled *Conquest of the Pandya Kingdom*), even establishing a city called Panduvijaya in commemoration of the conquest.<sup>[79]</sup> However the account ends abruptly. No mention is made of Lankapura's return to Sri Lanka, nor of whether Virapandu III succeeded on hanging on to power.

The remainder of the story can be gleaned from inscriptions in south India and by inference. The Sinhala army is known to have scored a number of victories over the Chola army. However, the Pallavarayanpettai inscription indicates that Lankapura was defeated in 1171 and his head was nailed to the gates of Madhurai by Rajadhiraja Chola II (1163–1178).<sup>[8][80]</sup> Nevertheless the forces of Parākramabāhu appear to have remained in Pandya Nadu, scoring victories over Rajadhiraja II in 1176. It was not until 1181 when Virapandu III was defeated that the Sri Lankan army withdrew from Pandya Nadu, retaining only the area around Rameshwaram.

## Death and legacy

Further information: Queen Lilavati

The Culavamsa states only that Parākramabāhu "carried on rule for thirty-three years", and that he died in Polonnaruwa. He was succeeded by Vijayabahu II, described as his 'sister's son', who he had summoned from Sinhapura, capital of Kalinga.<sup>[81]</sup> It is highly unlikely that Vijayabahu was son of either Pabhavati or Mitta, Parākramabāhu's sisters who were married to Manabharana of Ruhuna, as this would not explain why he had to be summoned from Kalinga. Nor could he be son of Gajabahu and Bhaddavati, the other named sister of the king, as the Culavamsa explicitly states that Gajabahu had no sons who outlived him.<sup>[82]</sup> It has been postulated that Vijayabahu was in fact the son of an unknown fourth sister who had been married to a king of Kalinga. His place of burial is unknown.

During his reign, Sri Lankan power contributed to the destabilizing of the Chola power of south India and Sri Lankan forces continued to have a presence in Rameswaram till the end of the 12th century. There are also records of Sinhala victories until well into the reign of King Nissanka Malla (1187–1196).<sup>[8]</sup> Furthermore the sheer size and extent of the king's construction projects can still be seen in Polonnaruwa today, as well as in the various carvings dotted around the country vaunting the accomplishments of the "Great King". However such success came at a price. Relentless warfare took its toll on the country and Parākramabāhu's reliance on Tamil mercenaries proved to be a destabilizing force after his death. Taxation was high under his reign and high-value coinage all but disappeared towards the end of his rule, a sign of increasing poverty. One of his successor Nissanka Malla's most popular actions was reducing taxation.<sup>[8]</sup>

Despite his personal reputation and authority, Parākramabāhu did not take any steps towards ensuring a smooth succession. One reason offered is the strength of Sri Lankan conventional law, which contained fairly fluid conventions for the replacement of rulers.<sup>[83]</sup> The chronic instability of the years after his reign undid many of his accomplishments and developed into a crisis that the country never recovered from. The popularity of Parākramabāhu is attested by the fact that no less than seven monarchs adopted his name over the next four centuries, of whom only two or three could lay claim to even a fraction of his successes. His ultimate weakness was the lack of restraint in his spending, taking Sri Lanka to greater heights that it had reached in a long time, but exhausting the island's resources in the process.<sup>[84]</sup>

The Sri Lankan Navy has two ships named after the King.

## Notes

Much information used in this article was gleaned from Willian Geiger's extensive footnotes to his translation of the Culavamsa.

- [1] Paranavitana, *History of Ceylon*, p. 199
- [2] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Parakramabahu I (<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9058393/Parakramabahu-I#161133.hook>)
- [3] Culavamsa, LXVIII, 8
- [4] *Kenneth Hall*, "Economic History of Early South Asia", in Nicholas Tarling (ed), *The Cambridge History of South East Asia*, Vol. I, Cambridge 1994
- [5] Culavamsa, Chapter LXI
- [6] Manabharana saw in a dream a wondrous god with glittering raiment and ornaments, adorned with fragrant flower wreaths, illuminating with his sublime beauty and the glory of his presence the whole heavens...and he heard him speak thus: "Be content, O greatly blessed! Be joyful, O King! A splendid son, furnished with the tokens of power...of a courage whose splendor shall spread through the world, glorious in might and strength, honor and fame, a fount of excellent qualities, a furtherer of the Order and of the laity shall be attained by thee ere long, O mighty King!"; *Culavamsa*, LXII 12–29
- [7] Culavamsa, Chapter LXII, 52–53
- [8] Codrington, *A Short History*, chap. IV
- [9] Culavamsa, Chapter LXII, 62–67
- [10] Culavamsa, Chapter LXII, 68
- [11] Culavamsa, Chapter LXIII, 15
- [12] "Pali Names" ([http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/l/liilaavatii.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/l/liilaavatii.htm)). . Retrieved 2006-10-30.
- [13] Lilavati would rule Sri Lanka on three separate occasions, from 1197–1200, from 1209–1210 and from 1211-1212 - Paranavitana, *History of Ceylon*, p. 345
- [14] Culavamsa, Chapter LXIII, 23
- [15] Culavamsa, Chapter LXIV, 7
- [16] Culavamsa, Chapter LXIII, 41
- [17] Culavamsa, Chapter LXIV, 5–9
- [18] Culavamsa, Chapter LXIV, 36–38
- [19] Culavamsa, Chapter LXVI, 60
- [20] Culavamsa, LXIV 55–61
- [21] Geiger, *Culavamsa*, Introduction
- [22] Geiger, *Culavamsa*, Introduction, & LXV, 149–150
- [23] Paranavitana, *History of Ceylon*, p. 204
- [24] Culavamsa, Chapter LXVII, 80
- [25] Culavamsa, LXVIII, 4
- [26] Culavamsa, LXVIII, 16
- [27] Culavamsa, LXVIII, 19
- [28] Culavamsa, LXVII, 20–45
- [29] Culavamsa, LXXIII, 56
- [30] Culavamsa, LXIX, 19–29
- [31] Paranavithana, *History of Ceylon*, p. 205
- [32] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 23
- [33] Culavamsa, LXIX, 6–23
- [34] Culavamsa, LXX, 1–28
- [35] Culavamsa, LXX, 53
- [36] Culavamsa, LXX, 55
- [37] Culavamsa LXX, 64
- [38] Culavamsa, LXX, 71–77
- [39] Culavamsa LXX 84–90; look in particular to Geiger's footnotes
- [40] Culavamsa, LXX 116–173
- [41] Culavamsa, 245–254
- [42] Paranavitana, *History of Ceylon*, p. 208
- [43] Paranavitana, *History of Ceylon*, p. 209
- [44] Culavamsa, LXX, 258–270
- [45] Culavamsa, LXX, 292–293
- [46] Paranavitana, *History of Ceylon*, p. 211
- [47] Culavamsa, LXXI, 3–4
- [48] Place names in Sri Lanka (<http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http://www.geocities.com/place.names/index.html&date=2009-10-25+14:05:17>)



- [49] Culavamsa, LXXI, 56
- [50] Culavamsa, LXXI, 60–109
- [51] Culavamsa, LXXI, 301
- [52] Bell, *Report on Kegalle District*, (1892), p. 72–73
- [53] Culavamsa, LXXI, 310
- [54] Mahavamsa, XXXIII, 95
- [55] Culavamsa, LXXVIII, 1–3
- [56] Culavamsa, LXXVIII, 7
- [57] Paranavitana, *History of Ceylon*, p. 215
- [58] Culavamsa, LXXVIII, 29–31
- [59] Culavamsa, LXXIV, 220–245
- [60] Wickramasinghe, *Epigraphica Zeylonica*, vol. 2, p. 256
- [61] *My Sri Lanka travel*, Parakrama Samudraya ([http://www.mysrilanka.com/travel/history/parakrama\\_samudraya.htm](http://www.mysrilanka.com/travel/history/parakrama_samudraya.htm))
- [62] Culavamsa, LXXIV, 1
- [63] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 268
- [64] Culavamsa, LXXIV, 22–23
- [65] Culavamsa, LXXIV, 41–43
- [66] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 237
- [67] Culavamsa, LXXIII, 113
- [68] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 217
- [69] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 249
- [70] Muller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 19; quoted in Parker's *Ancient Ceylon*
- [71] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 281
- [72] Culavamsa, LXXIV, 73
- [73] Culavamsa, LXXV, 190–192
- [74] Culavamsa, LXXVI, 15–31
- [75] Culavamsa, LXXIV, 53–57
- [76] King Narathu. (<http://www.ancientbagan.com/king-narathu.htm>) AncientBagan.com. Retrieved 7 December 2006.
- [77] Bell, *Report*, p. 72
- [78] Culavamsa, LXXVII, 6
- [79] Culavamsa, LXXVII, 105
- [80] Geiger, *Culavamsa*, LXXVII, footnotes
- [81] Culavamsa, LXXX, 1–3
- [82] Culavamsa, LXX, 333
- [83] Geiger, *Culavamsa*, Introduction
- [84] De Silva, *History of Sri Lanka*, p.63

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- Perera, L.H.H., *Additional chapters to H.W. Codrington's A short history of Ceylon*, Macmillan, London 1952.

## External links

- An extensive online resource on Sri Lankan history, containing the Mahavamsa, Culavamsa, and numerous historical works. (<http://www.lakdiva.org>)
  - A site on the now-lost cities of Ruhuna. (<http://www.infolanka.com/org/srilanka/hist/hist5.html>)
  - A site about the Bagan Kingdom. (<http://www.ancientbagan.com/bagan-history.htm>)
  - *The Culavamsa: Being the More Recent Part of the Mahavamsa*, W. Geiger ([http://lakdiva.org/culavamsa/vol\\_1.html](http://lakdiva.org/culavamsa/vol_1.html))
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# Peter Krešimir IV of Croatia

Peter Krešimir IV the Great	
King of Croatia and Dalmatia <sup>[1]</sup>	
Seal of Petar Krešimir IV	
Seal of Petar Krešimir IV	
Reign	1058–1074/5
Coronation	1059
Predecessor	Stephen I of Croatia
Successor	Demetrius Zvonimir
Issue	
Neda	
House	House of Trpimirović, House of Krešimirović
Father	Stephen I of Croatia
Mother	Joscella (Hicela) Orseolo or Mary
Born	Venice ?
Died	1074/5
Burial	Church of St. Stephen, Solin

**Peter Krešimir IV**, called **the Great** (Croatian: *Petar Krešimir IV Veliki*) (died 1075), was a notably energetic King of Croatia from 1059 to his death in 1074/1075.<sup>[2]</sup> He was the last great ruler of the Krešimirović branch of the House of Trpimirović.

Under his rule the Croatian realm reached its peak territorially, earning him the sobriquet "the Great," otherwise unique in Croatian history.<sup>[3]</sup> He kept his seat at Nin and Biograd na Moru,<sup>[1]</sup> however, the city of Šibenik holds a statue of him and is sometimes called *Krešimir's city* ("Krešimirov grad", in Croatian) because he is generally credited as the founder.<sup>[4][5]</sup>

## Reign



## Religious policy



Peter Krešimir IV. being recognized as a king by the diocese of Split.

Peter Krešimir was born as one of two children to king Stephen I and his wife Hicela (or Mary), who was possibly of Venetian descent.<sup>[6]</sup> Raised in Venice, Krešimir succeeded his father Stephen I upon his death in 1058 and was crowned the next year. It is not known where his coronation took place, but some historians suggest Biograd as a possibility.<sup>[7]</sup>

It has been rumored that Krešimir murdered his brother *Gojislav* (or Častimir) to secure the throne for himself. This created such an outcry from the church that Pope Alexander II sent one of his delegates to investigate the death of Gojislav. Only after the prince and 12 Croatian župans had taken oath that he did not kill his brother, the Pope restored the royal power to Krešimir.<sup>[8]</sup>

From the outset, he continued the policies of his father, but was immediately commanded by Pope Nicholas II first in 1059. and then in 1060 to reform the Croatian church in accordance with the Roman rite. This was especially significant to the papacy in the aftermath of the Great Schism of 1054, when a papal ally in the Balkans was a necessity. Kresimir and the upper nobility lent their support to the pope and the church of Rome.

The lower nobility and the peasantry, however, were far less well-disposed to reforms. The Croatian priesthood was aligned towards Byzantine orientalism, including having long beards and marrying. More so, the ecclesiastical service was likely practiced in the native Slavonic (Glagolitic), whereas the pope demanded practice in Latin. This caused a rebellion of the clergy led by a priest named *Vuk* against celibacy and the Latin liturgy in 1063, but they were proclaimed heretical at a synod of 1064. and excommunicated, a decision which Kresimir supported. He harshly quelled all opposition and sustained a firm alignment towards western Romanism, with the intent of more fully integrating the Dalmatian populace into his realm. In turn, he could then use them to balance the power caused by the growing feudal class. By the end of Krešimir's reign, feudalism had made permanent inroads into Croatian society and Dalmatia had been permanently associated with the Croatian state.<sup>[9]</sup>

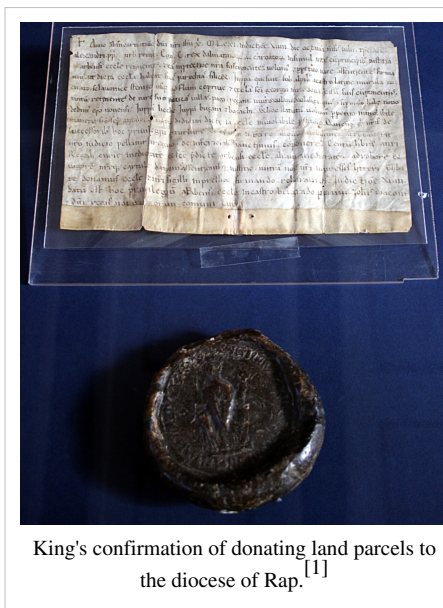
The income from the cities further strengthened Krešimir's power, and he subsequently fostered the development of more cities, such as Biograd, Nin, Šibenik, Karin, and Skradin. He also had several monasteries constructed, like the Benedictine monastery of *St. John the Evangelist* in Biograd,<sup>[10]</sup> and donated much land to the Church. In 1066, he granted a charter to the new monastery of St.Mary in Zadar, where the founder and first nun was his cousin, the Abbess *Čika*. This remains the oldest Croatian monument in the city of Zadar, and became a spearhead for the reform movement. Several other Benedictine monasteries were also founded during his reign, including the one in Skradin.

## Territorial policy

Krešimir greatly expanded Croatia along the Adriatic coastland and in the mainland eastwards.<sup>[7]</sup> He made the ban of Slavonia, Dmitar Zvonimir, of the related Svetoslavić brand of his house, his principal adviser with the title Duke (or ban) of Croatia. This act brought Slavonia into the Croatian fold definitively.

It is notable that, according to some royal documents, he ruled with three of his bans, each having a jurisdiction over a major part of the kingdom; Zvonimir as a Ban of Slavonia (c.1065–1075), Gojčo (1060–1069), who was a Ban of Littoral Croatia, and a Ban of Bosnia.<sup>[10]</sup>

In 1069, he gave the island of Maun, near Nin, to the monastery of *St. Krševan* in Zadar, in thanks for the "expansion of the kingdom on land and on sea, by the grace of the omnipotent God" (*quia Deus omnipotenus terra marique nostrum prolungavit regnum*). In his surviving document, Krešimir nevertheless did not fail to point out that it was "our own island that lies on our Dalmatian sea" (*nostram propriam insulam in nostro Dalmatico mari sitam, que vocatur Mauni*).<sup>[11]</sup>



King's confirmation of donating land parcels to the diocese of Rap.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Relations with Byzantium and the Normans

In 1069, he had the Byzantine Empire recognize him as supreme ruler of the parts of Dalmatia Byzantium had controlled since the Croatian dynastic struggle of 997.<sup>[12]</sup> At the time, the empire was at war both with the Seljuk Turks in Asia and the Normans in southern Italy, so Krešimir took the opportunity and, avoiding an imperial nomination as proconsul or eparch, consolidated his holdings as the *regnum Dalmatiae et Chroatia*. This was not a formal title, but it designated a unified political-administrative territory, which had been the chief desire of the Croatian kings.<sup>[11]</sup>



Statue of Petar Krešimir IV in Šibenik

During Krešimir's reign, the Normans first became involved in Balkan politics and Krešimir soon came in contact with them. After the 1071 Battle of Manzikert, where the Seljuk Turks routed the Eastern Imperial army, the Serbs instigated a rebellion of Slavic boyars in Macedonia. In 1072, Krešimir lent his aid to the uprising. However, against all odds, the empire relatively quickly retaliated in 1074. In 1075., the Norman Count Amico invaded Croatia from southern Italy, either at the command of Constantinople or on behalf of the Dalmatian cities (by invitation to protect them from Croatian domination). Amico besieged Rab for almost a month (late April to early May). He failed to take the island, but he allegedly did manage to capture the Croatian king himself at an unidentified location. In return for liberation, he was forced to relinquish many cities, including both his capitals, as well as Zadar, Split, and Trogir. His followers also collected a large ransom. However, he was not liberated. Over the next two years, the Republic of Venice banished the Normans and secured the cities for themselves.<sup>[13]</sup>

## Death and succession

Nearing the end of his reign, Krešimir had no sons, but only a daughter by the name of *Neda*. His brothers were dead, so the end of Krešimir IV meant the end of the usurper Krešimir III of Croatia branch of Trpimirović dynasty. Krešimir designated his cousin and duke of Slavonia, Demetrius Zvonimir, as his heir with which he has restored Svetoslav Suronja branch of dynasty. According to some historians, Zvonimir deposed him and is uncertain whether he died in a Norman prison during the first half of 1075 or not.<sup>[10]</sup> It is suggested by Johannes Lucius that an usurpator king, called *Slavac*, succeeded the throne somewhere during 1074 and reigned only for a year before getting taken down and Zvonimir taking over.<sup>[12][14]</sup>

Krešimir was buried in the church of St. Stephen<sup>[15]</sup> in Solin, together with the other dukes and kings of Croatia. Unfortunately, several centuries later the Ottoman Turks destroyed the church, banished the monks who had preserved it, and destroyed the graves.<sup>[16]</sup>

## Legacy

Krešimir is, by some historians, regarded as one of the greatest Croatian rulers. Thomas the Archdeacon named him "the great" in his work *Historia Salonitana* during the 13th century for his significance in unifying the Dalmatian coastal cities with the Croatian state and accomplishing a peak in Croatia's territorial extent. The RTOP-11 of the Croatian navy was named after Krešimir. The city of Šibenik holds a statue of him and some schools in the vicinity are named after Krešimir.

## Notes

**^ i:** It is questionable if Hicela was actually married to Stjepan I (the son of Krešimir III) since it is also probable that historical sources mix him with another personality with the same name, this figure was the son of Svetoslav Suronja, and later a close friend of the Venetian doge.

[1] [http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/\\_DigitalniArhiv/Monumenta/HR-HDA-876-7.htm](http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/_DigitalniArhiv/Monumenta/HR-HDA-876-7.htm)

[2] <http://www.hr/hrvatska/povijest/vladari>

[3] *Ante Oršanić*, "Hrvatski orač", 1939.

[4] Šibenik – a story of four citadels (<http://www.crotouristica.com/en/Sibenik.adeo>)

[5] Dragutin Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske*. Zagreb, 2007.

[6] <http://www.genealogy.euweb.cz/italy/orseolo.html>

[7] <http://crohis.com/knjige/Sisic%20-%20pregled/17.%20Petar%20Kresimir%20IV.PDF>

[8] ...audivit de Cressimiro Chroatorum principe quod dolo necari fecisset Goislavum fratrem suum misso apocrisario Mainardo...

[9] Marcus Tanner, *Croatia – a nation forged in war* – Yale University Press, New Haven 1997 ISBN 0-300-06933-2

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[11] Kralj Petar Krešimir IV. (<http://krk.fcpages.com/hr/vladari/pkr.html>)

[12] Ferdo Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara, 1925*, Zagreb ISBN 86-401-0080-2

[13] N. Klaić, I. Petricoli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409.*, Filozofski fakultet Zadar, 1976

[14] De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae, Johannes Lucius

[15] Thomas e. c. 55: -"Ibi namque magnificus vir Cresimir rex. in atrio videlicet basilice Sancti Stephani tumulatus est cum pluribus aliis regibus et reginis"

[16] [http://www.solin.hr/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=50&Itemid=192](http://www.solin.hr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=50&Itemid=192)



## External links

- **(Croatian)** Povijest Hrvatske I. (R. Horvat)/Petar Krešimir ([http://hr.wikisource.org/wiki/Povijest\\_Hrvatske\\_I.\\_\(R.\\_Horvat\)/Petar\\_Krešimir](http://hr.wikisource.org/wiki/Povijest_Hrvatske_I._(R._Horvat)/Petar_Krešimir))
  - A romantic portrait of Kresimir. (<http://www.hr/darko/gif/krek23.jpg>)
  - Map of Kingdom of Croatia during Kresimir IV. (<http://www.croatia-in-english.com/images/maps/1073.jpg>)
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# Peter the Great

Peter the Great	
Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias	
Reign	7 May 1682 – 8 February 1725 co-reign, with Ivan V, 1682–1696
Coronation	25 June 1682
Predecessor	Feodor III
Successor	Catherine I
Consort	<div><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Eudoxia Lopukhina</li><li>Martha Skavronskaya</li></ul></div>
among others	
Issue	
<div><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Alexei Petrovich, Tsarevich of Russia</li><li>Grand Duke Alexander</li><li>Anna, Duchess of Holstein-Gottorp</li><li>Elizabeth of Russia</li><li>Grand Duchess Natalia</li></ul></div>	
Full name	
Peter Alekseyevich Romanov	
House	House of Romanov
Father	Alexis
Mother	Natalya Naryshkina
Born	9 June 1672 Moscow
Died	8 February 1725 (aged 52) Saint Petersburg
Burial	Peter and Paul Cathedral
Signature	
Religion	Russian Orthodox Christian

**Peter the Great, Peter I** or **Pyotr Alexeyevich Romanov** (Russian: Пётр Алексе́евич Рома́нов, Пётр I, *Pyotr I*, or Пётр Вели́кий, *Pyotr Velikiy*) (9 June [O.S. 30 May] 1672 – 8 February [O.S. 28 January] 1725)<sup>[1]</sup> ruled the Tsardom of Russia and later the Russian Empire from 7 May [O.S. 27 April] 1682 until his death, jointly ruling before 1696 with his half-brother. In numerous successful wars he expanded the Tsardom into a huge empire that became a major European power. According to historian James Cracraft, he led a cultural revolution that replaced the traditionalist and medieval social and political system with a modern, scientific, Europe-oriented, and rationalist system.<sup>[2]</sup>

## Life

### Early years

From an early age, Peter's education (commissioned by Tsar Alexis I) was put in the hands of several tutors, most notably Nikita Zotov, Patrick Gordon, and Paul Menesius. On 29 January 1676, Tsar Alexis died, leaving the sovereignty to Peter's elder half-brother, the weak and sickly Feodor III. Throughout this period, the government was largely run by Artamon Matveev, an enlightened friend of Alexis, the political head of the Naryshkin family and one of Peter's greatest childhood benefactors. This position changed when Feodor died in 1682. As Feodor did not leave any children, a dispute arose between the Naryshkin and Miloslavsky families over who should inherit the throne. Peter's other half-brother, Ivan V, was next in line for the throne, but he was chronically ill and of infirm mind. Consequently, the Boyar Duma (a council of Russian nobles) chose the 10-year-old Peter to become Tsar with his mother as regent. This arrangement was brought before the people of Moscow, as ancient tradition demanded, and was ratified. Sophia Alekseyevna, one of Alexis' daughters from his first marriage, led a rebellion of the Streltsy (Russia's elite military corps) in April–May 1682. In the subsequent conflict some of Peter's relatives and friends were murdered, including Matveev, and Peter witnessed some of these acts of political violence.<sup>[3]</sup>



Peter the Great as a youth

The Streltsy made it possible for Sophia, the Miloslavskys (the clan of Ivan) and their allies, to insist that Peter and Ivan be proclaimed joint Tsars, with Ivan being acclaimed as the senior. Sophia acted as regent during the minority of the sovereigns and exercised all power. For seven years, she ruled as an autocrat. A large hole was cut in the back of the dual-seated throne used by Ivan and Peter. Sophia would sit behind the throne and listen as Peter conversed with nobles, while feeding him information and giving him responses to questions and problems. This throne can be seen in the Kremlin museum in Moscow.

Peter was not particularly concerned that others ruled in his name. He engaged in such pastimes as shipbuilding and sailing, as well as mock battles with his toy army. Peter's mother sought to force him to adopt a more conventional approach, and arranged his marriage to Eudoxia Lopukhina in 1689.<sup>[4]</sup> The marriage was a failure, and ten years later Peter forced his wife to become a nun and thus freed himself from the union.

By the summer of 1689, Peter planned to take power from his half-sister Sophia, whose position had been weakened by two unsuccessful Crimean campaigns. When she learned of his designs, Sophia conspired with the leaders of the Streltsy, who continually aroused disorder and dissent. Peter, warned by the Streltsy, escaped in the middle of the night to the impenetrable monastery of Troitse-Sergiyeva Lavra; there he slowly gathered adherents who perceived he would win the power struggle. She was eventually overthrown, with Peter I and Ivan V continuing to act as co-tsars. Peter forced Sophia to enter a convent, where she gave up her name and her position as a member of the royal family.

Still, Peter could not acquire actual control over Russian affairs. Power was instead exercised by his mother, Natalya Naryshkina. It was only when Nataliya died in 1694 that Peter became an independent sovereign.<sup>[5]</sup> Formally, Ivan V remained a co-ruler with Peter, although he was ineffective. Peter became the sole ruler when Ivan died in 1696.

Peter grew to be quite tall as an adult, especially for the time period. Standing at 6 ft 8 in (200 cm) in height, the Russian tsar was literally head and shoulders above his contemporaries both in Russia and throughout Europe.<sup>[6]</sup> Peter, however, lacked the overall proportional heft and bulk generally found in a man that size. Both Peter's hands and feet were small, and his shoulders were narrow for his height; likewise, his head was small for his tall body. Added to this were Peter's noticeable facial tics, and he may have suffered from *petit mal*, a form of epilepsy.<sup>[7]</sup>



*Peter the Great Meditating the Idea of Building St Petersburg at the Shore of the Baltic Sea by Alexandre Benois, 1916*

Filippo Baltari, a young Italian visitor to Peter's court, wrote:

"Tsar Peter was tall and thin, rather than stout. His hair was thick, short, and dark brown; he had large eyes, black with long lashes, a well-shaped mouth, but the lower lip was slightly disfigured ... For his great height, his feet seemed very narrow. His head was sometimes tugged to the right by convulsions."

Few contemporaries, either in or outside of Russia, commented on Peter's great height or appearance.

## Children

Peter the Great had two wives, with whom he had fourteen children; three of them survived to adulthood. His eldest child and heir, Alexei, was suspected of being involved in a plot to overthrow the Emperor. Alexei was tried and confessed under torture during questioning conducted by a secular court. He was convicted and sentenced to be executed. The sentence could be carried out only with Peter's signed authorization, and Alexei died in prison, as Peter hesitated before making the decision. Alexei's death most likely resulted from injuries suffered during his torture.<sup>[8]</sup>

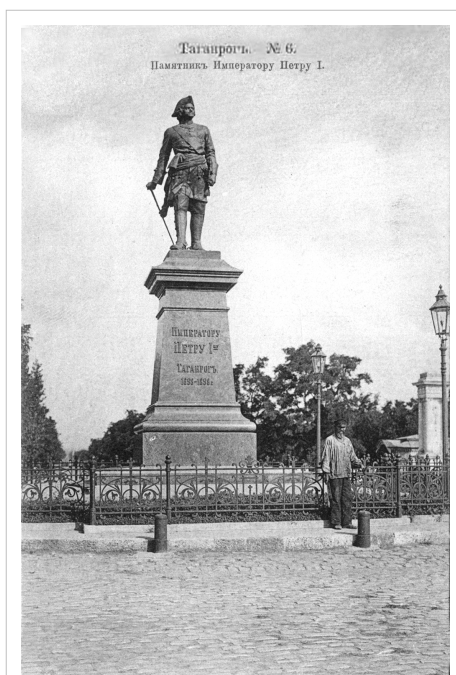
## Early reign

Peter implemented sweeping reforms aimed at modernizing Russia. Heavily influenced by his advisors from Western Europe, Peter reorganized the Russian army along modern lines and dreamed of making Russia a maritime power. He faced much opposition to these policies at home, but brutally suppressed any and all rebellions against his authority: Streltsy, Bashkirs, Astrakhan, and the greatest civil uprising of his reign, the Bulavin Rebellion. Peter implemented social modernization in an absolute manner by requiring courtiers, state officials, and the military to shave their beards and adopt modern clothing styles.<sup>[9]</sup>

To improve his nation's position on the seas, Peter sought to gain more maritime outlets. His only outlet at the time was the White Sea at Arkhangelsk. The Baltic Sea was at the time controlled by Sweden in the north, while the Black Sea was controlled by the Ottoman Empire in the south. Peter attempted to acquire control of the Black Sea; to do so he would have to expel the Tatars from the surrounding areas. As part of an agreement with Poland which ceded Kiev to Russia, Peter was forced to wage war against the Crimean Khan and against the Khan's overlord, the Ottoman Sultan. Peter's primary objective became the capture of the Ottoman fortress of Azov, near the Don River. In the summer of 1695 Peter organized the Azov campaigns to take the fortress, but his attempts ended in failure. Peter returned to Moscow in November of that year and began building a large navy. He launched about thirty ships against the Ottomans in 1696, capturing Azov in July of that year. On 12 September 1698, Peter officially founded the first Russian Navy base, Taganrog.



Capture of Azov 1696



The Peter the Great statue in Taganrog by Mark Antokolski

Peter knew that Russia could not face the Ottoman Empire alone. In 1697 he traveled incognito to Europe on an 18-month journey with a large Russian delegation—the so-called "Grand Embassy"—to seek the aid of the European monarchs.<sup>[10]</sup> Peter's hopes were dashed; France was a traditional ally of the Ottoman Sultan, and Austria was eager to maintain peace in the east while conducting its own wars in the west. Peter, furthermore, had chosen the most inopportune moment; the Europeans at the time were more concerned about who would succeed the childless Spanish King Charles II than about fighting the Ottoman Sultan.

The "Grand Embassy", although failing to complete the mission of creating an anti-Ottoman alliance, continued. While visiting Holland, Peter learned much about life in Western Europe. He studied shipbuilding in Zaandam (the house he lived in is now a museum, the Tsar Peter house) and Amsterdam, and later put this learning to use in helping build Russia's navy.<sup>[11]</sup> Thanks to the mediation of Nicolaas Witsen, mayor of Amsterdam and expert on Russia, the Tsar was given the opportunity to gain practical experience in the largest shipyard in the world, belonging to the Dutch East India Company, for a period of

four months. The Tsar helped with the construction of an East Indiaman especially laid down for him: *Peter and Paul*. During his stay the Tsar engaged many skilled workers such as builders of locks, fortresses, shipwrights, and seamen—including Cornelis Cruys, a vice-admiral who became, under Franz Lefort, the Tsar's advisor in maritime affairs. Peter paid a visit to Frederik Ruysch, who taught him how to draw teeth and catch butterflies. Ludolf Bakhuisen, a painter of seascapes and Jan van der Heyden the inventor of the fire hose, received Peter, who was keen to learn and pass on his knowledge to his countrymen. On 16 January 1698 Peter organized a farewell party and invited Johan Huydecoper van Maarsseveen, who had to sit between Lefort and the Tsar and drink.

In England Peter met with King William III, visited Greenwich and Oxford, was painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and saw a Royal Navy Fleet Review at Deptford. He travelled to the city of Manchester to learn the techniques of city-building he would later use to great effect at Saint Petersburg. The Embassy next went to Leipzig, Dresden, and Vienna. He spoke with August the Strong and Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor.

Peter's visit was cut short in 1698, when he was forced to rush home by a rebellion of the Streltsy. The rebellion was, however, easily crushed before Peter returned home from England; of the Tsar's troops, only one was killed. Peter nevertheless acted ruthlessly towards the mutineers. Over 1,200 of the rebels were tortured and executed, and Peter ordered that their bodies be publicly exhibited as a warning to future conspirators.<sup>[12]</sup> The Streltsy were disbanded, and the individual they sought to put on the Throne—Peter's half-sister Sophia—was forced to become a nun.

Also, upon his return from his European tour, Peter sought to end his unhappy marriage. He divorced the Tsaritsa, Eudoxia Lopukhina. The Tsaritsa had borne Peter three children, although only one, the Tsarevich Alexei, had survived past his childhood.

In 1698 Peter sent a delegation to Malta under boyar Boris Petrovich Sheremetyev, to observe the training and abilities of the Knights of Malta and their fleet. Sheremetyev investigated the possibility of future joint ventures with the Knights, including action against the Turks and the possibility of a future Russian naval base.<sup>[13]</sup>

Peter's visits to the West impressed upon him the notion that European customs were in several respects superior to Russian traditions. He commanded all of his courtiers and officials to cut off their long beards—causing his Boyars, who were very fond of their beards, great upset<sup>[14]</sup>—and wear European clothing. Boyars who sought to retain their beards were required to pay an annual beard tax of one hundred rubles. He also sought to end arranged marriages, which were the norm among the Russian nobility, because he thought such a practice was barbaric and led to domestic violence, since the partners usually resented each other.<sup>[15]</sup>

In 1699 Peter changed the date of the celebration of the new year from 1 September to 1 January. Traditionally, the years were reckoned from the purported creation of the World, but after Peter's reforms, they were to be counted from the birth of Christ. Thus, in the year 7207 of the old Russian calendar, Peter proclaimed that the Julian Calendar was in effect and the year was 1700.<sup>[16]</sup>



Portrait of Peter I by Godfrey Kneller, 1698. This portrait was Peter's gift to the King of England.



## Great Northern War

Peter made a temporary peace with the Ottoman Empire that allowed him to keep the captured fort of Azov, and turned his attention to Russian maritime supremacy. He sought to acquire control of the Baltic Sea, which had been taken by the Swedish Empire a half-century earlier. Peter declared war on Sweden, which was at the time led by King Charles XII. Sweden was also opposed by Denmark-Norway, Saxony, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Russia was ill-prepared to fight the Swedes, and their first attempt at seizing the Baltic coast ended in disaster at the Battle of Narva in 1700. In the conflict, the forces of Charles XII used a blinding snowstorm to their advantage. After the battle, Charles XII decided to concentrate his forces against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which gave Peter time to reorganize the Russian army. At the end of February 1701 he met with Polish King Augustus II the Strong in Birżai, where the rulers, after several days of drinking, arranged a cannon shooting competition, won by the Polish King.<sup>[17]</sup>

As the Poles and Lithuanians fought against the Swedes, Peter founded the city of [Saint Petersburg] (Germanically named after Saint Peter the Apostle) in Ingermanland (province of Swedish empire, which he had captured) in 1703. He forbade the building of stone edifices outside Saint Petersburg, which he intended to become Russia's capital, so that all stonemasons could participate in the construction of the new city. He also took Martha Skavronskaya as a mistress. Martha converted to the Russian Orthodox Church and took the name Catherine, allegedly marrying Peter in secret in 1707. Peter valued Catherine and married her again (this time officially) at Saint Isaac's Cathedral in Saint Petersburg on 9 February 1712.

Following several defeats, the Polish King August II abdicated in 1706. Swedish king Charles XII turned his attention to Russia, invading it in 1708. After crossing into Russia, Charles defeated Peter at Golovchin in July. In the Battle of Lesnaya, Charles suffered his first loss after Peter crushed a group of Swedish reinforcements marching from Riga. Deprived of this aid, Charles was forced to abandon his proposed march on Moscow.



*Peter I in the Battle of Poltava* (a mosaic by Mikhail Lomonosov)

Charles XII refused to retreat to Poland or back to Sweden, instead invading Ukraine. Peter withdrew his army southward, destroying along the way any property that could assist the Swedes. Deprived of local supplies, the Swedish army was forced to halt its advance in the winter of 1708–1709. In the summer of 1709, they resumed their efforts to capture Ukraine, culminating in the Battle of Poltava on 27 June. The battle was a decisive defeat for the Swedish forces, ending Charles' campaign in Ukraine and forcing him into exile in the Ottoman Empire. In Poland, August II was restored as King.

Peter, overestimating the support he would receive from his Balkan allies, attacked the Ottoman Empire, initiating the Russo-Turkish War

of 1710.<sup>[18]</sup> Normally, the Boyar Duma would have exercised power during his absence. Peter, however, mistrusted the boyars; he instead abolished the Duma and created a Senate of ten members. Peter's campaign in the Ottoman Empire was disastrous, and in the ensuing peace treaty, Peter was forced to return the Black Sea ports he had seized in 1697.<sup>[18]</sup> In return, the Sultan expelled Charles XII, but Russia was forced to guarantee safe passage to the Swedish king,<sup>[18]</sup> who in the end traveled back to Sweden through Germany.

Peter's northern armies took the Swedish province of Livonia (the northern half of modern Latvia, and the southern half of modern Estonia), driving the Swedes into Finland. In 1714 the Russian fleet won the Battle of Gangut. Most



*Peter I of Russia pacifies his marauding troops after taking Narva in 1704* by Nikolay Sauerweid, 1859

of Finland was occupied by the Russians. In 1716 and 1717, the Tsar revisited the Netherlands, and went to see Herman Boerhaave. He continued his travel to the Austrian Netherlands and France. The Tsar's navy was so powerful that the Russians could penetrate Sweden. Peter also obtained the assistance of the Electorate of Hanover and the Kingdom of Prussia. Still, Charles XII refused to yield, and not until his death in battle in 1718 did peace become feasible. After the battle near Åland, Sweden made peace with all powers but Russia by 1720. In 1721 the Treaty of Nystad ended what became known as the Great Northern War. Russia acquired Ingria, Estonia, Livonia, and a substantial portion of Karelia. In turn, Russia paid two million Riksdaler and surrendered most of Finland. The Tsar retained some Finnish lands close to Saint Petersburg, which he had made his capital in 1712.

## Later years

Peter's last years were marked by further reform in Russia. On 22 October 1721, soon after peace was made with Sweden, he was officially proclaimed *Emperor of All Russia*. Some proposed that he take the title *Emperor of the East*, but he refused. Gavril Golovkin, the State Chancellor, was the first to add "the Great, Father of His Country, Emperor of All the Russias" to Peter's traditional title Tsar following a speech by the archbishop of Pskov in 1721.

Peter's imperial title was recognized by Augustus II of Poland, Frederick William I of Prussia, and Frederick I of Sweden, but not by the other European monarchs. In the minds of many, the word *emperor* connoted superiority or pre-eminence over kings. Several rulers feared that Peter would claim authority over them, just as the Holy Roman Emperor had claimed suzerainty over all Christian nations.

During Peter's reign the Russian Orthodox Church was reformed. The traditional leader of the Church was the Patriarch of Moscow. In 1700, when the office fell vacant, Peter refused to name a replacement, allowing the Patriarch's Coadjutor (or deputy) to discharge the duties of the office. In 1721 Peter followed the advice of Feofan Prokopovich and created the Holy Synod, a council of ten clergymen, to take the place of the Patriarch and Coadjutor. Peter implemented a law that stipulated that no Russian man could join a monastery before the age of 50. He felt that too many able Russian men were being wasted on clerical work when they could be joining his new and improved army.<sup>[19]</sup> In 18th-century Russia, few people lived to over a half century; therefore very few men became monks during Peter's reign, much to the dismay of the Russian Church.

In 1722 Peter created a new order of precedence known as the Table of Ranks. Formerly, precedence had been determined by birth. To deprive the Boyars of their high positions, Peter directed that precedence should be determined by merit and service to the Emperor. The Table of Ranks continued to remain in effect until the Russian monarchy was overthrown in 1917. Peter decided that all of the children of the nobility should have some early education, especially in the areas of sciences. Therefore, on 28 February 1714, he issued a decree calling for compulsory education, which dictated that all Russian 10- to 15-year-old children of the nobility, government clerks, and lesser-ranked officials, must learn basic mathematics and geometry, and should be tested on it at the end of their studies.<sup>[20]</sup>



Diamond order of Peter the Great

Peter introduced new taxes to fund improvements in Saint Petersburg. He abolished the land tax and household tax, and replaced them with a poll tax. The taxes on land and on households were payable only by individuals who owned property or maintained families; the new head taxes, however, were payable by serfs and paupers.

In 1724 Peter had his second wife, Catherine, crowned as Empress, although he remained Russia's actual ruler. All of Peter's male children had died—the eldest son, Alexei, had been tortured and killed on Peter's orders in 1718 because he had disobeyed his father and opposed official policies. Alexei's mother Eudoxia had also been punished; she was dragged from her home and tried on false charges of adultery. A similar fate befell Peter's mistress, Anna Mons, in 1704.

In 1725 construction of Peterhof, a palace near Saint Petersburg, was completed. Peterhof (Dutch for "Peter's Court") was a grand residence, becoming known as the "Russian Versailles".

## Death

In the winter of 1723, Peter, whose overall health was never robust, began having problems with his urinary tract and bladder. In the summer of 1724 a team of doctors performed surgery releasing upwards of four pounds of blocked urine. Peter remained bedridden until late autumn. In the first week of October, restless and certain he was cured, Peter began a lengthy inspection tour of various projects. According to legend, it was in November, while at Lakhta along the Finnish Gulf to inspect some ironworks, that Peter saw a group of soldiers drowning not far from shore and, wading out into near-waist deep water, came to their rescue.<sup>[21]</sup>

This icy water rescue is said to have exacerbated Peter's bladder problems and caused his death. The story, however, has been viewed with skepticism by some historians, pointing out that the German chronicler Jacob von Stählin is the only source for the story, and it seems unlikely that no one else would have documented such an act of heroism. This, plus the interval of time between these actions and Peter's death seems to preclude any direct link.

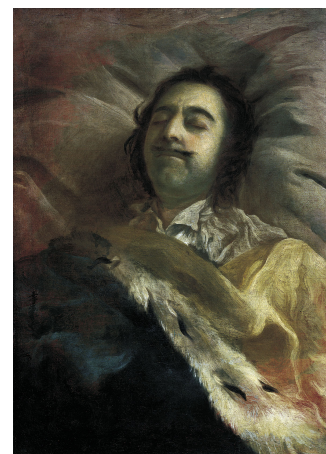
In early January 1725, Peter was struck once again with uremia. Legend has it that before lapsing into unconsciousness Peter asked for a paper and pen and scrawled an unfinished note that read: "*Leave all to ...*" and then, exhausted by the effort, asked for his daughter Anna to be summoned.<sup>[22]</sup>

Peter died between four and five in the morning 8 February 1725. An autopsy revealed his bladder to be infected with gangrene.<sup>[7]</sup> He was fifty-two years, seven months old when he died, having reigned forty-two years.

## Issue



*Peter I interrogating his son Alexei*, a painting by Nikolai Ge (1871)



Peter the Great on his deathbed, by Nikitin



The 1782 statue of Peter I in Saint Petersburg, informally known as the *Bronze Horseman*



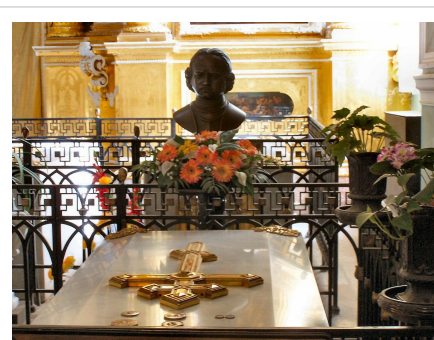
By his two wives, he had fourteen children, including three sons named *Pavel*, all of whom died in infancy and three sons named *Peter*, all of whom died in infancy.

Name	Birth	Death	Notes
<b>By Eudoxia Lopukhina</b>			
HIH Alexei Petrovich, Tsarevich of Russia	18 February 1690	26 June 1718	Married 1711, Princess Charlotte of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel; had issue
HIH Alexander Petrovich, Grand Duke of Russia	13 October 1691	14 May 1692	
HIH Pavel Petrovich, Grand Duke of Russia	1693	1693	
<b>By Catherine I</b>			
Pavel Petrovich	1704	1707	Born and died before the official marriage of his parents
Peter Petrovich	1705	1707	Born and died before the official marriage of his parents
Catherine Petrovna	7 February 1707	1708	Born and died before the official marriage of her parents
HIH Anna Petrovna, Tsarevna of Russia	27 January 1708	15 May 1728	Married 1725, Karl Friedrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp; had issue
HIM Empress Elizabeth	29 December 1709	5 January 1762	Reputedly married 1742, Alexei Grigorievich, Count Razumovsky; no issue
HIH Maria Petrovna, Grand Duchess of Russia	20 March 1713	27 May 1715	
HIH Margarita Petrovna, Grand Duchess of Russia	19 September 1714	7 June 1715	
HIH Peter Petrovich, Grand Duke of Russia	15 November 1715	19 April 1719	
HIH Pavel Petrovich, Grand Duke of Russia	13 January 1717	14 January 1717	
HIH Natalia Petrovna, Grand Duchess of Russia	31 August 1718	15 March 1725	
HIH Peter Petrovich, Grand Duke of Russia	7 October 1723	7 October 1723	

## Popular culture

Peter has been featured in many books, plays, films, and games, including the poems *The Bronze Horseman*, *Poltava* and the unfinished novel *Peter the Great's Negro*, all by Alexander Pushkin. The former dealt with a The Bronze Horseman, an equestrian statue raised in Peter's honour. Alexey Nikolayevich Tolstoy wrote a biographical historical novel about him, named *Pëtr I*, in the 1930s.

- The 1976 film *Skaz pro to, kak tsar Pyotr arapa zhenil* (*How Tsar Peter the Great Married Off His Moor*), starring Aleksey Petrenko as Peter, and Vladimir Vysotsky as Abram Petrovich Gannibal, shows Peter's attempt to build the Baltic Fleet.
- The 2007 film *Sluga Gosudarev* depicts the unsavoury brutal side of Peter during the campaign.



The tomb of Peter the Great in Peter and Paul Fortress

- Peter was played by Jan Niklas and Maximilian Schell in the 1986 NBC miniseries *Peter the Great*.
- A character based on Peter plays a major role in *The Age of Unreason*, a series of four alternate history novels written by American science fiction and fantasy author Gregory Keyes. Peter is one of many supporting characters in Neal Stephenson's *Baroque Cycle* – mainly featuring in the third novel, *The System of the World*.

## Notes

## Footnotes

- [1] Dates indicated by the letters "O.S." are Old Style. All other dates in this article are New Style.
- [2] James Cracraft, *The Revolution of Peter the Great* (Harvard University Press, 2003) online edition (<http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=115404966>)
- [3] Riasanovsky, Nicholas (2000). *A History of Russia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 214.
- [4] Riasanovsky, Nicholas (2000). *A History of Russia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 218.
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- [7] Hughes, John R. (2007). *The seizures of Peter Alexeevich. Epilepsy & Behavior* (10:1). pp. 179–182.
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- [15] Basil Dmytryshyn, *Modernization of Russia Under Peter I and Catherine II* (Wiley, 1974) p.21
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- [17] Staszewski, Jacek (1998). *August II Mocny*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. p. 120.
- [18] Riasanovsky, Nicholas (2000). *A History of Russia, sixth edition*. p. 224.
- [19] Basil Dmytryshyn, *Modernization of Russia Under Peter I and Catherine II* (Wiley, 1974) p.18
- [20] Basil Dmytryshyn, *Modernization of Russia Under Peter I and Catherine II* (Wiley, 1974) p.10-11
- [21] Bain, R. Nisbet (1905). "Peter the Great and his pupils" (<http://history.wisc.edu/sommerville/351/CMHPeter.html>). Cambridge University. . Retrieved 2008-02-09.
- [22] The 'Leave all ...' story first appears in H-F de Bassewitz *Russkii arkhiv* 3 (1865). Russian historian E.V. Anisimov contends that Bassewitz's aim was to convince readers that Anna, not Empress Catherine, was Peter's intended heir.

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# Peter III of Aragon

Peter III	
	
King of Aragon and Valencia Count of Barcelona	
Reign	27 July 1276 – 2 November 1285
Coronation	November 1276 (Zaragoza)
Predecessor	James I
Successor	Alfonso III
King of Sicily	
Reign	4 September 1282 – 2 November 1285
Coronation	9 November 1282 (Palermo)
Predecessor	Charles I
Successor	James I
Consort	Constance of Sicily
Issue	
Alfonso III of Aragon James II of Aragon Elisabeth, Queen of Portugal Frederick III of Sicily Yolanda, Duchess of Calabria Pedro of Aragon	
House	House of Barcelona
Father	James I of Aragon
Mother	Violant of Hungary
Born	c. 1239 Valencia
Died	2 November 1285 (aged 45–46) Vilafranca del Penedès
Burial	Santes Creus
Religion	Roman Catholicism

**Peter the Great** (Catalan: *Pere el Gran*, Aragonese: *Pero lo Gran*; 1239, Valencia – 2 November 1285) was the King of Aragon (as **Peter III**) of Valencia (as **Peter I**), and Count of Barcelona (as **Peter II**) from 1276 to his death. He conquered Sicily and became its king in 1282. He was one of the greatest of medieval Aragonese monarchs.

## Youth and succession

Peter was the eldest son of James I of Aragon and his second wife Yolanda of Hungary. On 13 June 1262, he married Constance, daughter and heiress of Manfred of Sicily. During his youth and early adulthood, Peter gained a great deal of military experience in his father's wars of the Reconquista against the Moors.<sup>[1]</sup>

On James' death, the lands of the Crown of Aragon were divided, with Aragon and Valencia, along with the Catalan counties, going to the eldest son, Peter, while the Balearic Islands (constituted as the Kingdom of Majorca), alongside the territories in the Languedoc (Montpellier and Roussillon), went to the second son, James. Peter and Constance were crowned in Zaragoza (the capital of Aragon) in November by the archbishop of Tarragona. At this ceremony, Peter renounced all feudal obligations to the papacy which his grandfather Peter II had incurred.

## Early rebellions

Peter's first act as king was to complete the pacification of his Valencian territory, an action which had been underway on his father's death.

However, a revolt soon broke out in Catalonia, led by the viscount of Cardona and abetted by Roger-Bernard III of Foix, Arnold Roger I of Pallars Sobirà, and Ermengol X of Urgell.<sup>[1]</sup> The rebels had grown a hatred for Peter in response to the severity of his dealings with them in the days of his father. Now, as king, they opposed him for not summoning the Catalan *corts*, or assembly, and confirming its privileges.

At the same time, a succession crisis continued in the County of Urgell. When Count Álvaro died in 1268, the families of his two wives, Constance, a daughter of Pedro Moncada of Béarn, and Cecilia, a daughter of Roger-Bernard II of Foix, began a long fight over the inheritance of his county. Meanwhile, a good portion of the county had been repossessed by James and thus inherited by Peter. In 1278, Armengol X, Álvaro's eldest son, succeeded in recovering most of his lost patrimony and came to an agreement with Peter whereby he recognised the latter as his suzerain.<sup>[1]</sup>

In 1280, Peter defeated the stewing rebellion led by Roger-Berengar III after besieging the rebels in Balaguer for a month. Most of the rebel leaders were imprisoned in Lleida until 1281, while Roger-Bernard was imprisoned until 1284.

## Wars abroad

### Africa

When the Hafsid Emir of Tunisia, Muhammad I al-Mustansir, who had put himself under James the Conqueror, died in 1277, Tunisia threw off the yoke of Aragonese suzerainty.<sup>[2]</sup> Peter first sent an expedition to Tunis in 1280 under Conrad de Llansa designed to re-establish his suzerainty.<sup>[1]</sup> In 1281, he himself prepared to lead a fleet of 140 ships with 15000 men to invade Tunisia on behalf of the governor of Constantine.<sup>[3]</sup> The fleet landed at Alcoyll in 1282 and the troops began to fortify themselves in. It was these Aragonese troops that received a Sicilian embassy after the Vespers of 30 March asking Peter to take their throne from Charles of Anjou.

## Italy

Peter was the direct descendant and the heir-general of the Mafalda, daughter of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, the Norman conqueror, and his official wife Sigelgaita, daughter of a Lombard prince, Guaimar IV of Salerno. Thus, he stood at the end of the Hauteville succession to Sicily. After the ducal family of Apulia became extinct with William II in 1127, Mafalda's heirs (then counts of Barcelona) apparently became *de jure* heirs of Guiscard and Sigelgaita: thus Peter was dormantly a claimant to the Norman succession of southern Italy. More directly, he was



Peter's fleet landing at Trapani. Notice the king wearing the crown and directing the landing

the heir of Manfred in right of his wife. The Two Sicilies were to be a tenaciously-pursued inheritance for the Aragonese royal house and its heirs for the next five centuries.

The Italian physician John of Procida acted on behalf of Peter in Sicily. John had fled to Aragon after Charles' success at Tagliacozzo. John travelled to Sicily to stir up the discontents in favour of Peter and thence to Constantinople to procure the support of Michael VIII Palaeologus.<sup>[4]</sup> Michael refused to aid the Aragonese king without papal approval and so John voyaged to Rome and there gained the consent of Pope Nicholas III, who feared the ascent of Charles in the Mezzogiorno.<sup>[4]</sup> John then returned to Barcelona and the pope promptly died, to be replaced by Simon de Brie, a Frenchman and a staunch ally of Charles. The stage, however, had been set for a conflict.

After receiving an embassy from the people of Palermo at Alcoyll, Peter landed at Trapani on 30 August 1282.<sup>[4]</sup> He was proclaimed King in Palermo on 4 September. Charles was forced to flee across the Straits of Messina and be content with his "Kingdom of Naples". Simon de Brie as the new Pope Martin IV excommunicated both Peter and the Byzantine emperor for providing Peter III with 60000 gold pieces to invade Sicily (18 November).<sup>[5]</sup>

Peter nevertheless pressed his advantage and by February 1283 had taken most of the Calabrian coastline. Charles, perhaps feeling desperate, sent letters to Peter demanding they resolve the conflict by personal combat. The invader accepted and Charles returned to France to arrange the duel. Both kings chose six knights to settle matters of places and dates. A duel was scheduled for 1 June at Bordeaux. A hundred knights would accompany each side and Edward I of England would adjudge the contest; the English king, heeding the pope, however, refused to take part. Peter left John of Procida in charge of Sicily and returned via his own kingdom to Bordeaux, which, evading a suspected French ambush, he entered in disguise. Needless to say, no combat ever took place and Peter returned to a very troubled Spain.<sup>[6]</sup>

While Peter was back in France and Spain, his admiral, Roger of Lauria, was wreaking havoc in Italy. He routed Charles' fleets on the high seas several times and conquered Malta for Aragon.

## Later domestic unrest

Peter was dealing with domestic unrest at the time when the French were preparing an invasion. He took Albarracín from the rebellious noble Juan Núñez de Lara, and he renewed the alliance with Sancho IV of Castile and attacked Tudela in an attempt to prevent the king of Navarre, Philip I, the son of the French king, from invading on that front.

Peter held meetings of the *cortes* at Tarragona and Zaragoza in 1283. He was forced to grant the *Privilegio General* to the newly-formed Union of Aragon.<sup>[6]</sup> Also in that year, Peter's brother James joined the French and recognised their suzerainty over Montpellier, giving them free passage through the Balearic Islands and Roussillon. In October, Peter began preparing the defences of Catalonia.

In 1284, Pope Martin IV granted the kingdom of Aragon to Charles, Count of Valois, the son of the French king, Philip III the Bold, and great nephew of Charles. Papal sanction was given to a war — crusade — to conquer Aragon on behalf of Charles of Valois.



*Pedro III el Grande en el collado de las Panizas*  
by Mariano Barbasán (1889)

## Aragonese Crusade

In 1284, the first French armies under King Philip and Count Charles entered Roussillon. They included 16000 cavalry, 17000 crossbowmen, and 100000 infantry, along with 100 ships in south French ports.<sup>[7]</sup> Though the French had James' support, the local populace rose against them. The city of Elne was valiantly defended by the so-called *bâtard de Roussillon* ("bastard of Roussillon"), the illegitimate son of Nuño Sánchez, late count of Roussillon (1212–1242). Eventually he was overcome and the cathedral was burnt; the royal forces progressed.

In 1285, Philip entrenched himself before Girona in an attempt to besiege it. The resistance was strong, but the city was taken. Charles was crowned there, but without an actual crown. The French soon experienced a reversal, however, at the hands of Roger de Lauria, back from the Italian theatre of the drawn-out conflict. The French fleet was defeated and destroyed at the Battle of Les Formigues. As well, the French camp was hit hard by an epidemic of dysentery.

Philip himself was afflicted. The heir to the French throne, Philip the Fair, opened negotiations with Peter for free passage for the royal family through the Pyrenees. But the troops were not offered such passage and were decimated at the Battle of the Col de Panissars. The king of France himself died at Perpignan, the capital of James of Majorca, who had fled in fear after being confronted by Peter, and was buried in Narbonne. James was declared a vassal of Peter.

## Troubadour works

Peter matched his father in patronage of the arts and literature, but unlike him he was a lover of verse, not prose. He favoured the troubadours, of which he himself was one, and wrote two sirventesos.

The first is in the form of an exchange between Peter and one Peironet, a jongleur. The second forms part of a compilation of five compositions from Bernat d'Auriac, Peter the Great, Pere Salvatge (perhaps the same as Peironet), Roger-Bernard III of Foix, and an anonymous contributor.

As well, the wars with Philip of France and James of Majorca furnished material for new sirventesos and during this period the sirventes was converted into a convenient tool of political propaganda in which each side could, directly or allegorically, present its case and procure sympathy propitious to its cause.

## Death and legacy

Peter died at Vilafranca del Penedès on 2 November 1285, in the same year as his royal foe Philip, and was buried in the monastery of Santes Creus.<sup>[8]</sup> His deathbed absolution occurred after he declared that his conquests had been in the name of his familial claims and never against the claims of the church.

Peter left Aragon to his eldest son Alfonso III and Sicily to his second son James II. Peter's third son, Frederick III, in succession to his brother James, became regent of Sicily and in due course its king. Peter did not provide for his youngest son and namesake, Peter (1275 – 25 August 1296), who married Constanca Mendes de Silva, daughter of Soeiro Mendes Petite, governor of Santarém in Portugal. This Peter left Spain for Portugal with his sister Elizabeth.

Peter also had two daughters, Elisabeth, who married Denis of Portugal, and Yolanda (1273 – August 1302), who married Robert of Naples.

In the *Divine Comedy*, Dante Alighieri sees Peter "singing in accord" (*d'ogni valor portó cinta la corda*) with his former rival, Charles I of Sicily, outside the gates of Purgatory. He is also the main character of Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*.



A croat minted at Barcelona, bearing the image of Peter and the words *Petrus Dei gracia rex* (Peter by the grace of God king) and *civitas Barcenona* (city of Barcelona)


## Notes

- [1] Chaytor, 97.
- [2] Chaytor, 101.
- [3] Chaytor, 102.
- [4] Chaytor, 103.
- [5] J. Harris, *Byzantium and The Crusades*, 180
- [6] Harris, 104.
- [7] Harris, 106.
- [8] A royal tomb ever desecrated: Peter III of Aragon in Patrimoni.gencat ([http://www.translate.google.es/translate?js=y&prev=\\_t&hl=es&ie=UTF-8&u=http://www.patrimoni.gencat.cat/pereelgran&sl=ca&tl=en](http://www.translate.google.es/translate?js=y&prev=_t&hl=es&ie=UTF-8&u=http://www.patrimoni.gencat.cat/pereelgran&sl=ca&tl=en))

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# Pompey

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus	
<div></div> <p>Roman statue of Pompey, at the Villa Arconati a Castellazzo di Bollate (Milan, Italy). It was brought there from Rome in 1627 by Galeazzo Arconati.</p>	
Born	September 29, 106 BC Picenum, Roman Republic
Died	September 30, 48 BC (aged 59) Ptolemaic Kingdom
Occupation	Politician and military commander
Spouse	Antistia Aemilia Scaura Mucia Tertia Julia Cornelia Metella

<div> <b>Senatus Populusque Romanus</b></div>
These articles cover <b>Ancient Rome</b> and the fall of the Republic
<b>Mark Antony, Cleopatra VII, Assassination of Julius Caesar, Pompey, Theatre of Pompey, Cicero, First Triumvirate, Roman forum, Comitium, Rostra, Curia Julia, Curia Hostilia</b>

**Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus**, also known as **Pompey** ( ♂ /ˈpɒmpiː/) or **Pompey the Great**<sup>[1]</sup> (Classical Latin abbreviation: CN·POMPEIVS·CN·F·SEX·N·MAGNVS;<sup>[2]</sup> September 29, 106 BC – September 29, 48 BC), was a military and political leader of the late Roman Republic. He came from a wealthy Italian provincial background, and established himself in the ranks of Roman nobility by successful leadership in several military campaigns. Sulla addressed him by the cognomen *Magnus* (the Great), and he was awarded three *triumphs*.

Pompey joined his rival Marcus Licinius Crassus and his ally Julius Ceasar in the unofficial military-political alliance known as the First Triumvirate. The first triumvirate was validated by the marriage between Julia Caesar (daughter of Julius Caesar) and Pompey. After the deaths of Julia and Crassus, Pompey sided with the *optimates*, the conservative and aristocratic faction of the Roman Senate.



Pompey and Caesar contended for the leadership of the Roman state, leading to a civil war. When Pompey was defeated at the Battle of Pharsalus, he sought refuge in Egypt, where he was assassinated. His career and defeat are significant in Rome's subsequent transformation from Republic to Principate and Empire.

## Early life and political debut

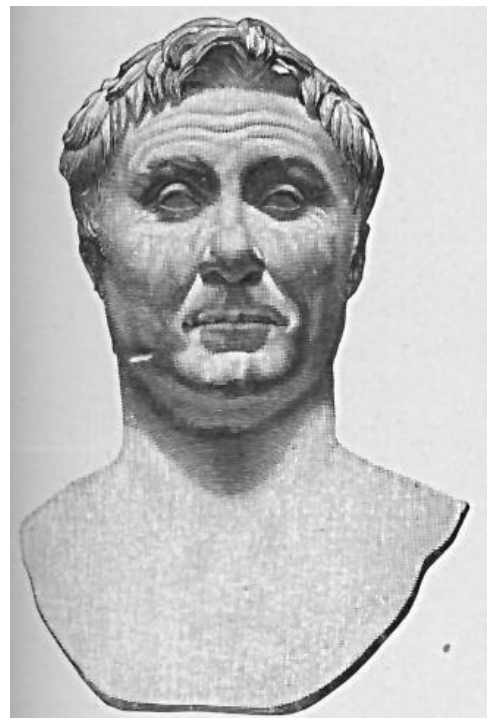
Pompey's father, Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, was a wealthy landed Italian provincial from Picenum, one of the *homines novi* (new men). Pompeius Strabo ascended the traditional *cursus honorum*, becoming *quaestor* in 104 BC, *praetor* in 92 BC and *consul* in 89 BC, and acquired a reputation for greed, political double-dealing and military ruthlessness. He supported Sulla's traditionalist *optimates* against the populist general Marius in the first Marian-Sullan war.<sup>[3]</sup>

He died during the Marian siege against Rome in 87 BC, either as a casualty of pandemic plague, or struck by lightning, or possibly both.<sup>[4]</sup> In Plutarch's account, his body was dragged from its bier by the mob.<sup>[5]</sup> His twenty year old son Pompey inherited his estates, his political leanings and the loyalty of his legions.

Pompey had served two years under his father's command, and was involved in the final acts of the Marsic Social War against the Italians. He returned to Rome and was prosecuted for misappropriation of plunder: his betrothal to the judge's daughter, Antistia, secured a rapid acquittal.<sup>[6]</sup>

For the next few years, the Marians had possession of Italy.<sup>[7]</sup> When Sulla returned from campaign against Mithridates in 83 BC, Pompey raised three Picenean legions to support him against the Marian regime of Gnaeus Papirius Carbo.<sup>[8]</sup>

Sulla and his allies displaced the Marians in Italy and Rome: Sulla, now Dictator of Rome, was impressed by the young Pompey's self-confident performance. He addressed him as *imperator* and offered his stepdaughter, Aemilia Scaura, in marriage. Aemilia – already married and pregnant – divorced her husband and Pompey divorced Antistia.<sup>[9]</sup> Though Aemilia died in childbirth soon after, the marriage confirmed Pompey's loyalty and greatly boosted his career.<sup>[10]</sup>



Pompey the great in middle age, marble bust in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

## Sicily and Africa

With the war in Italy over, Sulla sent Pompey against the Marians in Sicily and Africa.<sup>[11]</sup> In 82 BC, Pompey secured Sicily, guaranteeing Rome's grain supply. He executed Gnaeus Papirius Carbo and his supporters out of hand, which may have led to his dubbing as the *adulescens carnifex* (adolescent butcher).<sup>[12]</sup> In 81 BC, he moved on to the Roman province of Africa, where he defeated Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and the Numidian king Hiarbas, after a hard-fought battle.<sup>[13]</sup>

After this string of victories, Pompey was proclaimed *Imperator* by his troops on the field in Africa; once back in Rome, he was given an enthusiastic popular reception and hailed by Sulla as *Magnus* (the Great) – probably in recognition of Pompey's undoubted victories and popularity, but also with some degree of sarcasm. The young general was still officially a mere *privatus* (private citizen) who had held no offices in the *cursus honorum*. The title may have been meant to cut Pompey down to size; he himself used it only later in his career.<sup>[14]</sup>

When Pompey demanded a triumph for his African victories, Sulla refused; it would be an unprecedented, even illegal, honour for a young *privatus* – he must disband his legions. Pompey refused, and presented himself

expectantly at the gates of Rome. Sulla gave in.<sup>[15]</sup> However, Sulla had his own triumph first, then allowed Metellus Pius his triumph, relegating Pompey to an extra-legal third place in a quick succession of triumphs.<sup>[16]</sup>

On the day, Pompey attempted to upstage both his seniors in a triumphal chariot towed by an elephant, representing his exotic African conquests. The elephant would not fit through the city gate. Some hasty replanning was needed, much to the embarrassment of Pompey and amusement of those present.<sup>[17]</sup> His refusal to give in to his troops' near-mutinous demands for cash probably impressed his mentor and Rome's conservatives.

## Quintus Sertorius and Spartacus

Pompey's career seems to have been driven by desire for military glory and disregard for traditional political constraints.<sup>[18]</sup> In the consular elections of 78 BC, he supported Lepidus against Sulla's wishes. In 78, Sulla died; when Lepidus revolted, Pompey suppressed him on behalf of the Senate. Then he asked for proconsular *imperium* in Hispania<sup>[19]</sup> to deal with the *populares* general Quintus Sertorius, who had held out for the past three years against Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, one of Sulla's most able generals.<sup>[20]</sup>

The Roman aristocracy turned him down – they were beginning to fear the young, popular and successful general. Pompey resorted to his tried and tested persuasion; he refused to disband his legions until his request was granted.<sup>[21]</sup> The senate acceded, reluctantly granted him the title of proconsul and powers equal to those of Metellus, and sent him to Hispania.<sup>[22]</sup>

Pompey remained there from 76 – 71 BC; he was for long unable to bring the war to an end due to Sertorius' guerrilla tactics. Though he was never able to decisively beat Sertorius (and he nearly met disaster at the battle of ), he won several campaigns against his junior officers. His war of attrition did significantly weaken Sertorius, and by 74 BC, Metellus and Pompey were winning city after city.<sup>[23]</sup>

Finally, Pompey managed to crush the *populares* when Sertorius was murdered by his own officer, Marcus Perperna Vento, who was defeated in 72 by the young general, at their first battle. By early 71, the whole of Hispania was subdued.<sup>[23]</sup> Pompey showed a talent for efficient organisation and fair administration in the conquered province; this extended his patronage throughout Hispania and into southern Gaul.<sup>[24]</sup> Some time in 71 BC, he set off for Italy, along with his army.

Meanwhile, Crassus was facing Spartacus to end Rome's Third Servile War. Crassus defeated Spartacus, but in his march towards Rome, Pompey encountered the remnants of Spartacus' army; he captured five thousand of them and claimed the credit for finishing the revolt, which infuriated Crassus.<sup>[25]</sup>

Back in Rome, Pompey was wildly popular. On December 31, 71 BC, he was given a triumph for his victories in Hispania – like his first, it was granted extralegally. To his admirers, he was the most brilliant general of the age, evidently favoured by the gods and a possible champion of the people's rights. He had successfully faced down Sulla and his Senate; he or his influence might restore the traditional plebian rights and privileges lost under Sulla's dictatorship.

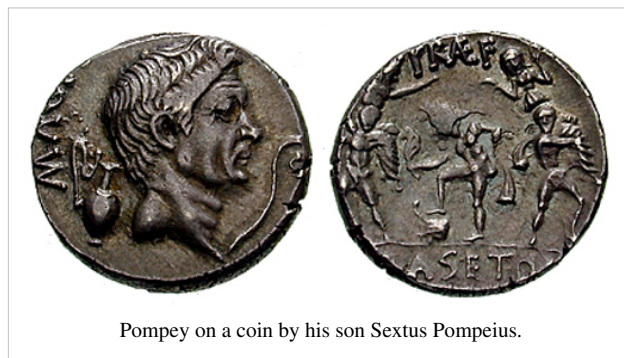
So Pompey was allowed to bypass another ancient Roman tradition; at only 39 years of age and while not even a senator, he was elected *Consul* by an overwhelming majority vote, and served in 70 BC with Crassus as partner. Pompey's meteoric rise to the consulship was unprecedented; his tactics offended the traditionalist nobility whose values he claimed to share and defend. He had left them no option but to allow his consulship.



Bust of Pompey in the Residenz, Munich

## Campaign against the pirates

Two years after his consulship, Pompey was offered command of a naval task force to deal with piracy in the Mediterranean Sea. The conservative faction of the Senate remained suspicious and wary of him; this seemed yet another illegal or at least extraordinary appointment.<sup>[26]</sup> Pompey's supporters for this command – including Caesar – were in the minority, but support was whipped up through his nomination by the Tribune of the Plebs Aulus Gabinius who proposed a *Lex Gabinia*; Pompey should have control over the sea and the coasts for 50 miles inland. This would set him above every military leader in the East – it was passed despite vehement opposition.



Pompey on a coin by his son Sextus Pompeius.

According to Rome's historians, pirates had freely plundered the coastal cities of Greece, Asia and Italy itself. The extent and nature of their threat is questionable; anything that threatened Rome's grain supply was cause for panic. Roman public opinion and Pompey's supporters may have exaggerated the problem. Various settlements, peoples and city-states around the Mediterranean had coexisted several centuries and most had operated small fleets for war, or trade in commodities, including slaves. Their alliances might be loose and temporary or more-or-less permanent; some regarded themselves as nations.<sup>[27]</sup>

With Rome's increasing hegemony, the independent maritime economies of the Mediterranean would have been further marginalised; an increasing number would have resorted to piracy. As long as they met Rome's increasing requirement for slaves, left her allies and territories untouched and offered her enemies no support, they were tolerated. Some were subsidised.<sup>[28]</sup> But fear of piracy was potent – and these same pirates, it was later alleged, had assisted Sertorius.

By the end of that winter, the preparations were complete. Pompey allocated one of thirteen areas to each of his *legates*, and sent out their fleets. In forty days, the western Mediterranean was cleared.<sup>[26]</sup> Dio reported communication was restored between Hispania, Africa, and Italy;<sup>[29]</sup> and that Pompey then attended to the largest of these alliances, centered on the coast of "Rough Cilicia".<sup>[30]</sup> After "defeating" its fleet, he induced its surrender with promises of pardon, and settled many of its people at Soli, which was henceforward called Pompeiopolis.<sup>[31]</sup>

De Souza (2002) finds that Pompey had officially returned the Cilicians to their own cities, which were ideal bases for piracy and not – as Dio would have it – for the dignified reformation of pirates as farmers. Pompey's entire campaign is therefore in question; its description as "war" is hyperbole – some form of treaty or payoff is likely, with Pompey as chief negotiator. This was standard practice, but undignified and seldom acknowledged; Rome's generals were supposed to wage and win wars. A decade on, in the 50's BC, the Cilicians and pirates in general remained a nuisance to Rome's sea trade.<sup>[32]</sup>

In Rome, however, Pompey was hero; once again, he had guaranteed the grain supply. According to Plutarch, by the end of the summer of 66 BC, his forces had swept the Mediterranean clear of opposition. Pompey was hailed as the first man in Rome, *Primus inter pares* (the first among equals). Cicero could not resist a panegyric:<sup>[33]</sup>

"Pompey made his preparations for the war at the end of the winter, entered upon it at the commencement of spring, and finished it in the middle of the summer."

The expedience of his campaign probably guaranteed Pompey his next and even more impressive command, this time in Rome's long-running war against Mithridates. By the 40's BC, Cicero could comment less favourably on the pirate campaign, and especially the funded "resettlement" at Soli/Pompeiopolis; "we give immunity to pirates and make our allies pay tribute."<sup>[34]</sup>

## Pompey in the east

Further information: Kingdom of Pontus

Pompey spent the rest of that year and the beginning of the next visiting the cities of Cilicia and Pamphylia, and providing for the government of newly-conquered territories. In his absence from Rome (66 BC), he was nominated to succeed Lucius Licinius Lucullus as commander in the Third Mithridatic War against Mithridates VI of Pontus in the east. Pompey's command was proposed by the tribune Gaius Manilius, supported by Caesar and justified by Cicero in *pro Lege Manilia*.<sup>[35]</sup> Like the Gabinian law, it was opposed by the aristocracy, but was carried nonetheless.

Lucullus, a plebeian noble, was incensed at the prospect of his replacement by a "new man" such as Pompey. The outgoing commander and his replacements traded insults. Lucullus called Pompey a "vulture" who fed from the work of others. Lucullus was referring not merely to Pompey's new command against Mithridates, but also his claim to have finished the war against Spartacus.<sup>[36]</sup>



*Pompey in the Temple of Jerusalem*, by Jean Fouquet.

At Pompey's approach, Mithridates strategically withdrew his forces. Tigranes the Great refused him refuge, so he made his way to his own dominions in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Pompey secured a treaty with Tigranes, and in 65 BC set out in pursuit of Mithridates, but met resistance from the Caucasian Iberians and Albanians. He advanced to Phasis in Colchis and liaised with his legate Servilius, admiral of his Euxine fleet, before decisively defeating Mithridates.<sup>[37]</sup>

Pompey then retraced his steps, wintered at Pontus, and made it into a Roman province. In 64 BC, he marched into Syria, deposed its king, Antiochus XIII Asiaticus, and reconstituted this, too, as a Roman province.<sup>[37]</sup> In 63 BC, he moved south, and established Roman supremacy in Phoenicia and Coele-Syria.<sup>[38]</sup>

In Judea, Pompey intervened in civil war between Hyrcanus II, who supported the Pharisee faction and Aristobulus II, who supported the Sadducees in Judaea's civil war. The armies of Pompey and Hyrcanus II laid siege to Jerusalem. After three months, the city fell.<sup>[39]</sup>

"Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few.... and no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessible, and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see but only for the high priests. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money: yet did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God; and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him." (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, book 14, chapter 4; tr. by William Whiston, available at Project Gutenberg.)

During the war in Judea, Pompey heard of Mithridates' suicide; his army had deserted him for his son Pharnaces.<sup>[37]</sup> Rome's Asian protectorates now extended as far east as the Black Sea and the Caucasus. Pompey's military victories, political settlements and annexations in Asia created Rome's new frontier on the east.

## Return to Rome, and third triumph

News of Pompey's victories in the east – and probably of his divine honours there – reached Rome before he did. He had cult at Delos and was "saviour" in Samos and Mytilene. Plutarch quotes a wall-graffito in Athens, referring it to Pompey: "The more you know you're a man, the more you become a god". In Greece, these honours were standard fare for benefactors. In Rome, they would have seemed dangerously monarchic.<sup>[40]</sup>

In Pompey's absence, his old supporter Cicero had risen to the consulship. His old enemy and colleague Crassus supported Caesar. In the Senate and behind its scenes, Pompey was probably equally admired, feared and excluded; on the streets he was as popular as ever. His eastern victories earned him his third triumph. On his 45th birthday, in 61 BC, he rode the triumphal chariot, a magnificent god-king, but one of Republican form, ritualistically reminded of his impermanence and mortality. Even so, he was accompanied by a gigantic portrait head of himself, studded with pearls.<sup>[41][42]</sup>

His third triumph exceeded all others; an unprecedented two days were scheduled for its procession and games (*ludi*). Spoils, prisoners, army and banners depicting battle scenes wended the triumphal route between the Campus Martius and the Capitoline temple of Jupiter. To conclude, he gave an immense triumphal banquet and money to the people of Rome, and promised them a new theatre.<sup>[43][44]</sup> Plutarch claimed this triumph represented Pompey's – and therefore Rome's – domination over the entire world, an achievement to outshine even Alexander's.<sup>[45][46]</sup>

In the meantime, Pompey promised his retiring veterans public lands to farm, then dismissed his armies. It was a reassuringly traditional gesture, but the Senate remained suspicious. They debated and delayed his eastern political settlements<sup>[47]</sup> and the promised gifts of public land. From now on, Pompey seems to have toed a cautious line between his enthusiastic popular supporters and the conservatives who seemed so reluctant to acknowledge his solid achievements. It would lead him into unexpected political alliances.

## Caesar and the First Triumvirate

Although Pompey and Crassus distrusted each other, Crassus' tax farming clients were being rebuffed at the same time Pompey's veterans were being ignored, and by 61 BC, their grievances had pushed them both into an alliance with Caesar, six years younger than Pompey, returning from service in Hispania, and ready to seek the consulship for 59 BC. Their political alliance, known as the First Triumvirate, operated to the benefit of each. Pompey and Crassus would make Caesar Consul, and Caesar would use his consular power to promote their claims.

Caesar's consulship of 59 BC brought Pompey land for his veterans, confirmation of his Asian political settlements and a new wife. She was Caesar's daughter, Julia; Pompey was said to be besotted by her.<sup>[48]</sup> In the same year, Clodius renounced his patrician status, was adopted into a plebian *gens* and was elected a Tribune of the plebs. At the end of his consulship, Caesar secured proconsular command in Gaul. Pompey was given the governorship of Hispania Ulterior, but remained in Rome to oversee the grain supply as *curator annonae*.<sup>[49]</sup>

Despite his preoccupation with his new wife, Pompey handled the grain issue well. His political acumen was less sure. When Clodius turned on him in turn, Pompey defended himself by supporting Cicero's recall from exile (57 BC). Once back in Rome, Cicero stepped back into his role as Pompey's defender and Clodius' antagonist, but Pompey himself retreated to his lovely young wife and his theatre plans; such behaviour was not expected of the once dazzling young general.<sup>[49]</sup>

Pompey might equally have been obsessed, exhausted and frustrated. His own party had not forgiven him for allowing Cicero's expulsion. Some tried to persuade him that Crassus was plotting his assassination. Meanwhile, Caesar seemed set on outstripping both his colleagues in generalship and popularity. By 56 BC, the bonds between



the three men were fraying.<sup>[49]</sup>

Caesar was no longer the amenable silent partner of the trio. He called first Crassus, then Pompey, to a secret meeting in the northern Italian town of Lucca to rethink their joint strategy. They agreed that Pompey and Crassus would again stand for the consulship in 55 BC. Once elected, they would extend Caesar's command in Gaul by five years. At the end of their joint consular year, Crassus would have the influential and lucrative governorship of Syria, and use this as a base to conquer Parthia. Pompey would keep Hispania *in absentia*.

In 55 BC, Pompey and Crassus were elected as consuls, against a background of bribery, civil unrest and electioneering violence.<sup>[50]</sup> Pompey's new theatre was inaugurated in the same year. It was Rome's first permanent theatre, a gigantic, architecturally daring, self-contained complex on the Campus Martius, complete with shops, multi-service buildings, gardens and a temple to Venus Victrix. The latter connected its donor to Aeneas, a son of Venus and ancestor of Rome itself. In its portico, the statuary, paintings and personal wealth of foreign kings could be admired at leisure. Pompey's triumph lived on.<sup>[51]</sup> His theatre made an ideal meetingplace for his supporters.

## From confrontation to war

In 54 BC, Julia, Caesar's only child and Pompey's wife, died in childbirth along with her baby. Pompey and Caesar shared their grief and condolences, but Julia's death broke their family bonds.<sup>[52]</sup> The following year, Crassus, his son Publius and most of his army were annihilated by the Parthians at Carrhae. Caesar, not Pompey, was now Rome's great new general and the fragile balance of power between them was under threat. Public anxiety spilled over: rumours circulated that Pompey would be offered dictatorship for the sake of law and order.

Caesar sought a second matrimonial alliance with Pompey, offering his grandniece Octavia (the sister of the future emperor Augustus). This time, though, Pompey refused. In 52 BC, he married Cornelia Metella, the very young widow of Crassus's son Publius, and the daughter of Caecilius Metellus Scipio, one of Caesar's greatest enemies. Pompey was drifting back toward the *optimates*. It can be presumed that they thought him the lesser of two evils.

In the same year, Publius Clodius was murdered. When his supporters burned down the Senate House in retaliation, the Senate appealed to Pompey. He reacted with ruthless efficiency. Cicero, defending the accused murderer Titus Annius Milo, was so shaken by a Forum seething with armed soldiers, he was unable to complete his defense.

Once order was restored, the Senate and Cato avoided granting Pompey dictatorship – it recalled Sulla and his bloody proscriptions. Instead they made him sole Consul; this gave him sweeping, but limited, powers. A Dictator could not be lawfully punished for measures taken during his office. As sole Consul, Pompey would be answerable for his actions once out of office.

While Caesar was fighting against Vercingetorix in Gaul, Pompey proceeded with a legislative agenda for Rome. Its details suggested covert alliance with Caesar's enemies: among his various legal and military reforms was a law allowing retrospective prosecution for electoral bribery. Caesar's allies correctly interpreted this as a threat to Caesar once his *imperium* ended. Pompey also prohibited Caesar from standing for the consulship *in absentia*, though this had been permitted under past laws.

This seemed to put paid to Caesar's plans after his term in Gaul expired. Finally, in 51 BC, Pompey was more forthright; Caesar would not be permitted to stand for Consul unless he relinquished his armies. This would, of course, leave Caesar defenseless before his enemies. As Cicero sadly noted, Pompey had been diminished by age, uncertainty, his fear of Caesar and the strain of being the chosen tool of a quarreling oligarchy of *optimates*. The coming conflict seemed inevitable.<sup>[53]</sup>



## Civil war and assassination

In the beginning, Pompey claimed he could defeat Caesar and raise armies merely by stamping his foot on the soil of Italy, but by the spring of 49 BC, with Caesar crossing the Rubicon and his invading legions sweeping down the peninsula, Pompey ordered the abandonment of Rome. His legions retreated south towards Brundisium, where Pompey intended to find renewed strength by waging war against Caesar in the east. In the process, neither Pompey nor the Senate thought of taking the vast treasury with them, probably thinking Caesar would not dare take it for himself. It was left conveniently in the Temple of Saturn when Caesar and his forces entered Rome.

Barely eluding Caesar in Brundisium, Pompey crossed over into Epirus, where, during Caesar's Spanish campaign, Pompey had gathered a large force in Macedonia, comprising nine legions reinforced by contingents from the Roman allies in the east.<sup>[54]</sup> His fleet, recruited from the maritime cities in the east, controlled the Adriatic. Nevertheless, Caesar managed to cross over into Epirus in November 49 BC, and proceeded to capture Apollonia.<sup>[54]</sup>



*The Flight of Pompey after Pharsalus*, by Jean Fouquet

Pompey managed to arrive in time to save Dyrrhachium, and he then attempted to wait Caesar out during the siege of Dyrrhachium, in which Caesar lost 1000 men and Pompey lost 2000. Yet, by failing to pursue at the critical moment of Caesar's defeat, Pompey threw away the chance to destroy Caesar's much smaller army. As Caesar himself said, "Today the enemy would have won, if they had had a commander who was a winner" (Plutarch, 65).

According to Suetonius, it was at this point that Caesar said that "that man (Pompey) does not know how to win a war." With Caesar on their backs, the conservatives led by Pompey fled to Greece. Caesar and Pompey had their final showdown at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC. The fighting was bitter for both sides, and although Pompey was expected to win, due to advantage in numbers, the brilliant tactics and the superior fighting abilities of Caesar's veterans led to a victory for Caesar. Pompey met his wife Cornelia and his son Sextus Pompeius on the island of Mytilene. He then wondered where to go next. The decision of running to one of the eastern kingdoms was overruled in favour of Egypt.

After his arrival in Egypt, Pompey's fate was decided by the counselors of the young king Ptolemy XIII. While Pompey waited offshore, they argued the cost of offering him refuge with Caesar already en route to Egypt; the king's eunuch Pothinus won out. In the final dramatic passages of his biography, Plutarch had Cornelia watch anxiously from the trireme as Pompey left in a small boat with a few sullen, silent comrades, and headed for what appeared to be a welcoming party on the Egyptian shore. As Pompey rose to disembark, he was stabbed to death by his betrayers, Achillas, Septimius and Salvius.<sup>[55]</sup>

Plutarch has him meet his fate with great dignity, one day after his 59th birthday. His body remained on the shoreline, to be cremated by his loyal freeman Philip on the rotten planks of a fishing boat. His head and seal were presented to Caesar, who, according to Plutarch, mourned this insult to the greatness of his former ally and son-in-law, and punished his assassins and their Egyptian coconspirators, putting both Achillas and Pothinus to death. Pompey's ashes were eventually returned to Cornelia, who carried them to his country house near Alba.<sup>[56]</sup>

Cassius Dio describes Caesar's reactions with scepticism, and considers Pompey's own political misjudgements, rather than treachery, as instrumental in his downfall.<sup>[57]</sup> In Appian's account of the civil war, Caesar has Pompey's severed head interred in Alexandria, in ground reserved for a new temple to the goddess Nemesis, whose divine functions included the punishment of hubris.<sup>[58]</sup> For Pliny, the humiliation of Pompey's end is anticipated by the

vaunting pride of his oversized portrait-head, studded entirely with pearls, and carried in procession during his greatest Triumph.<sup>[59]</sup>

## Later portrayals and reputation

To the historians of his own and later Roman periods, Pompey fulfilled the trope of the great man who achieved extraordinary triumphs through his own efforts, yet fell from power and was, in the end, murdered through treachery.

He was a hero of the Republic, who seemed once to hold the Roman world in his palm, only to be brought low by his own poor judgment and Caesar. Pompey was idealized as a tragic hero almost immediately after Pharsalus and his murder. Plutarch portrayed him as a Roman Alexander the Great, pure of heart and mind, destroyed by the cynical ambitions of those around him. This portrayal of him survived into the Renaissance and Baroque periods, for example in Corneille's play *The Death of Pompey* (1642).



Theodatus shows Caesar the head of Pompey; etching, 1820

Pompey has appeared as a character in several modern novels, plays, motion pictures, and other media. A theatrical portrayal was John Masefield's play *The Tragedy of Pompey the Great* (1910). Chris Noth portrays Pompey in the 2002 miniseries *Julius Caesar*. He appears as a major character in the first season of the HBO series *Rome*, in which he is portrayed by Kenneth Cranham. In television series *Xena Warrior Princess*, he is portrayed by the actor Jeremy Callaghan.

## Marriages and offspring

- First wife, Antistia
- Second wife, Aemilia Scaura (Sulla's stepdaughter)
- Third wife, Mucia Tertia (whom he divorced for adultery, according to Cicero's letters)
  - Gnaeus Pompeius, executed in 45 BC, after the Battle of Munda
  - Pompeia Magna, married to Faustus Cornelius Sulla; ancestor of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Claudia Antonia's first husband)
  - Sextus Pompey, who would rebel in Sicily against Augustus
- Fourth wife Julia (daughter of Caesar)
- Fifth wife, Cornelia Metella (daughter of Metellus Scipio)

## Chronology of Pompey's life and career

- 106 BC September 29– Born in Picenum
- 83 BC– Aligns with Sulla, after his return from the Mithridatic War against King Mithridates IV of Pontus; Marriage to Aemilia Scaura
- 82–81 BC– Defeats Gaius Marius's allies in Sicily and Africa
- 81 BC– Returns to Rome and celebrates First triumph
- 76–71 BC– Campaign in Hispania against Sertorius
- 71 BC– Returns to Italy and participates in the suppression of a slave rebellion led by Spartacus; Second triumph
- 70 BC– First consulship (with M. Licinius Crassus)
- 67 BC– Defeats the pirates and goes to Asia province
- 66–61 BC– Defeats King Mithridates of Pontus; end of the Third Mithridatic War

- 64–63 BC– Pompey's March through Syria, the Levant, and Judea
- 61 BC September 29– Third triumph
- 59 BC April– The first triumvirate is constituted; Pompey allies to Julius Caesar and Licinius Crassus; marriage to Julia (daughter of Julius Caesar)
- 58–55 BC– Governs Hispania Ulterior by proxy, construction of Pompey's Theater
- 55 BC– Second consulship (with M. Licinius Crassus), Dedication of the Theatre of Pompey
- 54 BC– Julia, dies; the first triumvirate ends
- 52 BC– Serves as sole consul for intercalary month,<sup>[60]</sup> third ordinary consulship with Metellus Scipio for the rest of the year; marriage to Cornelia Metella
- 51 BC– Forbids Caesar (in Gaul) to stand for consulship in absentia
- 50 BC– Falls dangerously ill with fever in Campania, but is saved 'by public prayers' <sup>[61]</sup>
- 49 BC– Caesar crosses the Rubicon River and invades Italy; Pompey retreats to Greece with the conservatives
- 48 BC– Caesar defeats Pompey's army near Pharsalus, Greece. Pompey retreats to Egypt and is killed there.

## Notes

- [1] William Smith, *A New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology and Geography*, 1851. (Under the tenth entry of *Pompeius*).
- [2] Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, son of Gnaeus, grandson of Sextus
- [3] Appian, Civil Wars, 1.9.80, (Loeb) at Thayer ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Appian/Civil\\_Wars/1\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Appian/Civil_Wars/1*.html))
- [4] Appian, Civil Wars, 1.9.80, (Loeb) at Thayer ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Appian/Civil\\_Wars/1\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Appian/Civil_Wars/1*.html))
- [5] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, 1. (Loeb) at Thayer: ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Pompey\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Pompey*.html)):see also Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History* 2, 21. (Loeb) at Thayer: ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Velleius\\_Paterculus/2A\\*.html#21](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Velleius_Paterculus/2A*.html#21))
- [6] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, pg 126
- [7] Boak, History of Rome, pgs 145-6
- [8] Dio describes Pompey's troop levy as a "small band": Cassius Dio, 33, fragment 107 (Loeb) at Thayer: ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius\\_Dio/30-35\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/30-35*.html))
- [9] Aemilia's first husband had offered Sulla unwelcome criticism.
- [10] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, pg. 136
- [11] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, pg. 141
- [12] Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 6.2.8 (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/valmax6.html>)
- [13] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, pgs. 143-5
- [14] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, pg 148 – 149.
- [15] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, pg. 149
- [16] Pompey's age, his equestrian status and his victory over Roman foes should have disqualified him from a triumph. Sulla's consent (formalised by his obedient senate as a Republican permission) made it a "nontraditional" and strictly illegal triumph, but a triumph nevertheless. See Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, The Belknap Press, 2007. 16 – 17.
- [17] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, pg. 151
- [18] Holland, Rubicon, pgs. 141-42
- [19] The Iberian peninsula, roughly comprising modern Spain and Portugal.
- [20] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, pg. 158
- [21] Plutarch, Life of Pompey, pg. 158
- [22] Boak, History of Rome, pg. 152
- [23] Boak, History of Rome, pg. 153
- [24] Holland, Rubicon, pg. 142
- [25] Holland, Rubicon, pgs. 150-51
- [26] Boak, History of Rome, pg. 160
- [27] De Souza, 149 – 179, for background and detailed critique of primary sources on Pompey's commission and its fulfillment. Limited preview available from googlebooks ([http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=SOK-Jh1Zuk4C&pg=PA176&lpg=PA176&dq=Pompey+pirates+Cilicia&source=bl&ots=hQQD-ajV8Z&sig=0ZBzK2OAZJ\\_p\\_JFPYgKp4motCTg&hl=en&ei=xn5wS72eAcK7jAeM\\_NzqBg&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=5&ved=0CBMQ6AEwBDge#v=onepage&q=Pompey+pirates+Cilicia&f=false](http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=SOK-Jh1Zuk4C&pg=PA176&lpg=PA176&dq=Pompey+pirates+Cilicia&source=bl&ots=hQQD-ajV8Z&sig=0ZBzK2OAZJ_p_JFPYgKp4motCTg&hl=en&ei=xn5wS72eAcK7jAeM_NzqBg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=5&ved=0CBMQ6AEwBDge#v=onepage&q=Pompey+pirates+Cilicia&f=false))
- [28] De Souza, 149 – 179, for background and detailed critique of primary sources on Pompey's commission and its fulfillment. Limited preview available from googlebooks ([http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=SOK-Jh1Zuk4C&pg=PA176&lpg=PA176&dq=Pompey+pirates+Cilicia&source=bl&ots=hQQD-ajV8Z&sig=0ZBzK2OAZJ\\_p\\_JFPYgKp4motCTg&hl=en&ei=xn5wS72eAcK7jAeM\\_NzqBg&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=5&ved=0CBMQ6AEwBDge#v=onepage&q=Pompey+pirates+Cilicia&f=false](http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=SOK-Jh1Zuk4C&pg=PA176&lpg=PA176&dq=Pompey+pirates+Cilicia&source=bl&ots=hQQD-ajV8Z&sig=0ZBzK2OAZJ_p_JFPYgKp4motCTg&hl=en&ei=xn5wS72eAcK7jAeM_NzqBg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=5&ved=0CBMQ6AEwBDge#v=onepage&q=Pompey+pirates+Cilicia&f=false))

- [29] This probably refers to the grain supply; the extent of its interruption before Pompey's campaign is not known. The reference to Hispania might relate to Sertorius' revolt and resistance – abetted, in some accounts, by "Cilician pirates" – or its aftermath.
- [30] Approximate to Southern Turkey. Once a Selucid province, in Pompey's day and for some time to come it was a semi-independent territory whose sovereignty was debated by neighbouring Greek polities. It resisted such claims, but was eventually absorbed into Rome's empire.
- [31] Dio, *Roman History*, pg. 63
- [32] De Souza, 176 ff.
- [33] *pro Lege Manilia*, 12 or *De Imperio Cn. Pompei* (in favor of the Manilian Law on the command of Pompey), 66 BC.
- [34] Cicero, *On duties*, 3.49; cited in De Souza, 177.
- [35] Pompey, the Roman Alexander, P Greenhalg p101-4
- [36] Pompey, the Roman Alexander, P Greenhalg p107
- [37] Boak, *History of Rome*, pg. 161
- [38] The Hellenized cities of the region, particularly the cities of the Decapolis, used a calendar that counted its dates from Pompey's conquest. See Pompeian era.
- [39] Despite this, Aristobulus II would survive to briefly usurp Hyrcanus II, who was later (31 BC) executed by King Herod I.
- [40] In Beard, M., North, J., Price, S., *Religions of Rome, Vol. 1, a history*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, 147.
- [41] Beard, 16: for comments on Pompey's 3rd triumph, see also Plutarch, Sertorius, 18, 2, at Thayer ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Sertorius\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Sertorius*.html)): Cicero, *Man.* 61: Pliny, *Nat.* 7, 95.
- [42] The account is exaggerated, certainly in the matter of gold, silver and military cash donatives. Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, p9. Beard cites Appian's very doubtful "75,100,000" drachmae carried in the procession as 1.5 times his own estimate of Rome's total annual tax revenue: Appian, *Mithradates*, 116.
- [43] Beard, 16: for comments on Pompey's 3rd triumph, see also Plutarch, Sertorius, 18, 2, at Thayer ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Sertorius\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Sertorius*.html)): Cicero, *Man.* 61: Pliny, *Nat.* 7, 95.
- [44] The account is exaggerated, certainly in the matter of gold, silver and military cash donatives. Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, p9. Beard cites Appian's very doubtful "75,100,000" drachmae carried in the procession as 1.5 times his own estimate of Rome's total annual tax revenue: Appian, *Mithradates*, 116.
- [45] Beard, 15–16: citing Plutarch, Pompey, 45, 5.
- [46] Beard, 16. For further elaboration on Pompey's 3rd triumph, see also Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 18, 2, at Thayer Uchicago.edu ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Sertorius\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Sertorius*.html)): Cicero, *Man.* 61: Pliny, *Nat.* 7, 95.
- [47] Dio, *Roman History*, pg. 178
- [48] Boak, *History of Rome*, pg. 167
- [49] Boak, *History of Rome*, pg. 169
- [50] Boak, *History of Rome*, pg. 170
- [51] Beard, 22-3.
- [52] Holland, *Rubicon*, pg. 287
- [53] Many historians have suggested Pompey was, in spite of everything, politically unaware of the fact that the optimates, including Cato, were merely using him against Caesar so that, with Caesar destroyed, they could then dispose of him.
- [54] Boak, *History of Rome*, pg. 176
- [55] Plutarch, Pompey, 79–80
- [56] Plutarch, Pompey, 79–80
- [57] Dio, 42,4–5, at Thayer ([http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius\\_Dio/42\\*.html#4.2](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/42*.html#4.2))
- [58] Appian, *Bella Civilia*, II 90, cited in Michael B. Hornum, *Nemesis, the Roman state and the games*, Brill, 1993, p.15.
- [59] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 37, 14–16.
- [60] See Abbott, 114
- [61] Juvenal, *Satire X*, 283

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## External links

- Pompey's War ([http://www.livius.org/ja-jn/jewish\\_wars/jwar01.htm](http://www.livius.org/ja-jn/jewish_wars/jwar01.htm)) Jona Lendering details Pompey's conquest of Judea
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# Radama I

Radama I	
King of Madagascar	
Reign	1810–1828
Coronation	1810
Predecessor	Andrianampoinimerina
Successor	Ranavalona I
Spouse	Ramavo
Father	Andrianampoinimerina
Mother	Rambolamasoandro
Born	1793 <div>Ambohimanga</div>
Died	1828 (age 32) <div>Rova of Antananarivo</div>
Burial	1828 <div>Tomb of Radama I, Rova of Antananarivo</div>

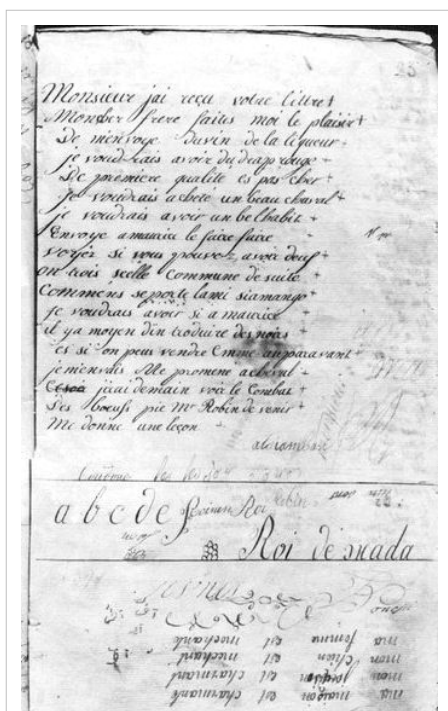
**Radama I** "the Great" (1793–1828), the first king of greater Madagascar from 1810 to 1828, united two-thirds of the island under his rule. He had twelve Great Wives, one of them his adopted sister Ranavalona I who would emerge victorious in the struggle for succession after his premature death.

## Reign

In 1810, at the age of 17, Radama succeeded his father Andrianampoinimerina as king of Imerina, a growing kingdom in the central plateau of the island around Antananarivo.<sup>[1]</sup> Several of the principalities conquered by his father revolted upon news of Andrianampoinimerina's death, immediately obliging the young ruler to embark on military campaigns to put down the rebellions and secure his position. He successfully expanded his realm to the Indian Ocean in 1817 after seizing the eastern port town of Antsiranana with an army of 30,000 soldiers.<sup>[1]</sup>

A shrewd diplomat, he successfully played off competing British and French interests while opening Madagascar to exchanges with foreign powers.<sup>[1]</sup> The British were interested in securing the passage to India and preventing the French from taking Madagascar. Although the French had been weakened by losing Réunion and Mauritius to the British in 1810, the British at the time did not have enough available resources to possess Madagascar themselves. They settled on an alliance with Radama that supported his rule and ensured a privileged position for the British in regards to trade. British Governor Robert Townsend Farquhar, based in Mauritius, committed to training and supporting Radama's army.<sup>[1]</sup> The Anglo-Merina treaty of friendship was sealed by a blood oath between Radama and the British envoy Captain Le Sage in 1817. As part of the treaty Radama agreed to put an end to the profitable slave trade; nevertheless slave-dealing continued clandestinely at a reduced level.





French language workbook of Radama I

As a result of the treaty social and political changes occurred: Radama organized a cabinet, and invited the Protestant London Missionary Society (LMS) to establish schools and churches. The LMS also brought a printing press and Welshmen David Jones and David Griffiths adapted the Latin alphabet for the Malagasy language, replacing the Arabico-Malagasy script previously in use. It was under Radama's rule that LMS missionaries (with notable contributions from Scotsman James Cameron) set up craft industries in wood, metal, leather, and cotton, transcribed the Malagasy language using the Latin script, introduced the first printing press, translated and printed Bibles in the Malagasy language and oversaw Radama's plan to establish dozens of schools offering compulsory literacy courses and basic education for the nobles of Imerina.

During this time and with the help of the British support, Radama's military became the dominant force allowing him to unify by force the island. Expanding the boundaries of the kingdom, he first took over the area of the Betsileo tribe in the southern part of the island. His army took key eastern territories and several in the west. In 1825 he conquered the French settlement of Fort Dauphin at the southern end of the island, establishing the sovereignty of the island and securing his position as its rightful ruler. In each newly conquered territory, administrative posts were built within fortified garrisons (*rova*) on the model of the original Rova of Antananarivo. These were staffed with Merina colonists called *voanjo* ("peanuts"). Marriages of alliance were often contracted between Radama and key female nobles in the territories he brought under his rule. By the time of his death in 1828, the only parts of the island not under his control were the southern lands of the Mahafaly, Antandroy and Bara.<sup>[1]</sup>



Illustration of Radama reviewing his troops (1825)

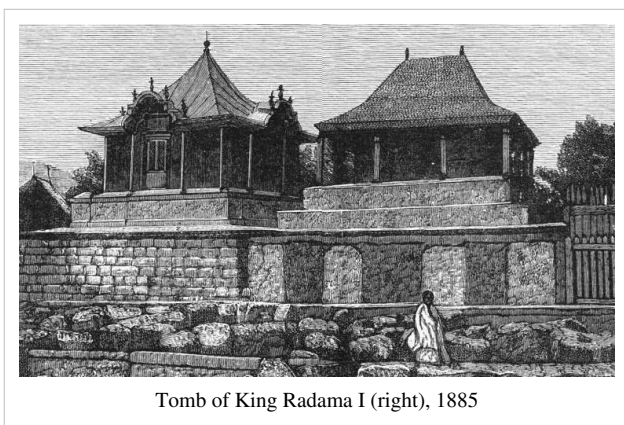
## Death

Radama was a conqueror. He was a drunkard. Andrianampoinimerina, the Prince Worthy of the Highland People Under the Sun, made his son into an alcoholic and, in effect, cut the young man's throat.

— *The Great Red Island*, Arthur Stratton<sup>[2]</sup>

Radama died prematurely on July 27, 1828, at his residence (the *Tranovola*).<sup>[3]</sup> Historical sources provide conflicting accounts regarding his cause of death. Radama was prone to drinking heavily, and shortly before his death he displayed symptoms of advanced alcoholism as his health rapidly declined. Explanations include the emotional strain caused by years of warfare<sup>[1]</sup> and pressure to live up to his celebrated father, King Andrianampoinimerina.<sup>[2]</sup> He may have simply fallen victim to the disease. However, the king had recently struggled with an acute affliction of the throat, and it was rumored that his corpse had been discovered with its throat slashed by a dagger. This in turn gave rise to speculation whether he had inadvertently or deliberately killed himself in a drunken fit of *delerium tremens*, or whether his own wife and future queen Ranavalona I may have arranged or even committed the murder of the

king herself.<sup>[4]</sup> While the exact circumstances of his death remain unclear, his death was officially declared to be the consequence of heavy intoxication.<sup>[1]</sup>



Tomb of King Radama I (right), 1885

Radama was buried in a stone tomb on the grounds of the Rova of Antananarivo. Per Malagasy architectural norms, his tomb was topped with a *trano masina* ("sacred house") symbolic of royalty. Like his father Andrianampoinimerina and other Merina sovereigns that would follow him, he was laid to rest in a silver coffin, and it is said the funerary goods buried with him were the most extensive and richest of any tomb in Madagascar. These included a deep red silk lamba mena, imported paintings of European royalty, thousands of coins, eighty articles of clothing, swords, jewels, gold vases, containers of silver and so forth.

Alongside each interior wall of the *trano masina* were a mirror, bed, several chairs and a table upon which were placed two porcelain water vessels and one bottle each of water and rum that were replenished annually during the *fandroana* (festival of the royal bath).<sup>[5]</sup> Most of these items were lost when a 1995 fire destroyed the Rova of Antananarivo where the tomb was located.<sup>[5]</sup>

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## External links

- Precolonial Madagascar history (<http://countrystudies.us/madagascar/2.htm>)

# Raja Raja Chola I

Rajaraja Chola I

Mummdi Cholan

ராஜ ராஜ சோழன்



Extent of the Chola Empire under Rajaraja the Great c. 1014 CE

Reign	985–1014 CE
Title	<i>Rajakesari</i>
Capital	Thanjavur
Queen	Lokamahadevi Cholamahadevi Trailokyamahadevi Panchavanmahadevi Abhimanavalli Iladamadeviyar Prithivimahadevi
Children	Rajendra Chola I Kundavai Madevadigal
Predecessor	Uttama Chola
Successor	Rajendra Chola I
Father	Sundara Chola
Born	Unknown
Died	1015 CE

**List of Chola kings****Early Cholas**

Elara Chola · 235 BC – 161 BC

Ilamcetcenni · Karikala Chola

Nedunkilli ·

Killivalavan · Kopperuncholan

Kocengannan · Perunarkilli

**Interregnum (c.200–848)****Medieval Cholas**

Vijayalaya Chola 848–871(?)

Aditya I 871–907

Parantaka Chola I 907–950

Gandaraditya 950–957

Arinjaya Chola 956–957

Sundara Chola 957–970

Uttama Chola 970–985

Rajaraja Chola I 985–1014

Rajendra Chola I 1012–1044

Rajadhiraja Chola 1018–1054

Rajendra Chola II 1051–1063

Virarajendra Chola 1063–1070

Athirajendra Chola 1067–1070

**Later Cholas**

Kulothunga Chola I 1070–1120

Vikrama Chola 1118–1135

Kulothunga Chola II 1133–1150

Rajaraja Chola II 1146–1173

Rajadhiraja Chola II 1166–1178

Kulothunga Chola III 1178–1218

Rajaraja Chola III 1216–1256

Rajendra Chola III 1246–1279

**Chola society**

Chola government

Chola military · Chola Navy

Chola art · Chola literature

Solesvara Temples

Poompuhar · Uraiyur

Melakadambur

Gangaikonda Cholapuram

Thanjavur · Telugu Cholas

[1]

**Raja Raja Chola I** (Tamil: ராஜ ராஜ சோழன்) born **Arunmozhi Thevar**<sup>[2]</sup> (also called as **Raja Kesari Varman Raja Raja Devar**<sup>[3]</sup> and respectfully as **Peruvudaiyar**), popularly known as **Raja Raja the Great**, is one of the greatest emperors of the Tamil Chola Empire of India who ruled between 985 and 1014 CE. He established the Chola empire by conquering the kingdoms of southern India expanding the Chola Empire as far as Sri Lanka in the south, and Kalinga (Orissa) in the northeast. He fought many battles with the Chalukyas in the north and the Pandyas in the south. By conquering Vengi, Rajaraja laid the foundations for the Later Chola dynasty. He invaded Sri Lanka and started a century-long Chola occupation of the island. He streamlined the administrative system with the division of the country into various districts and by standardising revenue collection through systematic land surveys. Being an ardent devotee of Lord Shiva, he built the magnificent Peruvudaiyar Temple (also known as the Brihadeeswarar Temple) in Thanjavur and through it enabled wealth distribution amongst his subjects. His successes enabled his son Rajendra Chola I to extend the empire even further.

## Dates

The key dates of Raja Raja are difficult to come by, scholar N Sethuraman, concludes that he was born in circa 947 ACE, was crowned on 18 July 985 and died in 1014 in the Tamil month of Maka.<sup>[4]</sup>

## Popular Prince

Rajaraja Chola was born as the third child of Parantaka Sundara Chola and Vanavan Maha Devi of the Velir Malayaman dynasty. After a long apprenticeship of an heir apparent, he ascended the throne after the death of Madurandhagan Chola.<sup>[5]</sup> During the lifetime of his father Sundara Chola, Arulmozhi had carved a name for himself by his exploits in the battles against the Sinhala and Pandyan armies. Sundara Chola's eldest son and heir apparent Aditya II was assassinated under unclear circumstances.<sup>[5]</sup> madurandhagan, as the only child of Gandar Adityar, wanted the Chola throne as he felt it was his birthright. After the death of Aditya II, madurandhagan forced Sundara Chola to declare him as their apparent ahead of Arulmozhi.<sup>[5]</sup> The Thiruvallangadu copper-plate inscriptions say:

*"...Though his subjects...entreated Arulmozhi Varman, he...did not desire the kingdom for himself even inwardly".*

This was to say that Raja Raja was very much legally elected through the kind of democratic process followed by Cholas as seen in their Uttiramerur inscription. No other interpretation of the same is correct. Another example of such a process is selection to Pallava throne of Sri Nandi Varman II. In as much as it could very much be possible that the king rejected the offer in order to continue to devote time and energy to build the resources to realise the Cholan military objectives. The assertion seems to be very much true as we see right from the beginning how the king was involved in the Cholan expeditions and also the organised structure of their military. Madhurandhagan

made a compromise with Sundara Chola that Madhurandhagan will be succeeded by Arulmozhi and not his own son. The Thiruvalangadu inscription again states:

*"Having noticed by the marks (on his body) that Arulmozhi was the very Vishnu, the protector of the three worlds, descended on earth, [madhurandhagan] installed him in the position of yuvaraja (heir apparent) and himself bore the burden of ruling the earth..."*

## Military conquests

### Southern wars

The southern kingdoms of Pandyas, Cheras and the Sinhalas were often allied against the Cholas.<sup>[6]</sup> It was the case when Rajaraja came to the throne. Rajaraja's initial campaigns were against the combined Pandya and Chera armies. There is no evidence of any military campaign undertaken by Rajaraja until the eighth year of his reign. During this period he was engaged in organising and augmenting his army and in preparing for military expeditions.<sup>[7]</sup>

### Kandalur Salai

The first military achievement of Rajaraja's reign was the campaign in Kerala c. 994 CE. Rajaraja's early inscriptions use the descriptive 'Kandalur salai kalamarutta' (காந்தளூர் சாலகை களமறுத்த). In this campaign Rajaraja is said to have destroyed a fleet in the port of Kandalur, which appears to have been situated in the dominions of the Chera King Bhaskara Ravi Varman Thiruvadi (c. 978–1036 CE).<sup>[7][8]</sup> Inscriptions found around Thanjavur show that frequent references are made to the conquest of the Chera king and the Pandyas in Malai-nadu (the west coast of South India). Kandalur-Salai, which later inscriptions claim to have belonged to the Chera king, was probably held by the Pandyas when it was conquered by Rajaraja. Some years' fighting apparently was necessary before the conquest could be completed and the conquered country could be sufficiently settled for its administration could be properly organised.<sup>[9]</sup> In the war against the Pandyas, Rajaraja seized the Pandya king Amarabhujanga and the Chola general captured the port of Virinam. To commemorate these conquests Rajaraja assumed the title **Mummudi-Chola**, (the Chola king who wears three crowns – the Chera, Chola and Pandya) and according to tradition the title Raja Raja was conferred on him by serving members of Chidambaram temple of ancient who had also the duty of conducting the swearing in ceremony of chola and pallava princes.

### Malai Nadu

In a battle against the Cheras sometime before 1008 CE, Rajaraja captured Udagai in the western hill country. *Kalingattuparani*, a war poem written during the reign of Kulothunga Chola I hints at a slight on the Chola ambassador to the Chera court as the reason for this sacking of Udagai. Rajaraja's son Rajendra was the Chola general leading the army in this battle.<sup>[7]</sup> A place named Udagai is mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Pandyas. The Kalingattu-Parani refers to the "storming of Udagai" in the verse, which alludes to the reign of Rajaraja. The Kulottunga-Cholan-ula also mentions the burning of Udagai. This was probably an important stronghold in the Pandya country, which the Chola king captured. The Tamil poem *Vikirama Cholan ula* mentions the conquest of Malai Nadu and the killing of 18 princes in retaliation of the insult offered to an envoy.<sup>[10]</sup>

### Invasion of Lanka

To eliminate the remaining actor in the triumvirate, Rajaraja invaded Sri Lanka in 993 CE. The copper-plate inscription mention that Rajaraja's powerful army crossed the ocean by ships and burnt up the kingdom of Lanka. Mahinda V was the king of Sinhalas. In 991 CE, Mahinda's army mutinied with help from mercenaries from Kerala. Mahinda had to seek refuge in the southern region of Rohana. Rajaraja utilised this opportunity and invaded the island. Chola armies occupied the northern half of Lanka and named the dominion 'Mummudi Chola Mandalam'. Anuradhapura, the 1400-year-old capital of Sinhala kings was destroyed. The destruction was so extensive the city was abandoned. Cholas made the city of Polonnaruwa as their capital and renamed it Jananathamangalam. The



choice of this city demonstrates the desire of Rajaraja to conquer the entire island. Rajaraja also built a Temple for Siva in Pollonaruwa.<sup>[10]</sup> RajaRajan's desire to bring the whole Lankan island under Cholan empire was never fulfilled and the southern part of the island (Ruhuna) remained independent. Later, king Vijayabahu I successfully drove the Chola out of Sri Lanka in 1070, reuniting the country for the first time in over a century.<sup>[11][12]</sup>

## Northern Wars

Rajaraja also expanded his conquests in the north and northwest. The regions of Gangapadi (Gangawadi), Nolambapadi (Nolambawadi), Tadigaipadi came into Chola possession during Rajaraja.

## Ganga Wars

Before his 14th year c. 998–999 CE, Rajaraja conquered Gangapadi (Gangawadi) and Nurambapadi (Nolambawadi), which formed part of the present Karnataka State. This conquest was facilitated by the fact the Cholas never lost their hold of the Ganga country from the efforts of Sundara Chola. Nolambas who were the feudatories of Ganga could have turned against their overlords and aided the Cholas to conquer the Gangas, who were the chief bulwark against the Chola armies in the northwest.

The invasion of the Ganga country was a success and the entire Ganga country was under the Chola rule for the next century. The easy success against the Gangas was also due to the disappearance of Rashtrakutas c. 973 CE as they were conquered by the western Chalukyas. From this time, the Chalukyas became the main antagonists of Cholas in the northwest.

## Western Chalukya Wars

During the reign of Rajaraja Chola, there were continuous wars with the Western Chalukyas to assert supremacy and there are multiple epigraphic evidences that show that the Cholas were constantly fighting with the Chalukyas or against the vassals of the latter. It is unclear as to why Rajaraja mounted an invasion against Satyasraya. According to historian Eugen Hultzsch the circumstances that led to the war are not mentioned in any of Rajaraja's inscriptions. But we do know that the rulers of these two conquered provinces were originally feudatories of the Rashtrakutas.<sup>[14]</sup> An inscription of Irivabedanga Satyasraya from Dharwar describes him as a vassal of the Western Chalukya Ahvamalla for he describes himself as a bee at the lotus feet of Ahavamalladeva in 1002 A.D. An inscription of Rajaraja asserts that he captured Rattapadi by force. Rajendra led the Chola armies against the Western Chalukyas and would turn Manyakheta, the Chalukyan capital into his own playground. Raja Raja I claims damages worth "seven and a half lakshas from Irattapadi which was evidently the site of war with Satyashraya resulting in victory for Raja Raja I and payment of damages by the Chalukya king. Chalukya kingdom Satyashraya would renege on his promise of agreeing to Chola suzerainty, but would be defeated by Rajendra Chola I when he became king. Irivabedanga Satyasraya partially acknowledges this Chola onslaught in his Hottur (Dharwad) inscription as he screams in pain. In his own words he calls himself the ornament of Chalukya race and the slayer of the Tamil. He identifies his opponent as Rajaraja Nittavinodha Rajendra Vidyadhara, the



Mural found in the Brihadeesvara temple, Tamil Nadu, 11th century. The belief that this represents Rajaraja Chola (in the background) and his guru Karuvurar is contested.<sup>[13]</sup>

ornament of the Chola kula Nūrmadi Chola(one hundred times more powerful).<sup>[15]</sup> In the same inscription, he accuses Rajendra of having arrived with a force of 900,000 and of having gone on rampage in Donuwara thereby blurring the moralities of war as laid out in the Dharmasastras.<sup>[16]</sup> He says that his opponent destroyed the caste (jāti nāsa) of his people. Historians like James Heitzman, Wolfgang Schenkluhn conclude that this confrontation displayed the degree of animosity on a personal level between the rulers of the Chola and the Chalukya kingdoms, the feeling of *otherness* and their inability to identify with the other side that degenerated to a level of violence that overthrew the established social order(*destruction of caste*). They also draw a parallel between this relationship and the enmity between the Chalukyas of Badami and the Pallavas of Kanchi.<sup>[17]</sup> There is also epigraphic evidence of earlier encounters between the Cholas and the Hoysalas who were vassals of the Western Chalukyas during the reign of Rajaraja Chola. An inscription from the roof of the Gopalakrishna temple at Kaleyur in the Tirumukudalu Narasipur taluk dated in Saka 929 being current, Parabhava, corresponding to 1006 A.D, records that Rajaraja's viceroy Aprameya displayed his valor by slaying the Hoysala minister Naganna and multiple other generals of the Hoysalas like Manjaga, Kalega(or Kali Ganga), Nagavarman, etc.<sup>[18]</sup> There is also a similar inscription in the Channapatna taluk that shows Rajaraja crushing the Hoysalas.<sup>[19]</sup> Rajaraja evidently attached much importance to his victory over Satyasraya, as he is said to have presented gold flowers to the Rajarajesvara temple on his return from the expedition. At the end of this war, the southern banks of the Tungabhadra river became the frontier between these two empires.

### War against Vengi

The cholas in pursuit of their objective of annihilating to ground evil kingdoms" and hence destroy the excessive wickedness of age of Kali had clashed with many kingdoms and one of which was Vengi. Parantaka Chola I who had made extensive conquests had in fact subdued the Deccan kingdom that flourished in this region in 913.C.E. Even in Inscriptions of Sundarachola we find a Chola regiment in Eastern Deccan preparing to invade Orissa. Thus there is no truth in the proposition of "Chola Throne" ties with "Vengi".

Some of Chola Inscriptions of Raja Raja note how during a war against Vengi, the king himself took initiative and killed a certain ruler called Bheema ruling that area because " he felled one of his commanders". Thus even if Cholas had reigned supreme in Eastern Deccan it was certainly a military vision and the small province of Vengi most probably served as a military base for Cholas who frequently sent in expeditions to Orissa and Western Deccan. We know about such base building activities down south in Pandyan country and also near Suchindram and Colombo in Lanka where the Cholas are known to have built naval bases and also " some temples for Lord Vishnu ".

### Kalinga conquest

The invasion of the kingdom of Kalinga must have occurred subsequent to the conquest of Vengi.<sup>[20]</sup> Rajendra Chola, as the commander of the Chola forces invaded and defeated the Andhra king Bhima.

### Naval Conquests

One of the last conquests of Rajaraja was the naval conquest of the 'old islands of the sea numbering 12,000', the Maldives.<sup>[21]</sup>

We have no further details regarding this expedition, however this is a sufficient indication of the abilities of the Chola Navy, which was utilised effectively under Rajendra I. Chola Navy also had played a major role in the invasion of Lanka.<sup>[22]</sup>

The increasing realisation of the importance of a good Navy and the desire to neutralise the emerging Chera Naval power were probably the reasons for the Kandalur campaign in the early days of Rajaraja's reign.<sup>[23]</sup>

Nagapattinam on the Bay of Bengal was the main port of the Cholas and could have been the navy headquarters. Bay of Bengal called as Chola lake

### Thanjavur Temple

Rajaraja's reign is commemorated by the Siva temple in Thanjavur, called Raajarajeswaram. The temple is now recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, forming part of the Great Living Chola Temples site.

The construction of the temple is said to have been completed on the 275th day of the 25th year of his reign.<sup>[24]</sup> After its commemoration the temple and the capital had close business relations with the rest of the country and acted as a centre of both religious and economic activity. Year after year villages from all over the country had to supply men and material for the temple maintenance.<sup>[25]</sup>



Detail of the main gopura (tower) of the  
Thanjavur Temple

## Administration



Rajaraja Chola's statue at Brihadisvara Temple, Thanjavur.

From the 23rd to the 29th year of Rajaraja's rule his dominions enjoyed peace and the king apparently devoted his energies to the task of internal administration. The building of the Rajarajesvara temple in Thanjavur and the various endowments and gifts to it must have occupied a prominent place in the king's mind during these years.

Rajaraja carried out a revenue and settlement during the final years of his reign. Inscriptions found in the Thanjavur temple bear testimony to the accuracy of this operation. Land as small in extent as 1/52,428,800,000 of a 'veli' (a land measure) was measured and assessed to revenue. The revenue survey enabled for the confiscation of lands of the defaulting landlords.<sup>[26]</sup>

Rajaraja also perfected the administrative organisation by creating a strong and centralised machinery and by appointing local government authorities. He installed a system of audit and control by which the village assemblies and other public bodies were held to account while

not curtailing their autonomy.

## Military Organisation

Rajaraja created a powerful standing army and a considerable navy which achieved even greater success under his son Rajendra. The prominence given to the army from the conquest of the Pandyas down to the last year of the king's reign is significant, and shows the spirit with which he treated his soldiers. A number of regiments are mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions and it is evident that Rajaraja gave his army its due share in the glory derived from his extensive conquests.

In most of the foregoing names the first portion appears to be the surnames or titles of the king himself or of his son. That these regiments should have been called after the king or his son is indicative of the attachment the Chola king bore towards his army.

It is possible that these royal names were pre-fixed to the designations of these regiments after they had distinguished themselves in some engagement or other. It is worthy of note that there are elephant troops, cavalry and foot soldiers among these regiments. To some of these regiments, the management of certain minor shrines of the temple was entrusted and they were expected to provide for the requirements of the shrine. Others among them took money from the temple on interest, which they agreed to pay in cash. We are not, however, told to what productive purpose they applied this money. At any rate all these transactions show that the king created in them an interest in the temple he built.

## Officials and Feudatories

Rajendra Chola was made co-regent during the last years of Rajaraja's rule. He was also the Mahadandanayaka Panchavan Maharaya – supreme commander- of the northern and northwestern dominions. Uttarangudaiyan Kon Vidividangan alias Villavan Muvendavelan was one of the top officers (*Perundaram*) of Rajaraja. He figures in many of his inscriptions most notably when he and other top officers take a vow to light lamps and make other donations if they escaped from being disgraced during the military operations towards the end of Rajaraja's reign.

Paluvettaraiyars from the region of Thiruchirapalli were closely associated with the Cholas from the time of Parantaka I when he married a Paluvettaraiyar princess, were occupying a high position in the Chola administration. They were apparently enjoying full responsibility and administration of the region of Paluvur. One of the names of



these feudal chieftains found in inscriptions were Adigal Paluvettaraiyar Kandan. He built a massive temple in Gangai konda cholapuram a mile stone of chola architecture. Madurantakan Gandaradityan who served in Rajaraja's court as an important official in the department of temple affairs. He conducted enquiries into temple affairs in various parts of the country, punishing defaulters.

The other names of officials found in the inscriptions are the Bana prince Narasimhavarman, a general Senapathi Sri Krishnan Raman, the Samantha chief Vallavarayan Vandiyadevan, the revenue official Irayiravan Pallavarayan and Kuruvan Ulagalandan who organised the country-wide land surveys.

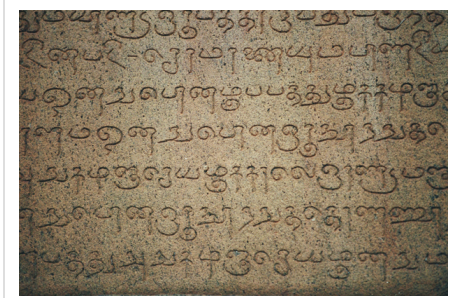
## Standardised Inscriptions

Due to Rajaraja's desire to record his military achievements in every one of his inscriptions he handed down to posterity some of the important events of his life. As far as we know at present, Rajaraja was the first king of South India to introduce this innovation into his inscriptions. Before his time powerful kings of the Pallava, Pandya and Chola dynasties had reigned in the South, and some of them had made extensive conquests. But none of them seems to have considered leaving a record on stone of his military achievements.

The idea of Rajaraja to add a short account of his military achievements at the beginning of every one of his inscriptions was entirely his own. His action in this respect is all the more laudable because his successors evidently followed his example and have left us more or less complete records of their conquests. But for the historical introductions, which are often found at the beginning of the Tamil inscriptions of Chola, kings the lithic records of the Tamil country would be of very little value, and consequently even the little advance that has been made in elucidating the history of Southern India would be difficult.

An inscription by Rajaraja in Tamil, found in the Mulbagal district of Karnataka, shows his accomplishments as early as the 19th year. An excerpt from such a *Meikeerthi*, an inscription recording great accomplishments, follows:<sup>[27]</sup>

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ திருமகள் பாலு பருநிலச் செல்வியுந் தனக்கேயுரிமனை பண்ணுமனை  
மனக்கொளக் காந்தளஞ்சர் சாலகை களமறித்தருளி வனேங்கை நாடும் கங்கைபாடியும்  
நுளம்பாடியும் தடிகை பாடியும் கும்பமலை நாடும் கொல்லமும் கலிங்கமும்  
எண்டிசை புகழ்தர ஈழ மண்டலமும் இரட்டபாடி ஏழரன இலக்கமும் திண்டிவெல்  
வென்றி தண்டால் கொண்டதன் பொழில் வளர் ஊழியுள் எல்லா யாண்டிலும்  
தொழுகை விளங்கும் யாண்டே செழிஞ்சுரன தசைகொள் ஸ்ரீ கோவிராஜராஜகேசரி  
பந்மரான ஸ்ரீ ராஜராஜ தவேர்



Example of a typical lithic inscription of the Chola period

*“ In the 19th year of the reign of sri-Kōv-IRājarāja-IRājakēsaripānmar who, - while his heart rejoiced that like the goddess of fortune, the goddess of great earth had also become his great wife- during his long life of growing gracefulness, was pleased to destroy the ships at Kāṇḍalūr Sālai; conquered with his heroic and victorious army Vēṅgai-nādu, Gangapadi, Nulambapadi, Tadiḡai-vaḡi, Kollam, Kalingam, Kudumalai-nādu and after having crossed the deep sea, the impregnable N.njiram, and deprived the Sēlinār (the Pandyas) of their splendour at the very time when their greatness, which was adored everywhere on earth, became conspicuous;”*<sup>[28]</sup>

The historical side of Rajaraja's intellectual nature is further manifested in the order he issued to have all the grants made to the Thanjavur temple engraved on stone. Rajaraja not only was particular about recording his achievements, but also was equally diligent in preserving the records of his predecessors. For instance, an inscription of his reign found at Tirumalavadi near Thruichi records an order of the king to the effect that the central shrine of the Vaidyanatha temple at the place should be rebuilt and that, before pulling down the walls, the inscriptions engraved on them should be copied in a book. The records were subsequently re-engraved on the walls from the book after the

rebuilding was finished.

## Religious Policy

An ardent follower of Saivism (one of the 4 major streams of Hinduism), Rajaraja was nevertheless tolerant towards other faiths and creeds. He also had several temples for Vishnu constructed. He also encouraged the construction of the Buddhist Chudamani Vihara at the request of the Srivijaya king Sri Maravijayatungavarman. Rajaraja dedicated the proceeds of the revenue from the village of Anaimangalam towards the upkeep of this Vihara.

## Tirumurai Compilation

Raja Raja Chola embarked on a mission to recover the hymns after hearing short excerpts of *Tevaram* in his court.<sup>[29]</sup> He sought the help of Nambi Andar Nambi, who was a priest in a temple.<sup>[30]</sup> It is believed that by divine intervention Nambi found the presence of scripts, in the form of cadijam leaves half eaten by white ants in a chamber inside the second precinct in Thillai Nataraja Temple, Chidambaram.<sup>[29][30]</sup> The *brahmanas* (Dikshitaras) in the temple opposed the mission, but Rajaraja intervened by consecrating the images of the saint-poets through the streets of Chidambaram.<sup>[29][31]</sup> Rajaraja thus became to be known as *Tirumurai Kanda Cholan* meaning one who saved the *Tirumurai*.<sup>[31]</sup> Thus far Shiva temples only had images of god forms, but after the advent of Rajaraja, the images of the Nayanar saints were also placed inside the temple.<sup>[31]</sup> Nambi arranged the hymns of three saint poets Campantar, Appar and Sundarar as the first seven books, Manickavasagar's *Tirukovayar* and *Tiruvacakam* as the 8th book, the 28 hymns of nine other saints as the 9th book, the *Tirumandiram* of Tirumular as the 10th book, 40 hymns by 12 other poets as the 10th book, *Tirutotanan Tiruvanthathi* - the sacred *anthathi* of the labours of the 63 nayanar saints and added his own hymns as the 11th book.<sup>[32]</sup> The first seven books were later called as *Tevaram*, and the whole Saiva canon, to which was added, as the 12th book, Sekkizhar's *Periya Puranam* (1135 CE) is wholly known as *Tirumurai*, the holy book. Thus Saiva literature which covers about 600 years of religious, philosophical and literary development.<sup>[32]</sup>

## Personal Life and Family

Rajaraja was born Arulmozhi Thevar and was the third child of Parantaka Sundara Chola.

Rajaraja Chola's mother, Vaanavan Maadevi, was the daughter of Thirukkivilur king, Malayamaan Thirumudi Kaari.

His elder brother Aditya II was assassinated c. 969 CE. He had great respect for his elder sister Ālvār Sri Parāntakan Sri Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār or more popularly referred to as *Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār*. We also know of at least one daughter of Rajaraja called *Rajaraja Kundavai Alvar* who he named after his sister.<sup>[33][34]</sup> Rajaraja had a number of wives. According to inscriptions, at least 15 names are mentioned as his wives - *Ulagamaga Deviyari, Thidaipiran magal Chola Madeviyar, Abhimanavaliyar, Thirailokiya Madeviyar, Panchavan Madeviyar, Piruthivi Madeviyar, Elada Madeviyar, Meenavan Madeviyar, Nakkan Thillai Alzagiya, Kaadan Thongiyar, Koothan Veeraniyar, Elangon Pichiyar*.<sup>[35]</sup> Also *Elangon Pichiyar* was the daughter of *Vallavaraiyan Vandhiyathevan* and *Kundavai Nachiyar*. The mother of Rajendra I, the only known son of Rajaraja, was Vaanathi (otherwise called as *Thiripuvana Madeviyar*), Princess of Kodumbaalur. Rajaraja must have had at least three daughters. One of the daughter was named after Rajaraja Cholan's sister - *Kundavai* who was married to the Chalukya Prince *Vimaladithan*. Another daughter was called as *Mathevalzagal* and was mentioned as the *Naduvit Penn* (meaning middle daughter) in one of the Thiruvilachuzhi inscriptions.<sup>[35]</sup> The name of the third daughter is not known.

Rajaraja was succeeded by Rajendra Chola I. His natal star was Sadhayam. It was celebrated as Sadhaya-nal vizha, a 7 day festival culminating on his star birthday during the king and his son's reign.<sup>[36]</sup> Rajaraja also bore the title *Telungana Kula Kala*.<sup>[37][38][39]</sup> He was also known as *Rajaraja Sivapada Sekhara* (he who had the feet of Lord Shiva as his crown).<sup>[40][41]</sup>



## Historic novels featuring Rajaraja Chola-I

1. Arulmozhi Varman, is the hero of Kalki Krishnamurthy's historical novel Ponniyin Selvan. Its plot revolves around the mysteries surrounding the assassination of Aditya Karikalan and the subsequent accession of Uttama to the Chola throne. Kalki imagines Arulmozhi sacrificing his rightful claim to the throne by crowning Uttama during his own coronation.
2. Arulmozhi Varman, is the hero of Vembu Vikiraman's historical novel Nandipurathu Nayagi. The plot of the story revolves around the ascension of Uttama Chola to the throne and Raja Raja's tour to the distant sea countries.
3. **Rajaraja Cholan** – Drama, written by Aru. Ramanathan, called as Kathal Ramanathan. (TKS Group made numerous Stage Shows on this Drama and later it was taken as Movie acted by Shivaji Ganesan). This drama as a book Published by Prema Pirasuram, Chennai. is made as a Study Material in South Indian Universities.
4. Balakumaran has also written the story **Udaiyar** based on the life of Rajaraja Chola. While Kalki's novel describes his life at his youth at the time of the death of Aditya Karikala, Bala Kumaran deals with Rajaraja Chola's life after he becomes the emperor.
5. In January 2007, Kaviri Mainthan – a novel set in the Chola period and a sequel to Ponniyin Selvan was written by Anusha Venkatesh, published by The Avenue Press.
6. Sujatha wrote a novel "Kandalur Vasantha Kumaran Kathai", which deal with the situations leading Raja raja to invade Kandhalur, a sea port.
7. Gokul Seshadri has written a novel "Rajakesari", which deals with the after effects of Kandhalur invasion, in Rajaraja Chola's life. Also there is an incomplete novel "Cherar Kottai" by the same author, which deals with the Kandhalur invasion by Rajaraja Chola.

His grave found at udayalur near Kumbakonam, just 1 km from Kumbakonam RTO office

## Documetary Film

"The Hidden Temples of India." *Mysteries of Asia*. Produced by The Learning Channel. Narrated by Michael Bell. Freely available at <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/lost-temples-of-india>

## TV Show Controversy

Meesai Rajendran expressed himself as Raja Raja Chola when he was intervened by psychologist Dr.Vethamalika in the Mun Jenmam TV show in STAR Vijay channel.

Also he expressed his son name as Rajendra Chola.

## Notes

- [1] <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Template:Chola>
- [2] "Unearthed stone ends debate" (<http://www.hindu.com/fr/2009/11/27/stories/2009112751290700.htm>). *The Hindu* (Chennai, India). 27 November 2009. .
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- [4] Sethuraman, N"Rajarajan Pirantha, Mudisudia, Neetha Naatkal", in "Arunmozhi" ed., N Kasinathan, Tamil Nadu
- [5] KAN Sastri, A History of South India, p163
- [6] "Rajaraja began his conquests by attacking the confederation between the rulers of the Pandya and Krala kingdoms and of Ceylon" – KAN Sastri, History of South India p 164
- [7] KAN Sastri, The Colas
- [8] Chakravarti, Prithwis Chandra (December 1930). "Naval Warfare in ancient India". *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 4 (4): 645–664. "The naval supremacy of the Colas continued under the immediate successors of Rajendra. Rajadhiraja, as stated above, not only defeated and destroyed the Chera fleet at Kandalur but sent out his squadrons on an expedition against Ceylon."
- [9] KAN Sastri
- [10] KAN Sastri The Colas

- [11] Codrington, H.W (1926). *A Short History of Ceylon* (<http://lakdiva.org/codrington/chap04.html>). London: Macmillan & Co.. ISBN 9780836955965. OCLC 2154168. .
- [12] "A BRIEF HISTORY OF SRI LANKA" (<http://www.localhistories.org/srilanka.html>). *Tim Lambert*. localhistories.org. . Retrieved 12 September 2008.
- [13] "varalaaru.com" (<http://www.varalaaru.com/Default.asp?articleid=38>). varalaaru.com. .
- [14] *South Indian inscriptions: Volume 2, Parts 1–2*
- [15] *Epigraphia Indica, Volume 16, page 74*
- [16] *Studying early India: archaeology, texts and historical issues, page 198*
- [17] *The world in the year 1000, page 311*
- [18] *Epigraphia Indica, Volume 30, page 248*
- [19] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Volume 21, page 200*
- [20] Smith, Vincent Arthur (1904). *The Early History of India*. The Clarendon press. pp. 336–358.
- [21] 'Rajaraja is supposed to have conquered twelve thousand old isands... a phrase meant to indicate the Maldives – Keay p215
- [22] Kearney, p70
- [23] KAN Sastri, the Cholas
- [24] Vasudevan, p44
- [25] Vasudevan, p46
- [26] Vasudevan, pp62-63
- [27] "varalaaru.com" (<http://www.varalaaru.com/Default.asp?articleid=32>). varalaaru.com. .
- [28] *Epigraphia Carnatica, Volume 10, Part 1, page 107*
- [29] Culter 1987, p. 50
- [30] Cort 1998, p. 178
- [31] Vasudevan 2003, pp. 109-110
- [32] Zvelebil 1974, p. 191
- [33] *Early Chola art, page 183*
- [34] *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Tamil Nadu and Kerala States: Thanjavur District, page 180*
- [35] Raasa Manickanar (2009), p. 169.
- [36] *Śāṅkaram*
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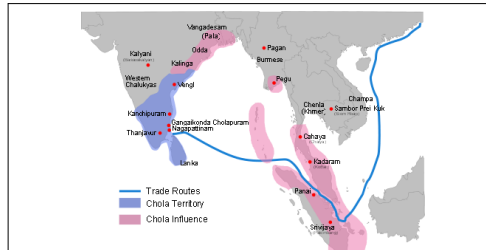
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# Rajendra Chola I

*"Rajendra Chola" redirects here. For Rajendra Chola II, see Rajendra Chola II.*

## Rajendra Chola I

முதலாம் இராசநேத்ர சோழன்



### Rajendra Chola's Territories c. 1030 CE

<b>Reign</b>	1012–1044 CE
<b>Title</b>	<i>Parakesari, Yuddhamalla</i>
<b>Capital</b>	Thanjavur Gangaikonda Cholapuram
<b>Queen</b>	Tribhuvana Mahadeviyar Pancavan Madeviyar Viramadevi
<b>Children</b>	Rajadhiraja Chola I Rajendra Chola II Virarajendra Chola Arulmolinangayar Ammangadevi
<b>Predecessor</b>	Rajaraja Chola
<b>Successor</b>	Rajadhiraja Chola I
<b>Father</b>	Rajaraja Chola
<b>Born</b>	Unknown
<b>Died</b>	1044 CE

**Rajendra Chola I (Rajendra Chola the Great)** (Tamil: மாதலாம் இராசேந்திர சோழன்) was the son of Rajaraja Chola I and was one of the greatest rulers of Tamil Chola dynasty of India. He succeeded his father in 1014 CE as the Chola emperor. During his reign, he extended the influences of the already vast Chola empire up to the banks of the river Ganges in the north and across the ocean. Rajendra's territories extended coastal Burma, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep, Maldives, conquered the kings of Srivijaya (Sumatra, Java and Malay Peninsula in South East Asia) and Pegu islands with his fleet of ships. He defeated Mahipala, the Pala king of Bengal and Bihar, and to commemorate his victory he built a new capital called Gangaikonda Cholapuram. The Cholas became one of the most powerful dynasties in Asia during his regin. The Tamil Chola armies exacted tribute from Thailand and the Khmer kingdom of Cambodia. Like the predecessors of the Cholas, the Pallavas and the contemporaneous Pandiyans, the Cholas too under Raja Raja I the father of Rajendra and then Rajendra Chola I too undertook several expeditions to occupy territories outside Indian shores. Of these kings, it was Rajendra who made extensive overseas conquests of territories like the Andamans, Lakshadweepa, wide areas Indo China (Thailand, Malaysia, Laos, Indonesia and Modern Vietnam) and indeed, Burma (\*\*). In fact, Rajendra Chola I was the first Indian king to take his armies overseas and make conquests of these territories, even though there is epigraphical evidence of Pallava presence in these very areas, but it is not known that Burma and Indo-China were subordinate to

them, as they were under Rajendra and his successors up to Kulothunga I.

He also built a temple for Siva at Gangaikonda Cholapuram, similar in design to the Tanjore Brihadisvara temple built by Rajaraja Chola. He assumed titles *Parakesari* and *Yuddhamalla*.

Co-regent

Rajaraja Chola I had made the crown prince Rajendra co-regent in 1012.<sup>[1]</sup> Both son and father reigned as equals during the final few years of Rajaraja's life. Rajendra was at the forefront of some of Rajaraja's campaigns such as those against Vengi and Kalinga towards the end of his reign. # Rajendra is also famous for making rock cut raths.

Ascension and early reign

Rajendra formally ascended the Chola throne in 1014 CE, two years after his installation as the Co Regent. Early in his reign in 1018 CE he installed his eldest son Rajadhiraja Chola I as *yuvaraja* (Co-regent).<sup>[1]</sup> Rajadhiraja continued to rule alongside his father for the next 26 years. The son ruled in full regal status as the father. This practice was probably adapted initially to obviate disputed succession.

The system of choosing a successor in the lifetime and associating him in the discharge of administrative duties is an important aspect of Chola administration. The princes who had come of age were appointed in various positions of authority in the different provinces of the empire according to the individual's aptitude and talent. Those who distinguished themselves in these positions were then chosen as heir apparent. In some cases, the eldest son was overlooked in favour of a more talented younger son.

Military conquests

List of Chola kings	
Early Cholas	
Elara Chola · 235 BC – 161 BC	
Ilamcetcenni · Karikala Chola	
Nedunkilli ·	
Killivalavan · Kopperuncholan	
Kocengannan · Perunarkilli	
Interregnum (c.200–848)	
Medieval Cholas	
Vijayalaya Chola	848–871(?)
Aditya I	871–907
Parantaka Chola I	907–950
Gandaraditya	950–957
Arinjaya Chola	956–957
Sundara Chola	957–970
Uttama Chola	970–985
Rajaraja Chola I	985–1014
Rajendra Chola I	1012–1044
Rajadhiraja Chola	1018–1054

Rajendra Chola II	1051–1063
Virarajendra Chola	1063–1070
Athirajendra Chola	1067–1070

#### Later Cholas

Kulothunga Chola I	1070–1120
Vikrama Chola	1118–1135
Kulothunga Chola II	1133–1150
Rajaraja Chola II	1146–1173
Rajadhiraja Chola II	1166–1178
Kulothunga Chola III	1178–1218
Rajaraja Chola III	1216–1256
Rajendra Chola III	1246–1279

#### Chola society

Chola government

Chola military · Chola Navy

Chola art · Chola literature

Solesvara Temples

Poompuhar · Uraiyur

Melakadambur

Gangaikonda Cholapuram

Thanjavur · Telugu Cholas

[1]

## Early campaigns

Rajendra's inscriptions include the many campaigns he carried on behalf of Rajaraja from c. 1002 CE. These include the conquest of the Rashtrakuta country and region around the current northwestern Karnataka state, Southern Maharashtra up to Kolhapur and Pandharpur. Rajendra also led campaigns against the Western Chalukya Satyasraya and his successor Jayasimha-II by crossing the river Tungabhadra, carried the war into the heart of the Chalukya country and attacked their capital. He overran large parts of the Chalukyan territory including Yedatore (a large part of the Raichur district between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra), Banavasi in the north-west of Mysore, before taking a tour of the capital Mannaikadakkam (Manyakheta). Both the kings were forced to flee from their capital into the western ghats with the Chola emperor erecting a Siva temple at Bhatkal after completing his victory and levying tribute on the vanquished Chalukya kings. He also conquered Kollipakkai, modern day Kulpak located to the north of Hyderabad in present day Andhra Pradesh. Here is an excerpt of his inscription (original in Tamil) from Kolar, Karnataka:

*In the 8th year of the reign of Kopparakesarivanmar sri Rajendra Sola Deva, who, - while the goddess of Fortune, having become constant, increased, and while the goddess of the great Earth, the goddess of Victory in battle and the matchless goddess of Fame, having become his great queens, rejoiced-that in his extended lifetime, conquered with his great war-like army Idaiturai-nadu, Vanavasi shut in by a fence of continuous forests; Kollipakkai, whose walls were surrounded by sulli trees; Mannaikadakkam whose fortification was unapproachable;..*<sup>[2]</sup>



## Invasion of Sri Lanka

To complete the task began by his father, (for many reasons Raja Raja Chola I was able to conquer only half of the Sri Lanka in his time) of conquering the island of Srilanka, Rajendra invaded the island in 1018 CE. As a result of the campaign, Rajendra claimed to have captured the regal jewels of the Pandya kings, which Parantaka I tried in vain to capture. Rajendra also captured the crown of the Sinhala king, his Queen and daughter. This was because they were a part of the Sinhalese government. The Sinhala king Mahinda V was taken prisoner and transported to the Chola country. The same way son of Pandu (Arjuna) brought Drupada. He was held prisoner for over twelve years and died in captivity. However, Mahavamsa records indicate that Chola invasion and conquest of Lanka as a carnage wrought by the pillaging Chola army in the Sinhala country. The Sinhala hero Vijayabahu the Great who vanquished Cholas from Sri Lanka made every possible effort to restore what Cholas destroyed. Chola inscriptions speak about the fight between the Cholas and the Sinhalese mainly due to the fact that the traders from Tamil country had been looted, imprisoned and killed for years together, in return for which the Cholas sent their army to invade, occupy and control the island of Sri Lanka. An excerpt of his inscription from Kolar, Karnataka:

*"In the 8th year of the reign of Kopparakesarivanmar sri Rajendra Sola Devar, who...conquered with his great war-like army Idaiturai-nadu, Vanavasi...etc.-  
...the crown of the king of Ilam (Ceylon), and the more beautiful crown of his queen; the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra, which the king of the south (the Pandya) had previously surrendered to the kings of Ilam; the whole of Iramandalam surrounded by the clear sea;.."*<sup>[2]</sup>

Mahinda's son Kassapa became the centre of Sinhalese resistance against the Tamil Power. The war between the Cholas and the Sinhalese raged. The Cholas prevailed over the Sinhalese and re-established their control which lasted till the time of Kulothunga Chola III.

Remains of a number of Hindu temples damaged by the Sinhalese after the end of Tamil occupation in Sri Lanka have been discovered around the Polonnaruwa area attesting to the presence of the Tamil army.

In 1041 CE Rajendra had to lead another expedition into Sri Lanka to quell the continuing attacks against the Chola army by Vikramabahu. Vikramabahu died soon after and anarchy reigned outside the Chola territories. An assortment of adventurers including Sinhalese, dispossessed Pandya princes and even a certain Jagaitpala from distance Kanauj asserted authority over portions of the island. Chola army fought and defeated them all. Thus, Rajendra Chola was able to fulfill his father's dream to bring the whole Sri Lanka under Chola territory.

## Pandyas and Cheras

In 1018, Rajendra made a triumphal march at the head of his army through the Pandya and Cheras (Kerala) countries.<sup>[1]</sup> Rajendra's Tiruvalangadu grants claim that he ...'took possession of the bright spotless pearls, seeds of the fame of the Pandya kings' and that '...the fearless Madurantaka (Rajendra) crossed the mountains and in a fierce battle brought ruin upon the Chera kings. It is doubtful whether Rajendra added any additional territory to his empire through these campaigns as these have already been conquered by Rajaraja very early in his reign.

Rajendra appointed one of his sons as viceroy with the title *Jadavarman Sundara Chola-Pandya* with Madurai as the headquarters of the Viceroyalty.

## Chalukyas Wars

C. 1021 Rajendra had to turn his attention towards the Western Chalukyas. In 1015 Jayasimha II became the Western Chalukya king. Soon after his ascension, he tried to recover the losses suffered by his predecessor Satyasraya in the hands of the Cholas, who had fled his capital, unable to withstand the Chola onslaught, but had been graciously restored to the throne by Raja Raja I and became a tribute paying subordinate. Initially Jayasimha II was successful as Rajendra was busy with his campaigns against the Pandyas and in Sri Lanka.<sup>[3]</sup>

Jayasimha also decided to involve himself in the affairs of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. After the demise of the Vengi king Vimaladitya, Jayasimha threw his support behind Vijayaditya VII against the claims of Rajaraja

Narendra, another of Vimaladitya's sons by the Chola princess Kundavai.<sup>[3]</sup> Rajendra naturally had his affinity towards Rajaraja, his nephew (for Kundavai was Rajendra's sister). A civil war ensued between Vijayaditya and Rajaraja. However with the help of Rajendra, Rajaraja Narendra was soon able to defeat the forces of Vijayaditya.<sup>[4]</sup>

Rajendra followed the same tactic adopted by his illustrious father of sending two armies, one to Vengi and the other to the Chalukyan capital itself. Rajendra's forces met Jayasimha in the western front and defeated him in the battle of Maski.<sup>[3]</sup> Rajendra's forces also crossed swords with the Chalukyas at Kollippakkai near Mannaikadakkam (Manyakheta), the capital of Jayasimha-II. Many of Jayasimha-II's generals, called Mahasamantas and Dandanayakas paid with their lives for the intransigence of their inept king, as described in the Tiruvalangadu plates of Rajendra I. Rajendra routed Jayasimha thoroughly with the result the Chalukya king ran away from his capital and was forced to flee and rule from Etagiri. Rajendra Chola I describes his victory over Jayasimha as under: "the seven and a half lakshas of Iratta-padi, (*which was*) *strong by nature, (through the conquest of which) immeasurable fame arose,[7] (and which he took from) Jayasimha, who, out of fear (and) full of vengeance, turned his back at Muyangi and hid himself*". This war is extensively described in the inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I at the Raja Rajesvara Temple, Thanjavur.

Rajaraja Narendra had his long delayed coronation in Vengi after the return of the triumphant expedition to the Ganges in 1022 CE and Rajendra gave his daughter Ammanga in marriage to Rajaraja.

In 1031 CE, the Western Chalukyas invaded Vengi and drove Rajaraja Narendra into exile and installed Vijayaditya as the Vengi king. Rajaraja once again sought Chola help in regaining his throne. Rajendra Chola deputed his able son Rajadhiraja I as head of the Chola army which invaded the Vengi and in a bloody battle near Kalidandi, pushed back Vijayaditya and his Western Chalukya ally. Rajaraja Narendra regained his throne in 1035 CE

Due to his consistent and complete vanquishing of the Chalukyas under Satyashraya and Jayasimha-II along with their feudatories, the Kadambas, Hoysalas, Banas, Vaidumbas and the Gangas etc. and the establishment of control over Kannada country, Rajendra I had famous titles like Mudikonda Chozhan (crown prince), 'Jayasimha Saraban' (the vanquisher of Jayasimha), Mannaikonda Sozhan (the King who took possession of Mannai(kadakkam) i.e. Chalukyan capital of Manyakheta – called Mannaikadakkam in Chola annals), Irattapadikonda Sozhan (the king who conquered Irattapadi or the land of the Rashtrakutas (later usurped by the Chalukyas), Nirupathivaagaran (the king who subdued Hoysala Nrupathunga and his successors).

A few years before his death, the ageing Rajendra Chola also again invaded the Chalukyan capital of Manyakheta due to Chalukya Jayasimha-II and his successor Somesvara I's interference in the Chola territories of Nulambavadi and Gangavadi in Kannada country when they attacked a Chola post and tried to forcibly collect revenues from farmers. A Chola outpost was attacked leading to a resounding reply by the Chola forces first under Rajendra I, following which the command was taken by his able son and co-regent Rajadhiraja Chola (called Vijayarajendra in Tamil inscriptions about this episode). Rajadhiraja promptly attacked Chalukyan positions in Kogali and Kadambalige, after which he invaded the Chalukyan capital of Manyakheta itself, disposing and probably fatally wounding Jayasimha-II and dispossessing him of his queen, and either decapitating or killing several Chalukyan Dandanayakas and Mahasamantas near modern Chitradurga. This was the first full-fledged war between the Cholas and Chalukyas in which Rajadhiraja Chola took the command of the Chola army in which he shone and proved his capabilities to his eager father(\*\*\*) As a gift to his father, Rajadhiraja or Vijayarajendra brought two Dwarapalakas from Chalukya country which were initially placed at the big temple at Gangaikonda Cholapuram, of which one is still standing at the Sarabeshwarar temple in Tirubhuvanam, which was built by a later Chola king Kulothunga III. The other Dwarapalaka is in the museum of the Big Temple in Tanjore. The above episode in detail has been mentioned in the inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I and his son Rajadhiraja at the Big Temple, Thanjavur(\*\*\*)

This subjugation of the Chalukyas would intensify conflict between both empires with the Chalukyas to suffer more defeats at the hands of the successors of Rajendra I in the coming years(\*\*\*). The victories in war with the Chalukyas would enable to Cholas to gain much riches, gold, jewellery, cavalry items like horses, elephants and armaments in addition to vast sums of cash which were ceded by the Chalukya kings as tribute to the Chola

emperors, who graciously restored them their empires and re-integrated them with their wives, children etc.(\*\*\*).

Despite founding the new Chola capital of Gangaikonda Cholapuram, Rajendra I was unfailing in according respect to his predecessor's achievements, especially those of his illustrious father Raja Raja I by placing inscriptions of his achievements only at the Big Temple in Thanjavur and not at Gangaikonda Cholapuram. This practice was kept up by the succeeding Chola kings, with all of them getting coronated at Gangaikonda Cholapuram and the neighbouring ceremonial site of Mudigonda Sozhapuram or Ayirattali but placing inscriptions only at the Big Temple in Thanjavur.

For his conquest of territories in the Ganges-Hooghly belt on the North and Eastern part of India as well as his victories over the adversaries in Indo-China (Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia), Rajendra Chola I earned the famous title of Poorvadesamum, Gangaiyum Kadaramum Konda Ayyan(\*\*\*).

## Expedition to the Ganges

With both the Western and Eastern Chalukya fronts subdued, Rajendra's armies undertook an extraordinary expedition. C. 1019 CE Rajendra's forces continued to march through Kalinga to the river Ganges. The Emperor himself advanced up to the river Godavari to protect the rear of the expeditionary force. The Chola army eventually reach the Pala kingdom of Bengal where they met Mahipala and defeated him.<sup>[5]</sup>

According to the Tiruvalangadu Plates, the campaign lasted less than two years in which many kingdoms of the north felt the might of the Chola army. The inscriptions further claim that Rajendra defeated '...the armies of Ranasura and entered the land of Dharmapala and subdued him and thereby he reached the Ganges and caused the water river to be brought by the conquered kings' back to the Chola country. The new conquests opened up new roots for the Cholas to head for distant lands like Burma by land (through what are now modern Orissa, West Bengal, Assam and Bangladesh). Many inscriptions of chola do refer to the chola control over provinces of north like mathura(vadamadurai), kanyakubja(kannaikucchi or kannauj) and sindhu(sind). This is possible because of chola domination of both the seas on east and west.

It is true that Rajendra's army defeated the kings of Sakkarakottam and Dhandabhukti and Mahipala. These territories were initially added to the kingdom, while later they had the status of tribute paying subordinates and trade partners with the Chola Kingdom, an arrangement that lasted till the times of Kulothunga-III and to a limited extent, of Raja Raja-III too. It was undoubtedly an exhibition of the power and might of the Chola empire to the northern kingdoms. But the benevolent leadership of the Cholas treated them in a benevolent manner and did not permanently annexe them to the Chola dominions, while at the same time acting firmly to nip in the bud any ill-treatment of people from Tamil country.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Overseas conquests

Between the 11th and the 14th year of Rajendra's reign c. 1025, the Chola Navy crossed the ocean and attacked the Srivijaya kingdom of Sangrama Vijayatungavarman. Kadaram, the capital of the powerful maritime kingdom, was sacked and the king taken captive. Along with Kadaram, Pannai in present day Sumatra and Malaiyur in the Malayan peninsula were attacked. Kedah (now in modern Malaysia) too was occupied.<sup>[7]</sup>

*In the 22nd year of the reign of Kopparakesarivanmar sri Rajendra Sola Deva, who, ...conquered with his great war-like army Idaiturai-nadu, Vanavasi...etc.- and who-having sent many ships in the midst of the billowing sea and having [captured] Sangirama-vijaiyattungopanma, the king of Kidaram, along with his elephants...took [the large heap of treasures that he had rightfully amassed], the Vichchadira-ttorana at the war-gate of the enemy's extensive city, the wicket door set with jewels of great splendour, and the door set with large jewels;the extensive sri-Vijaiyam; Pannai watered by the river; the ancient Malaiyur, whose fortress was on a high hill; Māyirudingam, the moat around which was the deep sea; Ilangāsōbam, of undaunted heroic deeds; Māppappālam, having abundant waters as it guard; Mēvilambangam, which had fine fortifications as its defence; Valaippandūru, situated in the midst of green jungles; Talaitakolam, praised by great men versed in the sciences; Madamalingam, of steady heroic deeds; Nilamuri-desam, whose fierce strength was increased by enmity; Mānakkavāram having gardens, in which the flowers were full of honey; and Kidaram, of fierce strength, guarded by men who wore ankle-rings;..*<sup>[8]</sup>

Sangarama Vijayatungavarman was the son of Mara Vijayatungavarman of the Sailendra dynasty. Srivijaya kingdom was located near Palembang in Sumatra. There are no records to explain the nature of and the reason for this naval expedition. The Sailendra dynasty had been in good relations with the Chola Empire during the period of Rajaraja Chola I. Rajaraja encouraged Mara Vijayatungavarman to build the Chudamani Vihara at Nagapattinam. Rajendra confirmed this grant in the Anaimangalam grants showing that the relationship with Srivijaya was still continued be friendly. The exact cause of the quarrel that caused the naval war between Cholas and Srivijaya remains unknown.

The Cholas had an active trade relationship with the eastern island. Moreover the Srivijaya kingdom and the South Indian empires were the intermediaries in the trade between China and the countries of the Western world. Both the Srivijaya and Cholas had active dialogue with the Chinese and sent diplomatic missions to China.

The Chinese records of the Song Dynasty show that first mission to China from *Chu-lien* (Chola) reached that country in 1015 CE and the king of their country was *Lo-ts'a-lo-ts'a* (Rajaraja). Another embassy from *Shi-lo-cha Yin-to-loChu-lo* (Sri Raja Indra Chola) reached China in 1033 CE and a third in 1077 CE during Kulothunga Chola I. The commercial intercourse between Cholas and the Chinese were continuous and extensive.

One reason could be a trade dispute stemming from some attempts by Srivijaya to throw some obstacle between the flourishing trade between China and the Cholas. Whatever the actual cause of this expedition, it is difficult to believe that, even if we take all the achievements narrated in Rajendra's inscriptions are accepted as literally true, the campaign led to any permanent territories rather than a vague acceptance of the Chola suzerainty by Srivijaya. Sangaram Vijayatungavarman was restored to the throne at his agreement to pay periodic tribute to Rajendra.



Silver Kasu coin of Rajendra I

Tanjavur inscriptions also state that the king of Kambhoja (Kampuchea) requesting Rajendra's help in defeating enemies of his Angkor kingdom.

## Closing years

Rajendra's long reign saw almost continuous campaigns and conflicts trying to hold his huge empire together. Rajendra's sons carried out most of the campaigns during the late period of his reign. The emperor refrained from taking the field personally allowing his sons to win glory and distinction.

Rebellions in the Pandya and Kerala countries called for severe action and Rajadhiraja Chola I suppressed them. He also undertook a campaign in Sri Lanka to quell a rebellion instigated by Kassapa.

## Social work

Rajendra Chola was very pious and he converted many of the temples that were originally brick structures into stone shrines just like his mother. Here is an excerpt of his inscription(original in Tamil) from Kolar district in Karnataka:

“ In the 22nd year of the reign of Kopparakesarivanmar alias sri Rajendra Sola Deva who conquered with his great warlike army the great Idaiturai nadu, Vanavasi..  
and having captured Sangirama Vijaiyattungapanma..etc.-  
According to the command of sri Rajendra Sola Deva, the general Uttama Sola Brahmarayan alias Marayan Arumoli, son of Rajendra Sola Brahmarayan alias Narkanna sri Krishnan Raman, of Keralantaka chaturvedimangalam..caused to be built [of stone] what had formerly been built of brick in the temple of Pidariyar Kuvalalam in the Kuvalala nadu..He also granted a perpetual lamp known by the name of Janavarkalpagam to be burned before the goddess for as long as the sun and the moon endure.”<sup>[8]</sup>

Kuvalala nadu was the name given to the area around Kolar region.

## Gangaikonda Cholapuram

To commemorate his celebrated military conquests over the Chalukyas, their subordinates and feudatories like the Hoysalas, Nolamba Pallavas, Uchhangi Pandyas etc., the Paramaras or Maharashtra/Gujarat area, Palas of Bengal, Ilam, Madurai and the Cheras as well as his famed northern campaign to the Ganges, Rajendra assumed the title of **Gangaikonda Cholan** and other famous titles like Mudigondasozhan, Irattapadikonda Sozhan among scores of other titles of his and had the Siva Temple Gangaikondacholapuram built and consecrated. Soon after this, the capital was moved from Thanjavur to Gangaikondacholapuram. Rajendra probably founded the city of Gangaikondacholapuram before his 17th year.

Most of the Chola kings who succeeded Rajendra were crowned here. They retained it as their capital, reoriented and trained the efficient Chola army. It is not known whether the capital was moved to the new location for strategic purposes, as the old capital Thanjavur had very strong fortifications.

## Rajendra's legacy

The closing years of Rajendra forms the most splendid period of Cholas.<sup>[9]</sup> The extent of the empire was the widest and the military and naval prestige was at its highest.<sup>[10]</sup> The emperor was ably assisted by his sons and other members of his family. The Chola imperialism was a benevolent one attested by the presence of the traditional rulers in the Pandya and Kerala countries and the act of reinstating the Srivijaya king after his defeat.



Gangaikondacholapuram c. 1030 C.E.

## Officials

Senapati Narakkan Sri Krishnan Raman alias Rajendra-Chola-Brahmamarayan of Keralantaka Chaturvedimangalam.<sup>[11]</sup> The others include Irayiravan Pallavaraiyan who also served during the reign of his father.<sup>[12]</sup> Raman Arumozhiyaan son of Krishnan Raman called as Uththamasola brahmarayan, became senapati after Krishnan Raman.

## Personal life and family

Rajendra Cholan I, the only son of Rajaraja Cholan, was born on the tamil month - *Margalzhi Thingal* and on the day of *Thiruvathirai*. As per the inscripts of Thiruvalangadu, he was originally named as *Maduranthagana*. He spent most of his childhood in Palayarai and was brought up by his father's sister *Kundavai* and great grand mother *Sembian Madevi* in the saivisam way.

Rajendra Chola had many queens. Some of them mentioned in inscriptions are Tribuvana or Vanavan Mahadeviar, Mukkokilan, Panchavan Mahadevi, ArindhavanMadevi and Viramadevi who committed sati on Rajendra's death. The siddanta saravali of trilochana sivacharya who was a contemporary of Kulothunga III says that king Rajendran was a good writer and that he did compose hymns in praise of Lord Shiva.(\*\*)

Of his sons, three followed him on the Chola throne in succession. Rajadhiraja Chola, Rajendra Chola II and Virarajendra Chola of whom we do not know the identity of the Madurai viceroy Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya. Rajendra Cholan had two daughters - named *Pranaar Arul Mozhi Nangai* and *Ammanga Devi*. Ammanga Devi was married to *Rajaraja Narendran*, son of Kundavai (RajaRaja Cholan's daughter ) and the chalukya king Vimaladithan.

## Sri Kalahasti Temple

Sri Kalahasti temple, which is the only shrine for the God of Wind in India. Constructed in the 12th century by **Rajendra Chola**, Vayu is incarnated as Lord Shiva and worshipped as Kalahasteswara.

## Historic Novels Featuring Rajendra Chola I

1. The famed novelist of Tamil Literature, Akilan has penned a novel by name "Vengayin Maindhan". In this novel, Akilan gives insight about the life and achievement of the great Rajendra Chola. This novel had won the Sahitya Academy Award.
2. Another veteran historical Tamil novelist Vembu Vikiraman had penned a novel, "Gangapuri Kavalan". Rajendra Chola is the hero of the novel.
3. Sandilyan, the veteran historical Tamil Novelist has penned Mannan Magal novel taking the period of Rajendra Chola I's War Expedition to Ganges.

## Notes

- [1] See Sastri, K. A. N., *A History of South India*, p165
- [2] *Epigraphia Carnatica, Volume 10, Part 1, page 32*
- [3] See Sastri, K. A. N., *A History of South India*, p166
- [4] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, page 70*
- [5] See Keay, John, p220
- [6] See Nilakanta Sastri, K. A. (1935). *The Cōḷas*, pp 209 – 212. Sastri bases his argument on the fact that these regions were not included in the inscriptions of his successors, though successive Chola Kings from Rajaraja I to Kulothunga III have assumed titles as 'Kings who conquered Ilam', reinforcing the fact that off and on, rebellions were being quelled and Chola authority on the island of 'Ilangai' was maintained, despite a later king of Lanka sending an embassy to the Chola adversary Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukya dynasty, subsequent to which another expedition to Ilangai caused the Sinhala king to flee to Rohana hills on the South Coast of that country.
- [7] *Epigraphia Carnatica, Volume 10, Part 1, page 41*
- [8] *Epigraphia Carnatica, Volume 10, Part 1, page 39-40*
- [9] See Schmidt, K, p32
- [10] See Rothermund and Kulke, p109
- [11] *Śrīnidhiḥ: perspectives in Indian archaeology, art, and culture : Shri K.R. Srinivasan festschrift, page 358*
- [12] *South Indian shrines: illustrated, page 53*

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## External links

- <http://www.lakdiva.org/coins/>
- இராசேந்திர சோழனின் 25 பெயர்கள் (25 Names of Rajendra chola) (<http://www.ponniyinselvan.in/articles-f6/25-names-of-rajendra-chola-t26503.html#p107953>)

# Ramesses II

Ramesses II	
Ramesses the Great	
Ramesses II: one of four external seated statues at Abu SimbelRamesses II: one of four external seated statues at Abu Simbel	
Pharaoh of Egypt	
Reign	1279–1213 BC, 19th Dynasty
Predecessor	Seti I
Successor	Merneptah
Consort(s)	Nefertari, Isetnofret, Maathorneferure, Meritamen, Bintanath, Nebettawy, Henutmire
Children	Amun-her-khepsef Prince Ramesses Pareherwenemef Khaemweset Merneptah Meryatum Bintanath Meritamen Nebettawy See also: List of children of Ramesses II
Father	Seti I
Mother	Queen Tuya
Born	c. 1300s BC
Died	1213 BC
Burial	KV7
Monuments	Abu Simbel, Abydos, <sup>[3]</sup> Ramesseum, Luxor and Karnak temples <sup>[4]</sup>

**Ramesses II** (c. 1303 BC – July or August 1213 BC; Egyptian: *\*Riʿmīsisu*, alternatively transcribed as **Rameses** 𓂏𓏏𓂏𓏏 /ˈræməsiːz/<sup>[5]</sup> and **Ramses** /ˈræmsiːz/ or /ˈræmziːz/)<sup>[6]</sup> referred to as **Ramesses the Great**, was the third Egyptian pharaoh (reigned 1279 BC – 1213 BC) of the Nineteenth dynasty. He is often regarded as the greatest, most celebrated, and most powerful pharaoh of the Egyptian Empire.<sup>[7]</sup> His successors and later Egyptians called him the "Great Ancestor". Ramesses II led several military expeditions into the Levant, re-asserting Egyptian control over Canaan. He also led expeditions to the south, into Nubia, commemorated in inscriptions at Beit el-Wali and Gerf Hussein.

At age fourteen, Ramesses was appointed Prince Regent by his father Seti I.<sup>[7]</sup> He is believed to have taken the throne in his late teens and is known to have ruled Egypt from 1279 BC to 1213 BC<sup>[8]</sup> for 66 years and 2 months, according to both Manetho and Egypt's contemporary historical records. He was once said to have lived to be 99 years old, but it is more likely that he died in his 90th or 91st year. If he became Pharaoh in 1279 BC as most Egyptologists today believe, he would have assumed the throne on May 31, 1279 BC, based on his known accession date of III Shemu day 27.<sup>[9][10]</sup> Ramesses II celebrated an unprecedented 14 sed festivals (the first held after thirty years of a pharaoh's reign, and then every three years) during his reign—more than any other pharaoh.<sup>[11]</sup> On his death, he was buried in a tomb in the Valley of the Kings,<sup>[12]</sup> his body was later moved to a royal cache where it was discovered in 1881, and is now on display in the Cairo Museum.<sup>[13]</sup>

The early part of his reign was focused on building cities, temples and monuments. He established the city of Pi-Ramesses in the Nile Delta as his new capital and main base for his campaigns in Syria. This city was built on the remains of the city of Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos when they took over, and was the location of the main Temple of Set. He is also known as **Ozymandias** in the Greek sources,<sup>[14]</sup> from a transliteration into Greek of a part of Ramesses's throne name, *Usermaatre Setepenre*, "Ra's mighty truth, chosen of Ra".<sup>[15]</sup>

## Campaigns and battles

Early in his life, Ramesses II embarked on numerous campaigns to return previously held territories back from Nubian and Hittite hands and to secure Egypt's borders. He was also responsible for suppressing some Nubian revolts and carrying out a campaign in Libya. Although the famous Battle of Kadesh often dominates the scholarly view of Ramesses II's military prowess and power, he nevertheless enjoyed more than a few outright victories over the enemies of Egypt. During Ramesses II's reign, the Egyptian army is estimated to have totaled about 100,000 men; a formidable force that he used to strengthen Egyptian influence.<sup>[16]</sup>

### Battle against Sherden sea pirates

In his second year, Ramesses II decisively defeated the Shardana or Sherden sea pirates who were wreaking havoc along Egypt's Mediterranean coast by attacking cargo-laden vessels travelling the sea routes to Egypt.<sup>[17]</sup> The Sherden people probably came from the coast of Ionia or possibly south-west Turkey. Ramesses posted troops and ships at strategic points along the coast and patiently allowed the pirates to attack their prey before skillfully catching them by surprise in a sea battle and capturing them all in a single action.<sup>[18]</sup> A stele from Tanis speaks of their having come "in their war-ships from the midst of the sea, and none were able to stand before them". There must have been a naval battle somewhere near the mouth of the Nile, as shortly afterwards many Sherden are seen in the Pharaoh's body-guard where they are conspicuous by their horned helmets with a ball projecting from the middle, their round shields and the great Naue II swords with which they are depicted in inscriptions of the Battle of Kadesh.<sup>[19]</sup> In that sea battle, together with the Shardana, the pharaoh also defeated the Lukka (L'kkw, possibly the later Lycians), and the Šqrsšw (Shekelesh) peoples.



Ramesses II as a child (Cairo Museum)

### First Syrian campaign

The immediate antecedents to the Battle of Kadesh were the early campaigns of Ramesses II into Canaan. His first campaign seems to have taken place in the fourth year of his reign and was commemorated by the erection of a stele near modern Beirut. The inscription is almost totally illegible due to weathering. His records tell us that he was forced to fight a Canaanite prince who was mortally wounded by an Egyptian archer, and whose army was subsequently routed. Ramesses carried off the princes of Canaan as live prisoners to Egypt. Ramesses then plundered the chiefs of the Asiatics in their own lands, returning every year to his headquarters at Riblah to exact tribute. In the fourth year of his reign, he captured the Hittite vassal state of Amurru during his campaign in Syria.<sup>[20]</sup>

## Second Syrian campaign



Statue of Ramesses II (Museo Egizio of Turin)

### Further information: Battle of Kadesh

The Battle of Kadesh in his fifth regnal year was the climactic engagement in a campaign that Ramesses fought in Syria, against the resurgent Hittite forces of Muwatallis. The pharaoh wanted a victory at Kadesh both to expand Egypt's frontiers into Syria and to emulate his father Seti I's triumphal entry into the city just a decade or so earlier. He also constructed his new capital, Pi-Ramesses where he built factories to manufacture weapons, chariots, and shields. Of course, they followed his wishes and manufactured some 1,000 weapons in a week, about 250 chariots in 2 weeks, and 1,000 shields in a week and a half. After these preparations, Ramesses moved to attack territory in the Levant which belonged to a more substantial enemy than any he had ever faced before: the Hittite Empire.<sup>[21]</sup>

Although Ramesses's forces were caught in a Hittite ambush and outnumbered at Kadesh, the pharaoh fought the battle to a stalemate and returned home a hero. Ramesses II's forces suffered major losses particularly among the 'Ra' division which was routed by the initial charge of the Hittite chariots during the battle. Once back in Egypt, Ramesses proclaimed that he had won a great victory.<sup>[22]</sup> He had amazed everybody by almost winning a lost battle. The Battle of Kadesh was a personal triumph for Ramesses, as after blundering into a devastating Hittite ambush, the young king courageously rallied his scattered troops to fight on the battlefield while escaping death or capture. Still, many historians regard the battle as a strategic defeat for the Egyptians as they were unable to occupy the city or territory around Kadesh. Ramesses decorated his monuments with reliefs and inscriptions describing the campaign as a whole, and the battle in particular as a major victory. Inscriptions of his victory decorate the Ramesseum,<sup>[23]</sup> Abydos, Karnak, Luxor and Abu Simbel. For example, on the temple walls of Luxor the near catastrophe was turned into an act of heroism:

His majesty slaughtered the armed forces of the Hittites in their entirety, their great rulers and all their brothers ... their infantry and chariot troops fell prostrate, one on top of the other. His majesty killed them ... and they lay stretched out in front of their horses. But his majesty was alone, nobody accompanied him ...<sup>[24]</sup>

## Third Syrian campaign

Egypt's sphere of influence was now restricted to Canaan while Syria fell into Hittite hands. Canaanite princes, seemingly influenced by the Egyptian incapacity to impose their will, and goaded on by the Hittites, began revolts against Egypt. In the seventh year of his reign, Ramesses II returned to Syria once again. This time he proved more successful against his Hittite foes. During this campaign he split his army into two forces. One was led by his son, Amun-her-khepeshef, and it chased warriors of the Šhasu tribes across the Negev as far as the Dead Sea, and captured Edom-Seir. It then marched on to capture Moab. The other force, led by Ramesses, attacked Jerusalem and Jericho. He, too, then entered Moab, where he rejoined his son. The reunited army then marched on Hesbon, Damascus, on to Kumidi, and finally recaptured Upi, reestablishing Egypt's former sphere of influence.<sup>[25]</sup>

## Later campaigns in Syria

Ramesses extended his military successes in his eighth and ninth years. He crossed the Dog River (Nahr el-Kelb) and pushed north into Amurru. His armies managed to march as far north as Dapur,<sup>[26]</sup> where he erected a statue of himself. The Egyptian pharaoh thus found himself in northern Amurru, well past Kadesh, in Tunip, where no Egyptian soldier had been seen since the time of Thutmose III almost 120 years earlier. He laid siege to the city before capturing it. His victory proved to be ephemeral. In year nine, Ramesses erected a stele at Beth Shean. After having reasserted his power over Canaan, Ramesses led his army north. A mostly illegible stele near Beirut, which appears to be dated to the king's second year, was probably set up there in his tenth.<sup>[27]</sup> The thin strip of territory pinched between Amurru and Kadesh did not make for a stable possession. Within a year, they had returned to the Hittite fold, so that Ramesses had to march against Dapur once more in his tenth year. This time he claimed to have fought the battle without even bothering to put on his corslet until two hours after the fighting began. Six of Ramesses's sons, still wearing their side locks, took part in this conquest. He took towns in Retenu,<sup>[28]</sup> and Tunip in Naharin,<sup>[29]</sup> later recorded on the walls of the Ramesseum.<sup>[30]</sup> This second success here was equally as meaningless as his first, as neither power could decisively defeat the other in battle.<sup>[31]</sup>



Relief from Ramesseum showing the siege of Dapur

## Peace treaty with the Hittites



Tablet of treaty between Hattusili III of Hatti and Ramesses II of Egypt, at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum

The deposed Hittite king, Mursili III fled to Egypt, the land of his country's enemy, after the failure of his plots to oust his uncle from the throne. Hattusili III responded by demanding that Ramesses II extradite his nephew back to Hatti.<sup>[32]</sup>

This demand precipitated a crisis in relations between Egypt and Hatti when Ramesses denied any knowledge of Mursili's whereabouts in his country, and the two Empires came dangerously close to war. Eventually, in the twenty-first year of his reign (1258 BC), Ramesses decided to conclude an agreement with the new Hittite king at Kadesh, Hattusili III, to end the conflict. The ensuing document is the earliest known peace treaty in world history.<sup>[33]</sup>

The peace treaty was recorded in two versions, one in Egyptian hieroglyphs, the other in Akkadian, using cuneiform script; both versions survive. Such dual-language recording is common to many subsequent treaties. This treaty differs from others however, in that the two language versions are differently worded. Although the majority of the text is identical, the Hittite version claims that the Egyptians came suing for peace, while the Egyptian version claims the reverse.<sup>[34]</sup> The

treaty was given to the Egyptians in the form of a silver plaque, and this "pocket-book" version was taken back to Egypt and carved into the Temple of Karnak.



The treaty was concluded between Ramesses II and Hattusili III in Year 21 of Ramesses's reign.<sup>[35]</sup> (c. 1258 BC) Its 18 articles call for peace between Egypt and Hatti and then proceeds to maintain that their respective gods also demand peace. The frontiers are not laid down in this treaty but can be inferred from other documents. The Anastasy A papyrus describes Canaan during the latter part of the reign of Ramesses II and enumerates and names the Phoenician coastal towns under Egyptian control. The harbour town of Sumur north of Byblos is mentioned as being the northern-most town belonging to Egypt, which points to it having contained an Egyptian garrison.<sup>[36]</sup>

No further Egyptian campaigns in Canaan are mentioned after the conclusion of the peace treaty. The northern border seems to have been safe and quiet, so the rule of the pharaoh was strong until Ramesses II's death, and the waning of the dynasty.<sup>[37]</sup> When the King of Mira attempted to involve Ramesses in a hostile act against the Hittites, the Egyptian responded that the times of intrigue in support of Mursili III, had passed. Hattusili III wrote to Kadashman-Enlil II, King of Karduniash (Babylon) in the same spirit, reminding him of the time when his father, Kadashman-Turgu, had offered to fight Ramesses II, the king of Egypt. The Hittite king encouraged the Babylonian to oppose another enemy, which must have been the king of Assyria whose allies had killed the messenger of the Egyptian king. Hattusili encouraged Kadashman-Enlil to come to his aid and prevent the Assyrians from cutting the link between the Canaanite province of Egypt and Mursili III, the ally of Ramesses.

## Campaigns in Nubia

Ramesses II also campaigned south of the first cataract into Nubia. When Ramesses was about 22, two of his own sons, including Amun-her-khepeshef, accompanied him in at least one of those campaigns. By the time of Ramesses, Nubia had been a colony for two hundred years, but its conquest was recalled in decoration from the temples Ramesses II built at Beit el-Wali<sup>[38]</sup> (which was the subject of epigraphic work by the Oriental Institute during the Nubian salvage campaign of the 1960s),<sup>[39]</sup> Gerf Hussein and Kalabsha in northern Nubia. On the south wall of the Beit el-Wali temple, Ramesses II is depicted charging into battle against the Nubians in a war chariot, while his two young sons Amun-her-khepsef and Khaemwaset are shown being present behind him, also in war chariots. On one of the walls of Ramesses's temples it says that in one of the battles with the Nubians he had to fight the whole battle alone without any help from his soldiers.



Photo of the free standing part of Gerf Hussein temple, originally in Nubia

## Campaigns in Libya

During the reign of Ramesses II, there is evidence that the Egyptians were active on a 300-kilometre (**unknown operator: u'strong'** mi) stretch along the Mediterranean coast, at least as far as Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham.<sup>[40]</sup> Although the exact events surrounding the foundation of the coastal forts and fortresses is not clear, some degree of political and military control must have been held over the region to allow their construction.

There are no detailed accounts of Ramesses II's undertaking large military actions against the Libyans, only generalised records of his conquering and crushing them, which may or may not refer to specific events that were otherwise unrecorded. It may be that some of the records, such as the Aswan Stele of his year 2, are harking back to Ramesses's presence on his father's Libyan campaigns. Perhaps it was Seti I who achieved this supposed control over the region, and who planned to establish the defensive system, in a manner similar to how he rebuilt those to the east, the Ways of Horus across Northern Sinai.



## Religious impact

Ramesses was the pharaoh most responsible for erasing the Amarna Period from history. He, more than any other pharaoh, sought deliberately to deface the Amarna monuments and change the nature of the religious structure and the structure of the priesthood, in order to try to bring it back to where it had been prior to the reign of Akhenaten.

## Sed festival

Further information: Sed festival

After reigning for 30 years, Ramesses joined a selected group that included only a handful of Egypt's longest-lived kings. By tradition, in the 30th year of his reign Ramesses celebrated a jubilee called the *Sed festival*, during which the king was ritually transformed into a god.<sup>[41]</sup> Only halfway through what would be a 66-year reign, Ramesses had already eclipsed all but a few greatest kings in his achievements. He had brought peace, maintained Egyptian borders and built great and numerous monuments across the empire. His country was more prosperous and powerful than it had been in nearly a century. By becoming a god, Ramesses dramatically changed not just his role as ruler of Egypt, but also the role of his firstborn son, Amun-her-khepsef. As the chosen heir and commander and chief of Egyptian armies, his son effectively became ruler in all but name.

## Building activity and monuments

Ramesses built extensively throughout Egypt and Nubia, and his cartouches are prominently displayed even in buildings that he did not actually construct.<sup>[42]</sup> There are accounts of his honor hewn on stone, statues, remains of palaces and temples, most notably the Ramesseum in the western Thebes and the rock temples of Abu Simbel. He covered the land from the Delta to Nubia with buildings in a way no king before him had done.<sup>[43]</sup> He also founded a new capital city in the Delta during his reign called Pi-Ramesses; it had previously served as a summer palace during Seti I's reign.<sup>[44]</sup>

His memorial temple Ramesseum, was just the beginning of the pharaoh's obsession with building. When he built, he built on a scale unlike almost anything before. In the third year of his reign Ramesses started the most ambitious building project after the pyramids, that were built 1,500 years earlier. The population was put to work on changing the face of Egypt. In Thebes, the ancient temples were transformed, so that each one of them reflected honour to Ramesses as a symbol of this divine nature and power. Ramesses decided to eternalize himself in stone, and so he ordered changes to the methods used by his masons. The elegant but shallow reliefs of previous pharaohs were easily transformed, and so their images and words could easily be obliterated by their successors. Ramesses insisted that his carvings be deeply engraved in the stone, which made them not only less susceptible to later alteration, but also made them more prominent in the Egyptian sun, reflecting his relationship with the sun god, Ra.

Ramesses constructed many large monuments, including the archeological complex of Abu Simbel, and the Mortuary temple known as the Ramesseum. He built on a monumental scale to ensure that his legacy would survive the ravages of time. Ramesses used art as a means of propaganda for his victories over foreigners and are depicted on numerous temple reliefs. Ramesses II also erected more colossal statues of himself than any other pharaoh. He also usurped many existing statues by inscribing his own cartouche on them.



The Younger Memnon part of a colossal statue of Ramesses from the Ramesseum, now in the British Museum

## Pi-Ramesses

Further information: Pi-Ramesses

Ramesses II moved the capital of his kingdom from Thebes in the Nile valley to a new site in the eastern Delta. His motives are uncertain, though he possibly wished to be closer to his territories in Canaan and Syria. The new city of Pi-Ramesses (or to give the full name, *Pi-Ramesses Aa-nakhtu*, meaning "Domain of Ramesses, Great in Victory")<sup>[45]</sup> was dominated by huge temples and the king's vast residential palace, complete with its own zoo. For a time the site was misidentified as that of Tanis, due to the amount of statuary and other material from Pi-Ramesses found there, but it is now recognised that the Ramasside remains at Tanis were brought there from elsewhere, and the real Pi-Ramesses lies about 30 km south, near modern Qantir.<sup>[46]</sup> The colossal feet of the statue of Ramesses are almost all that remains above ground today, the rest is buried in the fields.<sup>[45]</sup>

## Ramesseum

Further information: Ramesseum



The Younger Memnon digitally restored with its base still in the Ramesseum

The temple complex built by Ramesses II between Qurna and the desert has been known as the Ramesseum since the 19th century. The Greek historian Diodorus Siculus marveled at the gigantic and famous temple, now no more than a few ruins.<sup>[47]</sup>

Oriented northwest and southeast, the temple itself was preceded by two courts. An enormous pylon stood before the first court, with the royal palace at the left and the gigantic statue of the king looming up at the back. Only fragments of the base and torso remain of the syenite statue of the enthroned pharaoh, 17 metres (**unknown operator: u'strong'** ft) high and weighing more than 1000 tonnes (**unknown operator: u'strong'** long tons; **unknown operator: u'strong'** short tons). The scenes of the great pharaoh and his army triumphing over the Hittite forces fleeing before Kadesh, represented on the pylon. Remains of the second court include part of the internal facade of the pylon and a portion of the Osiride portico on the right. Scenes of war and the alleged rout of the Hittites at Kadesh are repeated on the walls. In the upper registers, feast and honor of the phallic god Min, god of fertility. On the opposite side of the court the few Osiride pillars and columns still left can furnish an idea of the original grandeur.<sup>[48]</sup>



Ramesseum courtyard

Scattered remains of the two statues of the seated king can also be seen, one in pink granite and the other in black granite, which once flanked the entrance to the temple. Thirty-nine out of the forty-eight columns in the great hypostyle hall (m 41x 31) still stand in the central rows. They are decorated with the usual scenes of the king before various gods.<sup>[23]</sup> Part of the ceiling decorated with gold stars on a blue ground has also been preserved. Ramesses's children appear in the procession on the few walls left. The sanctuary was composed of three consecutive rooms, with eight columns and the tetrastyle cell. Part of the first room, with the ceiling decorated with astral scenes, and few remains of the second room are all that is left. Vast storerooms built in mud bricks stretched out around the temple.<sup>[48]</sup> Traces of a school for

scribes were found among the ruins.<sup>[49]</sup>

A temple of Seti I, of which nothing is now left but the foundations, once stood to the right of the hypostyle hall.<sup>[23]</sup>

## Abu Simbel

Further information: Abu Simbel

In 1255 BC Ramesses and his queen Nefertari had traveled into Nubia to inaugurate a new temple, the great Abu Simbel. It is an ego cast in stone; the man who built it intended not only to become Egypt's greatest pharaoh but also one of its gods.<sup>[50]</sup>

The great temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel was discovered in 1813 by the famous Swiss Orientalist and traveler Johann Ludwig Burckhardt. However, four years passed before anyone could enter the temple, because an enormous pile of sand almost completely covered the facade and its colossal statues, blocking the entrance. This feat was achieved by the great Paduan explorer Giovanni Battista Belzoni, who managed to reach the interior on 4 August 1817.<sup>[51]</sup>

## Other Nubian monuments

As well as the famous temples of Abu Simbel, Ramesses left other monuments to himself in Nubia. His early campaigns are illustrated on the walls of Beit el-Wali (now relocated to New Kalabsha). Other temples dedicated to Ramesses are Derr and Gerf Hussein (also relocated to New Kalabsha).

## Tomb of Nefertari

Further information: Tomb of Nefertari

The most important and famous of Ramesses's consorts was discovered by Ernesto Schiaparelli in 1904.<sup>[48][51]</sup> Although it had been looted in ancient times, the tomb of Nefertari is extremely important, because its magnificent wall painting decoration is regarded as one of the greatest achievements of ancient Egyptian art. A flight of steps cut out of the rock gives access to the antechamber, which is decorated with paintings based on chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead. This astronomical ceiling represents the heavens and is painted in dark blue, with a myriad of golden five-pointed stars. The east wall of the antechamber is interrupted by a large opening flanked by representation of Osiris at left and Anubis at right; this in turn leads to the side chamber, decorated with offering scenes, preceded by a vestibule in which the paintings portray Nefertari being presented to the gods who welcome her. On the north wall of the antechamber is the stairway that goes down to the burial chamber. This latter is a vast quadrangular room covering a surface area of about 90 square metres (**unknown operator: u'strong'** sq ft), the astronomical ceiling of which is supported by four pillars entirely covered with decoration. Originally, the queen's red granite sarcophagus lay in the middle of this chamber. According to religious doctrines of the time, it was in this chamber, which the ancient Egyptians called the golden hall that the regeneration of the deceased took place. This decorative pictogram of the walls in the burial chamber drew inspirations from chapters 144 and 146 of the Book of the Dead: in the left half of the chamber, there are passages from chapter 144 concerning the gates and doors of the kingdom of Osiris, their guardians, and the magic formulas that had to be uttered by the deceased in order to go past the doors.<sup>[51]</sup>



Tomb wall depicting Nefertari



## Tomb KV5

Further information: KV5

In 1995, Professor Kent Weeks, head of the Theban Mapping Project rediscovered Tomb KV5. It has proven to be the largest tomb in the Valley of the Kings, and originally contained the mummified remains of some of this king's estimated 52 sons. Approximately 150 corridors and tomb chambers have been located in this tomb as of 2006 and the tomb may contain as many as 200 corridors and chambers.<sup>[52]</sup> It is believed that at least 4 of Ramesses's sons including Meryatum, Sety, Amun-her-khepeshef (Ramesses's first born son) and "the King's Principal Son of His Body, the Generalissimo Ramesses, justified" (i.e.: deceased) were buried there from inscriptions, ostracas or canopic jars discovered in the tomb.<sup>[53]</sup> Joyce Tyldesley writes that thus far

"no intact burials have been discovered and there have been little substantial funeral debris: thousands of potsherds, faience *ushabti* figures, beads, amulets, fragments of Canopic jars, of wooden coffins ... but no intact sarcophagi, mummies or mummy cases, suggesting that much of the tomb may have been unused. Those burials which were made in KV5 were thoroughly looted in antiquity, leaving little or no remains."<sup>[53]</sup>

## Colossal statue

Further information: Statue of Ramesses II (Mit Rahina)

The colossal statue of Ramesses II was reconstructed and erected in Ramesses Square in Cairo in 1955. In August 2006, contractors moved his 3,200-year-old statue from Ramesses Square, to save it from exhaust fumes that were causing the 83-tonne (**unknown operator: u'strong'-long-ton; unknown operator: u'strong'-short-ton**) statue to deteriorate.<sup>[54]</sup> The statue was originally taken from a temple in Memphis. The new site will be located near the future Grand Egyptian Museum.<sup>[55]</sup>



Giant statue of Ramesses II in Memphis.

## Death and legacy

By the time of his death, aged about 90 years, Ramesses was suffering from severe dental problems and was plagued by arthritis and hardening of the arteries.<sup>[56]</sup> He had made Egypt rich from all the supplies and riches he had collected from other empires. He had outlived many of his wives and children and left great memorials all over Egypt, especially to his beloved first queen Nefertari. Nine more pharaohs took the name Ramesses in his honour, but none equalled his greatness. Nearly all of his subjects had been born during his reign. Ramesses II did become the legendary figure he so desperately wanted to be, but this was not enough to protect Egypt. New enemies were attacking the empire, which also suffered internal problems and could not last indefinitely. Less than 150 years after Ramesses died the Egyptian empire fell and the New Kingdom came to an end.

## Mummy

Ramesses II was originally buried in the tomb KV7 in the Valley of the Kings but, because of looting, priests later transferred the body to a holding area, re-wrapped it, and placed it inside the tomb of queen Inhapy. 72 hours later it was again moved, to the tomb of the high priest Pinudjem II. All of this is recorded in hieroglyphics on the linen covering the body.<sup>[57]</sup> His mummy is today in Cairo's Egyptian Museum.

The pharaoh's mummy reveals a hooked nose and strong jaw, and stands at some 1.7 metres ().<sup>[58]</sup> His ultimate successor was his thirteenth son, Merneptah.



Mummy of Ramesses II

In 1974 Egyptologists visiting his tomb noticed that the mummy's condition was rapidly deteriorating and flew it to Paris for examination.<sup>[59]</sup> Ramesses II was issued an Egyptian passport that listed his occupation as "King (deceased)".<sup>[60]</sup> The mummy was received at Le Bourget airport, just outside Paris, with the full military honours befitting a king.<sup>[61]</sup>

In Paris, it was found that Ramesses's mummy was being attacked by fungus, which it was treated for. During the examination, scientific analysis revealed battle wounds and old fractures, as well as the pharaoh's arthritis and poor circulation.

Egyptologists were also interested by the mummy's noticeably thin neck. An X-ray revealed that the neck had a piece of wood lodged into the upper chest, essentially keeping the head in place. It is believed that during the mummification process the head had accidentally been knocked off by those performing the mummification. In Egyptian culture if any part of the body were to come off, the soul of the body would not continue to exist in the afterlife, so those performing the mummification carefully placed the head back and lodged a wooden stick into the neck in order to keep the head in place.

It is believed that Ramesses II was essentially crippled with arthritis and walked with a hunched back for the last decades of his life.<sup>[62]</sup> A recent study excluded ankylosing spondylitis as a possible cause of the pharaoh's arthritis.<sup>[63]</sup> A significant hole in the pharaoh's mandible was detected. Researchers observed "an abscess by his teeth (which) was serious enough to have caused death by infection, although this cannot be determined with certainty." Microscopic inspection of the roots of Ramesses II's hair proved that the king's hair was originally red, which suggests that he came from a family of redheads.<sup>[64]</sup> This has more than just cosmetic significance: in ancient Egypt people with red hair were associated with the god Seth, the slayer of Osiris, and the name of Ramesses II's father, Seti I, means "follower of Seth."<sup>[65]</sup> After Ramesses's mummy returned to Egypt it was visited by President Anwar Sadat and his wife.

## Popular culture

Ramesses was considered the inspiration for Percy Bysshe Shelley's famous poem "Ozymandias". Diodorus Siculus gives an inscription on the base of one of his sculptures as: "King of Kings am I, Osymandias. If anyone would know how great I am and where I lie, let him surpass one of my works."<sup>[66]</sup> This is paraphrased in Shelley's poem.

The life of Ramesses II has inspired a large number of fictional representations, including the historical novels of the French writer Christian Jacq, the *Ramsès*, series, the graphic novel *Watchmen*, the character of Adrian Veidt uses Ramesses II to form part of the inspiration for his alter-ego known as 'Ozymandias' and Norman Mailer's novel *Ancient Evenings* is largely concerned with the life of Ramesses II, though from the perspective of Egyptians living during the reign of Ramesses IX, and Ramesses was the main character in the Anne Rice book *The Mummy* or *Ramses the Damned* (1989). Ramesses II is one of the more popular candidates for the Pharaoh of the Exodus. He is cast in this role in the 1944 novella *Das Gesetz* ("The Law") by Thomas Mann. Although not a major character, Ramesses appears in Joan Grant's *So Moses Was Born*, a first person account from Nebunefer, the brother of

Ramesses, which paints the picture of the life of Ramesses from the death of Seti, with all the power play, intrigue, plots to assassinate, following relationships are depicted: Bintanath, Queen Tuya, Nefertari, and Moses. In film, Ramesses was played by Yul Brynner in the classic film *The Ten Commandments* (1956). Here Ramesses was portrayed as a vengeful tyrant as well as the main antagonist of the film, ever scornful of his father's preference for Moses over "the son of [his] body".<sup>[67]</sup> The animated film *The Prince of Egypt* (1998), also featured a depiction of Ramesses (voiced by Ralph Fiennes), portrayed as Moses' adoptive brother, and ultimately as the film's de facto villain. *The Ten Commandments: The Musical* (2006) co-starred Kevin Earley as Ramesses.

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- Egypt's Golden Empire: Ramesses II (<http://www.pbs.org/empires/egypt/newkingdom/ramesses.html>)
  - Ramesses II (<http://www.aldokkan.com/egypt/ramses.htm>)
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# Ram Khamhaeng

Ram Khamhaeng the Great	
King of Sukhothai	
	
Royal Statue of King Ramkhamhaeng The Great , located in the Sukhothai Historical Park , Sukhothai Province , Thailand	
King of Siam	
Reign	1279–1298
Predecessor	Ban Muang
	Lerthai
House	Phra Ruang Dynasty
Father	Pho Khun Sri Indraditya
Mother	Queen Sueang
Born	around 1237-1247
Died	1298

**Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng** (Thai: พ่อขุนรามคำแหงมหาราช; *Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng*; b. around 1237–1247 – d. 1298) was the third king of the Phra Ruang dynasty, ruling the Sukhothai Kingdom (a forerunner of the modern kingdom of Thailand) from 1278–1298, during its most prosperous era. He is credited with the creation of the Thai alphabet and the firm establishment of Theravada Buddhism as the state religion of the kingdom. Recent scholarship has cast doubt on his role, however, noting that much of the information relating to his rule may have been fabricated in the 19th century in order to legitimize the Siamese state in the face of colonial threats.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Life and rule

### Birth

His parents were Prince Bang Klang Hao, who ruled as King Sri Indraditya, and Queen Sueang,<sup>[2]</sup> although a legend describes his parents as an ogress named Kangli and a fisherman. He had two older brothers and two sisters. The eldest brother died while young. The second, Ban Muang, became king following their father's death, and was succeeded by Ram Khamhaeng following his own death.<sup>[3]</sup>

### Name

At the age of 19, he participated in his father's successful invasion of the city of Sukhothai, formerly a vassal of the Khmer and essentially establishing the independent Sukhothai kingdom. Because of his conduct at war, he allegedly was given the title "Phra Ram Khamhaeng", or Rama the Bold, though he is recorded in the Ayyutthaya Chronicles

as King "Ramaraj". After his father's death his elder brother Ban Muang ruled the kingdom and gave Prince Ramkhamhaeng control of the city of Si Sat Chanalai.

The Royal Institute of Thailand speculates that Prince Ram Khamhaeng's birth name was "Ram" (derived from the name of the Hindu epic Ramayana's hero Rama), for the name of him following his coronation was "Pho Khun Ramarat" (Thai: พ่อขุนรามราช). Furthermore, at that time there existed a tradition to give the name of grandfather to grandson; according to the 11th Stone Inscription and Luang Prasoet Aksoranit's Ayutthaya Chronicles, Ram Khamhaeng had a grandson named "Phraya Ram", and two grandsons of Phraya Ram were named "Phraya Ban Mueang" and "Phraya Ram".

### Accession to the Throne

Historian Tri Amattayakun (Thai: ตริ อมตัยกุล) suggested that Ram Khamhaeng should have acceded to the throne in 1279, the year he grew a sugar palm tree in Sukhothai City. Prof Prasoet Na Nakhon of the Royal Institute speculates that this event was one in a tradition of Thai-Ahom's monarchs of planting banyan or sugar palm tree on the coronation day in the belief that their reign would achieve the same stature as the tree.

### Rule

Ramkhamhaeng formed an alliance with the Yuan Dynasty of Mongol Empire, from whom he imported the techniques for making ceramics now known as Sangkhalok ware. Additionally, he had close relationships with the neighboring rulers of nearby city-states, namely Ngam Muang, the ruler of neighboring Phayao (whose wife he, according to legend, seduced) and King Mangrai of Chiang Mai. According to Thai national history, Ramkhamhaeng expanded his kingdom as far as Lampang, Phrae and Nan in the north, and Phitsanulok and Vientiane in the east, the Mon states of Burma in the west, as far as the Gulf of Bengal in the northwest and Nakhon Si Thammarat in the south. Yet, as historian Thongchai Winichakul notes, kingdoms such as Sukhothai lacked distinct borders, instead being centered on the strength of the capital itself.<sup>[4]</sup> Claims of Ramkhamhaeng's large kingdom were, according to Thongchai, intended to assert Siamese/Thai dominance over mainland Southeast Asia.<sup>[4]</sup>

According to Thai history, Ramkhamhaeng is traditionally credited with developing the Thai alphabet (*Lai Sue Thai*) from Sanskrit, Pali and Grantha script. His rule is often cited by apologists for the Thai monarchy as evidence of a "benevolent monarchy" still existing today.<sup>[5]</sup>

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## Death

According to a Chinese chronicle, King Ram Khamhaeng died in 1298 and was succeeded by his son, Loethai, though in some Thai chronicles Ram Khamhaeng died in 1317.

Ramkhamhaeng University, the first open university in Thailand with campuses throughout the country, was named after King Ramkhamhaeng the Great.

## Legacy

### The Ramkhamhaeng stele

Much of the above biographical information comes from a stone inscription on the **Ramkhamhaeng stele**, now in the National Museum in Bangkok.

This stone was allegedly discovered in 1833 by King Mongkut (then still a monk) in the Wat Mahathat. The authenticity of the stone – or at least portions of it – has been brought into question.<sup>[6]</sup> Piriya Krairiksh, an academic at the Thai Khadi Research institute, notes that the stele's treatment of vowels suggests that its creators had been influenced by European alphabet systems; thus, he concludes that the stele was fabricated by someone during the reign of Rama IV himself, or shortly before. The matter is very controversial, since if the stone is in fact a fabrication, the entire history of the period will have to be re-written.<sup>[7]</sup>

Scholars are divided over the issue about the stele's authenticity.<sup>[1]</sup> It remains an anomaly amongst contemporary writings, and in fact no other source refers to King Ramkhamhaeng by name. Some authors claim the inscription was completely a 19th-century fabrication, some claim that the first 17 lines are genuine, some that the inscription was fabricated by King Lithai (a later Sukhothai king); most Thai scholars still hold to the idea of the inscription's authenticity.<sup>[1]</sup> The inscription and its image of a Sukhothai utopia remains central to Thai nationalism, and the suggestion that it may have been faked in the 1800s caused Michael Wright, a British scholar, to be threatened with deportation under Thailand's *lèse majesté* laws.<sup>[8]</sup>



Copy of Ramkhamhaeng stele in the Sukhothai Historical Park

## Video games

King Ramkhamhaeng is a playable ruler for the Siamese in Civilization 5. His national policy is "Father Governs Children": any food and Culture from friendly City-States increase by 50%.

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## External links

- RAM KHAMHAENG INSCRIPTION (1292) (<http://www.geocities.co.jp/Outdoors/6825/archive/ri.html>)  
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- Overview of Ramkhamhaeng Orthography (<http://goldenland.luke.org/?p=90>)
- Ramkhamhaeng Consonant and Vowel flashcards ([http://goldenland.luke.org/?page\\_id=70](http://goldenland.luke.org/?page_id=70))

# Ramon Berenguer III, Count of Barcelona

Ramon Berenguer III, Count of Barcelona



Ramon Berenguer at the castle of Foix

Spouse(s)	María Rodríguez de Vivar Almodis Douce of Provence
Father	Ramon Berenguer II
Mother	Matilda of Apulia
Born	1082 Rodez
Died	1131 Barcelona
Burial	Santa Maria de Ripoll

**Ramon Berenguer III** *the Great* was the count of Barcelona, Girona, and Ausona from 1082 (jointly with Berenguer Ramon II and solely from 1097), Besalú from 1111, Cerdanya from 1117, and Provence, in the Holy Roman Empire, from 1112, all until his death in Barcelona in 1131. As **Ramon Berenguer I**, he was Count of Provence from 1112 in right of his wife.

Born in 1082 in Rodez, he was the son of Ramon Berenguer II. He succeeded his father to co-rule with his uncle Berenguer Ramon II. He became the sole ruler in 1097, when Berenguer Ramon II was forced into exile.



Statue of Ramon Berenguer III by Josep Llimona

During his rule Catalan interests were extended on both sides of the Pyrenees. By marriage or vassalage he incorporated into his realm almost all of the Catalan counties (except those of Urgell and Peralada). He inherited the counties of Besalú (1111) and Cerdanya (1117) and in between married Douce, heiress of Provence (1112). His dominions then stretched as far east as Nice.

In alliance with the Count of Urgell, Ramon Berenguer conquered Barbastro and Balaguer. In 1118 he captured and rebuilt Tarragona, which became the metropolitan seat of the church in Catalonia (before that, Catalans had depended ecclesiastically on the archbishopric of Narbonne). He also established relations with the Italian maritime republics of Pisa and Genoa and in 1114 and 1115 attacked with Pisa the then-Muslim islands of Majorca and Ibiza. They became his tributaries and many Christian slaves there were recovered and set free. Ramon Berenguer also raided mainland Muslim dependencies with Pisa's help, such as Valencia, Lleida and Tortosa.

Toward the end of his life Ramon Berenguer became a Templar. He gave his five Catalan counties to his eldest son Ramon Berenguer IV and Provence to the younger son Berenguer Ramon. He died in 1131 and was buried in the Santa Maria de Ripoll monastery.

## Marriages and descendants

- First wife, María Rodríguez de Vivar, second daughter of Cid (died ca. 1105)
  - María, married Bernat III, Count of Besalú (died 1111)
  - Jimena, also known as Eixemena, married Roger III, Count of Foix
- Second wife, Almodis
- Third wife, Douce or Dolça de Gévaudaun, heiress of Provence (died ca. 1127)
  - Almodis, married Ponce de Cervera, mother of Agalbursa, who married Barisone II of Arborea
  - Berenguela or Berengaria (1116–1149), married Alfonso VII of Castile
  - Ramon Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona (1113/1114–1162)
  - Berenguer Ramon I, Count of Provence (ca. 1115 – 1144)
  - Bernat, died young

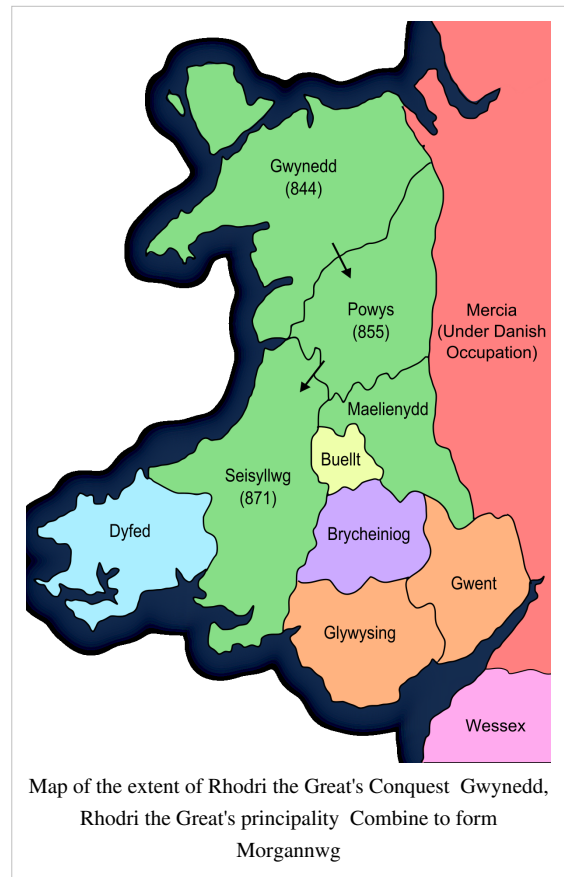
# Rhodri the Great

**Rhodri the Great** (in Welsh, **Rhodri ap Mawr** or **Rhodri ap Merfyn**; occasionally in English, **Roderick the Great**) (c. 820 – 878) was King of Gwynedd from 844 until his death. He was the first Welsh ruler to be called 'Great', and the first to rule most of present-day Wales. He is referred to as "King of the Britons" by the *Annals of Ulster*. In some later histories, he is referred to as "King of Wales" but he did not rule all of Wales nor was this term used contemporaneously to describe him.

## Lineage and inheritance

The son of Merfyn Frych, King of Gwynedd, and Nest ferch Cadell of the Royal line of Powys, he inherited the Kingdom of Gwynedd on his father's death in 844.

When his maternal uncle Cyngen ap Cadell ruler of Powys died on a pilgrimage to Rome in 855 Rhodri inherited Powys. In 872 Gwgon, ruler of Seisyllwg in southern Wales, was accidentally drowned, and Rhodri added his Kingdom to his domains by virtue of his marriage to Angharad of Seisyllwg, Gwgon's sister and heiress. These peaceful inheritances made him the ruler of the larger part of Wales.



## Resistance against Danes

Rhodri faced pressure both from the English and increasingly from the Danes, who were recorded as ravaging Anglesey in 854. In 856 Rhodri won a notable victory over the Danes, killing their leader Gorm (sometimes given as Horm).

In 876 Rhodri fought another battle against the Norse invaders on Anglesey, after which he had to flee to Ireland.

## Defeat and death

On his return the following year, he and his son Gwriad were said to have been killed by the English, most likely under Ceolwulf II of Mercia, given that West Saxon forces under Alfred the Great were pre-occupied fighting the Vikings in East Anglia. The precise manner of his death is unknown and some versions of the *Annales Cambriae* claim his brother rather than his son was killed, although it is likely he was killed in battle given that when his son, Anarawd ap Rhodri won a victory over the Mercians a few years later, it was hailed in the annals as "God's vengeance for Rhodri".

## Succession

Rhodri died leaving three sons:

His heir, Anarawd ap Rhodri, who became the king of Gwynedd;

His son Cadell ap Rhodri, who conquered Dyfed, which was later joined with Seisyllwg by Rhodri's grandson Hywel Dda to become Deheubarth. Like his grandfather, Hywel would come to rule most of Wales; and

His son Merfyn ap Rhodri, who became the king of Powys.

## External links

- Rhodri the Great <sup>[1]</sup>
- Rhodri Mawr - King of Wales <sup>[2]</sup>

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# Roman the Great

Roman Mstislavich the Great <i>Роман Мстиславич</i>	
	
Roman of Halych receives an ambassador from Pope Innocent III (painting by Nikolai Nevrev)	
Prince of Novgorod	
Reign	1168–1170
Predecessor	Svyatoslav IV Rostislavich
Successor	Rurik II Rostislavich
Prince of Vladimir-in-Volhynia	
Reign	1170–1189 1189–1205
Predecessor	Mstislav III Izyaslavich Vsevolod II Mstislavich
Successor	Vsevolod II Mstislavich Daniel Romanovich
Prince of Halych	
Reign	1189 1198/1199–1205
Predecessor	(?) Oleg Yaroslavich Vladimir II Yaroslavich
Successor	Andrew I Daniel Romanovich
Spouse	Predslava Ryurikovna Anna
Issue	Fedora Romanovna Maria Romanovna (?) Salomea Romanovna Daniel Romanovich Vasylko Romanovich
House	Rurik
Father	Mstislav II Izyaslavich
Mother	Agnes of Poland
Born	after 1160 (unknown)
Died	October 14, 1205 Zawichost (Poland)



<b>Burial</b>	(unknown)
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**Roman Mstislavich**<sup>[1][2]</sup> (Russian and Ukrainian: *Роман Мстиславич*), also **Roman Mstyslavych**<sup>[3]</sup> or **Roman the Great**,<sup>[4]</sup> (after 1160 – Zawichost, October 14, 1205) was a Rus' prince, Grand Prince of Kiev (a member of the Rurik dynasty).<sup>[3]</sup>

He was prince of Novgorod (1168–1170), of Vladimir-in-Volhynia (1170–1189, 1189–1205), and of Halych (1189, 1198/99–1205).<sup>[2]</sup> By seizing the throne of Halych, he became the master of all western Rus'.<sup>[5]</sup> In the early 13th century, the Byzantine imperial title, "autocrate" (*αὐτοκράτωρ*) was applied by the chroniclers to him, but there is no evidence that he assumed it officially.<sup>[5]</sup>

He waged two successful campaigns against the Cumans, from which he returned with many rescued captives.<sup>[3]</sup> The effect of Roman's victory was, however, undermined by new dissensions among the princes of Rus'.<sup>[5]</sup>

Roman died in a battle with the Poles.<sup>[5]</sup> He founded the Romanovich dynasty<sup>[3]</sup> that would rule Vladimir-in-Volhynia and Halych until 1340.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Early years

He was the eldest son of Mstislav Izyaslavich (who was prince of Vladimir-in-Volhynia at that time), and Agnes, a daughter of Duke Bolesław III of Poland.<sup>[1]</sup>

After the Novgorodians had expelled their prince, Svyatoslav IV Rostislavich, Roman was sent to Novgorod on April 14, 1168 by his father (who had earlier occupied Kiev).<sup>[2]</sup> However, the princes of Smolensk (Svyatoslav IV Rostislavich's brothers) and Prince Andrey Yuryevich of Vladimir (who had supported Svyatoslav IV Rostislavich's rule in Novgorod) spent the rest of the year conspiring and forming alliances against Mstislav Izyaslavich.<sup>[2]</sup>

Following the death of Mstislav Izyaslavich on August, 1170, the Novgorodians expelled Roman and invited Andrey Yuryevich to be prince, and the latter sent Ryurik Rostislavich to rule Novgorod.<sup>[2]</sup>

## Prince of Vladimir-in-Volhynia

When his father died, Roman was bequeathed the Principality of Vladimir-in-Volhynia.<sup>[3]</sup> He subdued the Yatvingians, and harnessed the captives instead of oxen to drag the plows on his estates.<sup>[5]</sup>

Roman married Predslava Ryurikovna, a daughter of Ryurik Rostislavich (who had followed him in Novgorod).<sup>[1]</sup> Their eldest daughter was married to Vasilko Vladimirovich, a grandson of Prince Yaroslav Volodimerovich Osmomysl of Halych, but later she was repudiated.<sup>[1]</sup>

Following the death of Yaroslav Osmomysl on October 1, 1187, trouble began in the Principality of Halych, due to the strife between his two sons,<sup>[5]</sup> Oleg and Vladimir Yaroslavich.<sup>[2]</sup> Roman urged the Galicians to evict Vladimir Yaroslavich and make him their prince.<sup>[2]</sup> But they failed either to expel Vladimir Yaroslavich or to kill him.<sup>[2]</sup> When, however, the Galicians threatened to kill his wife, Vladimir Yaroslavich took her and fled to King Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196).<sup>[2]</sup> According to a late chronicle, Oleg Yaroslavich was appointed by Duke Casimir II of Poland (1177–1194) to rule in Halych, but the Galicians poisoned him and invited Roman to be their prince.<sup>[2]</sup> When accepting their offer, Roman gave his patrimony of Vladimir-in-Volhynia to his brother, Vsevolod Mstislavich.<sup>[2]</sup>

But King Béla III marched against Roman intending to reinstate Vladimir Yaroslavich,<sup>[2]</sup> and the Hungarians seized the principality.<sup>[5]</sup> But King Béla III, instead of returning Halych to Vladimir Yaroslavich, proclaimed his own son, Andrew ruler of the principality.<sup>[5]</sup>

Roman was obliged to flee to Vladimir-in-Volhynia, but his brother, Vsevolod Mstislavich refused him entry.<sup>[2]</sup> He therefore went to the Poles, but when they refused to help him, Roman rode to his father-in-law, Ryurik Rostislavich in Belgorod.<sup>[2]</sup> Roman solicited military aid from his father-in-law, but the Hungarian troops repelled his attack.<sup>[2]</sup> Ryurik Rostislavich, therefore, helped Roman to drive out Vsevolod Mstislavich from Vladimir-in-Volhynia and return to his patrimony.<sup>[2]</sup>

Meanwhile Vladimir Yaroslavich succeeded in escaping from his dungeon in Hungary; Duke Casimir II also sent Polish troops to Halych to support Vladimir Yaroslavich's claims.<sup>[5]</sup> At the approach of the expedition, the townspeople rose against the Hungarians and expelled Andrew in 1190.<sup>[5]</sup> Vladimir Yaroslavich requested his uncle Prince Vsevolod III Yuryevich of Vladimir to support his rule.<sup>[5]</sup> Vsevolod Yuryevich demanded that all the Rus' princes, among them Roman, pledge not to challenge Vladimir Yaroslavich in Halych and they agreed.<sup>[2]</sup>

On May 17, 1195, Grand Prince Rurik Rostislavich (Roman's father-in-law) allocated domains in the Kievan lands to the princes in Monomakh's dynasty, and Roman received Torchesk, Trypillia, Korsun, Bohuslav, and Kaniv.<sup>[2]</sup> Vsevolod III Yuryevich, however, threatened to wage war when he learnt of the allocations, and therefore Roman agreed to relinquish the towns in exchange for comparable domains or a suitable payment in *kuny*.<sup>[2]</sup> Rurik Rostislavich therefore gave the five towns to Vsevolod III Yuryevich, who, in turn, handed over Torchesk to his son-in-law, Rostislav Rurikovich (who was the brother of Roman's wife).<sup>[2]</sup> On learning that his brother-in-law had received Torchesk, Roman accused his father-in-law, Rurik Rostislavich of contriving to give the domain to his son from the very start.<sup>[2]</sup> Rurik Rostislavich also warned Roman that they could not afford to alienate Vsevolod III Yuryevich because all the princes in Monomakh's dynasty recognized him as their senior prince.<sup>[2]</sup>

Roman refused to be mollified and conspired against his father-in-law, and turned to Prince Yaroslav II Vsevolodovich of Chernigov who agreed to join him.<sup>[2]</sup> When Rurik Rostislavich learnt how Roman had persuaded Yaroslav II Vsevolodovich to seize Kiev, he informed Vsevolod III Yuryevich.<sup>[2]</sup> Fearing retribution, Roman rode to the Poles where he was wounded in battle; he therefore asked Rurik Rostislavich for clemency.<sup>[2]</sup> Metropolitan Nikifor reconciled the two princes, and Rurik Rostislavich gave Roman the town of Polonny (southwest of Kamianets) and a district on the river Ros'.<sup>[2]</sup>

In the autumn of 1196 Roman ordered his lieutenants to use Polonny as their base for raiding the domains belonging to his father-in-law's brother (Prince David Rostislavich of Smolensk) and son (Prince Rostislav Rurikovich of Torchesk).<sup>[2]</sup> Rurik Rostislavich retaliated by sending his nephew, Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Tropol to Vladimir Yaroslavich of Halych instructing him to join Mstislav Mstislavich in attacking Roman's lands.<sup>[2]</sup> Accordingly, Vladimir Yaroslavich and Mstislav Mstislavich razed Roman's district around Peremil, while Rostislav Rurikovich and his force attacked Roman's district near Kamianets.<sup>[2]</sup> At about that time, Roman began repudiating his wife, Rurik Rostislavich's daughter, and threatening to confine her to a monastery.<sup>[2]</sup>

## Prince of Halych and Vladimir-in-Volhynia

In 1198 (or 1199)<sup>[1]</sup> Vladimir II Yaroslavich of Halych died, and his death created a political vacuum that a number of claimants were eager to fill.<sup>[2]</sup> Rurik Rostislavich could now claim that, after the dynasty of Halych became defunct, the territory reverted to the jurisdiction of the prince of Kiev; the princes of the two branches of the Olgovichs (the princes of Chernigov) could argue that their marriage ties with the defunct dynasty gave them the right to rule Halych; and the Hungarians had already made a bid for the domain ten years earlier.<sup>[2]</sup> The Galicians asked Rurik Rostislavich for his son Rostislav Rurikovich, but Roman rode to Duke Leszek I of Poland (1194–1227), promising to be at his beck and call if the Polish ruler helped him to win Halych.<sup>[2]</sup> When the citizens refused to welcome Roman, Duke Leszek I besieged the town, and after capturing it, he forced the townspeople to accept Roman as prince.<sup>[2]</sup> Roman promised to be subservient to the duke of Poland and to live in peace with his new subjects.<sup>[2]</sup>

Roman turned his attention to the Cumans, who were threatening Byzantine interests in the Balkan Peninsula, and agreed to come to the assistance of Emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) and a severe blow was administered to the nomads.<sup>[5]</sup> In 1200, he married Anna, a Byzantine princess, a relative of Emperor Isaac II Angelos.<sup>[5]</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Roman began wreaking havoc on domains belonging to Rurik Rostislavich and other princes.<sup>[2]</sup> In 1201, Rurik Rostislavich summoned the Olgovichs to campaign against Roman.<sup>[2]</sup> Roman pre-empted their attack by rallying the troops of his principality.<sup>[2]</sup> The Monomashichi and the Black Caps also joined him.<sup>[2]</sup> The Kievans opened the gates of the *podol'* to Roman.<sup>[2]</sup> He forced Rurik Rostislavich and the Olgovichs to capitulate;

he gave Kiev, with the consent of Vsevolod III Yuryevich, to Prince Ingvar Yaroslavich of Luts'k.<sup>[2]</sup> However, Ryurik Rostislavich and the Olgovichs re-captured Kiev already on January 2, 1203.<sup>[2]</sup>

Roman asked Vsevolod III Yuryevich to be pacified with the Olgovichs, and after he had concluded peace with them, he marched against Ryurik Rostislavich in Ovruch on February 16, 1203.<sup>[2]</sup> Ryurik Rostislavich submitted to Roman and Vsevolod III Yuryevich, and promised to sever relations with the Olgovichs and the Cumans.<sup>[2]</sup> After that, Roman also advised him to ask Vsevolod III Yuryevich to reinstate him in Kiev and promised to support his request.<sup>[2]</sup> Consequently, Vsevolod III Yuryevich forgave Ryurik Rostislavich and reappointed him to the town.<sup>[2]</sup>

That winter Ryurik Rostislavich, Roman and other princes attacked the Cumans and took many captives.<sup>[2]</sup> After the expedition, they met at Trypillia to allocate domains in accordance with the services that each had rendered in the defense of Rus'.<sup>[2]</sup> But they quarreled, and Roman seized Ryurik Rostislavich, sent him to Kiev, and had him tonsured as a monk.<sup>[2]</sup> He also forced Ryurik Rostislavich's wife and daughter (his own wife whom he had repudiated) to become nuns; and he took Ryurik Rostislavich's sons (Rostislav and Vladimir Rurikovich) with him to Halych.<sup>[2]</sup>

Meanwhile, the relations between Roman and Duke Leszek I of Poland deteriorated for both religious and personal reasons.<sup>[5]</sup> Leszek I was a devout Roman Catholic and it was probably at his suggestion that Pope Innocent III sent his envoys to Roman in 1204, urging him to accept Roman Catholicism and promising to place him under the protection of St Peter's sword.<sup>[5]</sup> Roman's answer, as recorded in the Radziwill chronicle, was characteristic enough: pointing to his own sword he asked the envoys, *"Is the Pope's sword similar to mine? So long as I carry mine, I need no other."*<sup>[5]</sup>

Duke Leszek I, supported by his brother Duke Konrad I of Masovia, undertook a sudden campaign against Roman.<sup>[5]</sup> The latter was caught unaware and killed in the first battle<sup>[5]</sup> at Zawichost.<sup>[1]</sup>

According to another version, Roman wanted to expand his realm at the expense of Poland and died in an ambush while entering Polish territory.<sup>[7]</sup>

## Marriage and children

#:Predslava Ryurikovna, a daughter of Grand Prince Ryurik Rostislavich of Kiev and his wife, Anna Yuryevna of Turov<sup>[1]</sup>

- Fedora Romanovna (?-after 1200), wife of Vasilko Vladimirovich of Halych;<sup>[1]</sup>
- Elena Romanovna<sup>[2]</sup> (or Maria Romanovna) (?-after 1241), wife of Prince Mikhail Vsevolodovich of Chernigov<sup>[1]</sup>
- (?) Salomea Romanovna (?-before 1220), wife of Duke Swantopolk I of Pommerellen;<sup>[1]</sup>

##(1197/1200):Anna, a relative of Emperor Isaac II Angelos<sup>[1]</sup>

- King Daniel Romanovich of Halych (1201/1202-1264)<sup>[1]</sup>
- King Vasylo Romanovich of Halych (1203/1204-1269)<sup>[1]</sup>


## Footnotes

- [1] Charles Cawley (2008-05-19). "Russia, Rurikids – Chapter 3: Princes of Galich C. Princes of Volynia, Princes and Kings of Galich" ([http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/RUSSIA,Rurik.htm#\\_Toc198014278](http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/RUSSIA,Rurik.htm#_Toc198014278)). *Medieval Lands*. Foundation of Medieval Genealogy. . Retrieved 2009-12-26.
- [2] Dimnik, Martin. *The Dynasty of Chernigov - 1146-1246*.
- [3] Roman Senkus (Managing Editor) (2001-XX-YY). "Roman Mstyslavych [Mstyslavyč (<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\R\O\RomanMstyslavych.htm>) (Romanko)]". *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*. Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. . Retrieved 2009-12-26.
- [4] Subtelny, Orest. *Ukraine: A History*.
- [5] Vernadsky, George. *Kievan Russia*.
- [6] Roman Senkus (Managing Editor) (2001-XX-YY). "Romanovych dynasty [Romanovyč (<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\R\O\Romanovychdynasty.htm>)"]". *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*. Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. . Retrieved 2009-12-26.
- [7] *This desire to extend the boundaries of an already extensive realm proved to be the cause of his undoing. In 1205, while crossing into Polish territory, Roman was killed in an ambush.* Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: a history*, University of Toronto Press, 2000, p. 61.

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  - Subtelny, Orest: *Ukraine: A History*; University of Toronto Press, 2000, Toronto, Buffalo & London; ISBN 0-8020-8390-0
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# Saladin

Şalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb	
Sultan of Egypt and Syria	
<div></div> <div>Artistic representation of Saladin.</div>	
Reign	1174–1193
Coronation	1174, Cairo
Full name	Şalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb
Born	ca. 1137–1138
Birthplace	Tikrit, Iraq <sup>[1]</sup>
Died	March 4, 1193 CE (aged 55–56)
Place of death	Damascus, Syria
Buried	Umayyad Mosque, Damascus, Syria
Predecessor	Nur ad-Din Zangi
Successor	Al-Afdal (Syria) Al-Aziz Uthman (Egypt)
Dynasty	Ayyubid
Father	Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb
Religious beliefs	Sunni Islam

**Şalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb** (Arabic: صلاح الدين يوسف بن أيوب, Şalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, Kurdish: دین‌پاچه سه یوبی‌نه, Selah'edînê Eyubî) (ca. 1138 – March 4, 1193), better known in the Western world as **Saladin**, was a Kurdish<sup>[2][3][4]</sup> Muslim, who became the first Sultan of Egypt and Syria, and founded the Ayyubid dynasty. He led Muslim opposition to the Franks and other European Crusaders in the Levant. At the height of his power, his sultanate included Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Hejaz, Yemen, and parts of North Africa.

Under his personal leadership, his forces defeated the Crusaders at the Battle of Hattin, leading the way to his re-capture of Palestine, which had been seized from the Fatimid Egyptians by the Crusaders 88 years earlier. Though the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem would continue to exist for a period, its defeat at Hattin marked a turning point in its conflict with the Muslims and Arabs. As such, Saladin is a prominent figure in Kurdish, Arab, and Muslim

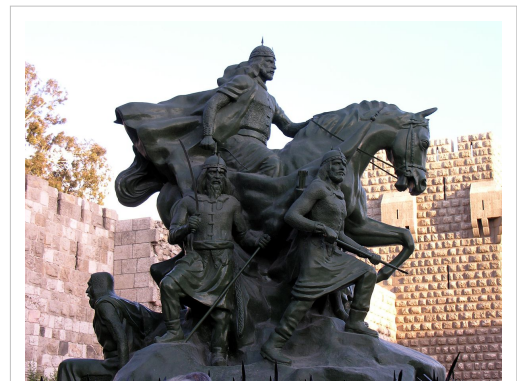
culture. Saladin was a strict adherent of Sunni Islam.<sup>[5]</sup> His noble and chivalrous behavior was noted by Christian chroniclers, especially in the accounts of the Siege of Kerak, and despite being the nemesis of the Crusaders, he won the respect of many of them, including Richard the Lionheart; rather than becoming a hated figure in Europe, he became a celebrated example of the principles of chivalry.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Sources

There are many contemporary and near-contemporary sources available for Saladin's career. Among Saladin's admirers who produced personal biographies are the historians: Qadi al-Fadil from Ascalon; Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, and Ibn Shaddad, a jurist from Mosul. Ibn al-Athir (d. 1233), on the other hand, produced a more hostile picture.

## Early life

Saladin was born in Tikrit, Iraq. His personal name was *Yusuf*, the Arabic form of Joseph; *Salah ad-Din* is a *laqab*, a descriptive epithet, meaning "Righteousness of the Faith".<sup>[7]</sup> His family was of Arabized Kurdish background and ancestry,<sup>[2]</sup> and had originated from the city of Dvin, in medieval Armenia.<sup>[8][9]</sup> His father, Najm ad-Din Ayyub, was banished from Tikrit and in 1139, he and his uncle Asad al-Din Shirkuh, moved to Mosul. He later joined the service of Imad ad-Din Zengi who made him commander of his fortress in Baalbek. After the death of Zengi in 1146, his son, Nur ad-Din, became the regent of Aleppo and the leader of the Zengids.<sup>[10]</sup>



Statue of Saladin in Damascus.

Saladin, who now lived in Damascus, was reported to have a particular fondness of the city, but information on his early childhood is scarce. About education, Saladin wrote "children are brought up in the way in which their elders were brought up." According to one of his biographers, al-Wahrani, Saladin was able to answer questions on Euclid, the *Almagest*, arithmetic, and law, but this was an academic ideal and it was study of the Qur'an and the "sciences of religion" that linked him to his contemporaries.<sup>[10]</sup> Several sources claim that during his studies he was more interested in religion than joining the military.<sup>[11]</sup> Another factor which may have affected his interest in religion was that during the First Crusade, Jerusalem was taken in a surprise attack by the Christians.<sup>[11]</sup> In addition to Islam, Saladin had a knowledge of the genealogies, biographies, and histories of the Arabs, as well as the bloodlines of Arabian horses. More significantly, he knew the *Hamasa* of Abu Tammam by heart.<sup>[10]</sup>



## Early expeditions



Crusaders throwing heads of fallen Muslim warriors over ramparts.

Saladin's military career began under the tutelage of his uncle Asad al-Din Shirkuh, an important military commander under Nur ad-Din. In 1163, the vizier to the Fatimid caliph al-Adid, Shawar, had been driven out of Egypt by rival Dirgham, a member of the powerful Banu Ruzzaik tribe. He asked for military backing from Nur ad-Din, who complied and in 1164, sent Shirkuh to aid Shawar in his expedition against Dirgham. Saladin, at age 26, went along with them.<sup>[12]</sup> After Shawar was successfully reinstated as vizier, he demanded that Shirkuh withdraw his army from Egypt for a sum of 30,000 dinars, but he refused insisting it was Nur ad-Din's will that he remain. Saladin's role in this expedition was minor, and it is known that he was ordered by Shirkuh to collect stores from Bilbais prior to its siege by a combined force of Crusaders and Shawar's troops.<sup>[13]</sup>

After the sacking of Bilbais, the Crusader-Egyptian force and Shirkuh's army were to engage in a battle on the desert border of the Nile River, just west of Giza. Saladin played a major role, commanding the right wing of the Zengid army, while a force of Kurds commanded the left, and Shirkuh stationed in the center. Muslim sources at the time, however, put Saladin in the "baggage of the center" with orders to lure the enemy into a trap by staging a false retreat. The Crusader force enjoyed early success against Shirkuh's troops, but the terrain was too steep and sandy for their horses, and commander Hugh of Caesarea was captured while attacking Saladin's unit. After scattered fighting in little valleys to the south of the main position, the Zengid central force returned to the offensive; Saladin joined in from the rear.<sup>[14]</sup>

The battle ended in a Zengid victory, and Saladin is credited to have helped Shirkuh in one of the "most remarkable victories in recorded history", according to Ibn al-Athir, although more of Shirkuh's men were killed and the battle is considered by most sources as not a total victory. Saladin and Shirkuh moved towards Alexandria where they were welcomed, given money, arms, and provided a base.<sup>[15]</sup> Faced by a superior Crusader-Egyptian force who attempted to besiege the city, Shirkuh split his army. He and the bulk of his force withdrew from Alexandria, while Saladin was left with the task of guarding the city.<sup>[16]</sup>

## In Egypt

### Emir of Egypt

Shirkuh engaged in a power struggle over Egypt with Shawar and Amalric I of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in which Shawar requested Amalric's assistance. In 1169, Shawar was reportedly assassinated by Saladin, and Shirkuh died later that year.<sup>[17]</sup> Nur ad-Din chose a successor for Shirkuh, but al-Adid appointed Saladin to replace Shawar as vizier.<sup>[18]</sup>

The reasoning behind the Shia al-Adid's selection of Saladin, a Sunni, varies. Ibn al-Athir claims that the caliph chose him after being told by his advisers that "there is no one weaker or younger" than Saladin, and "not one of the emirs obeyed him or served him." However, according to this version, after some bargaining, he was eventually accepted by the majority of *emirs*. Al-Adid's advisers were also suspected of attempting to split the Syria-based Zengid ranks. Al-Wahrani wrote that Saladin was selected because of the reputation of his family in their "generosity and military prowess." Imad ad-Din wrote that after the brief mourning period of Shirkuh, during which "opinions differed", the Zengid *emirs* decided upon Saladin and forced the caliph to "invest him as vizier." Although positions were complicated by rival Muslim leaders, the bulk of the Syrian rulers supported Saladin due to his role in the Egyptian expedition, in which he gained a record of military qualifications.<sup>[19]</sup>



Inaugurated as Emir on March 26, Saladin repented "wine-drinking and turned from frivolity to assume the dress of religion." Having gained more power and independence than ever before in his career, he still faced the issue of ultimate loyalty between al-Adid and Nur ad-Din. The latter was rumored to be clandestinely hostile towards Saladin's appointment and was quoted as saying, "how dare he [Saladin] do anything without my orders?" He wrote several letters to Saladin, who dismissed them without abandoning his allegiance to Nur ad-Din.<sup>[20]</sup>

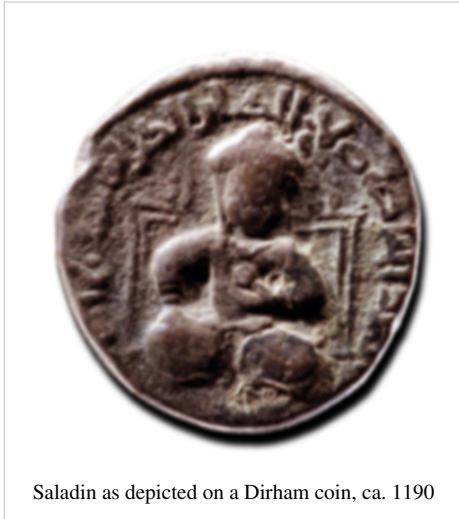
Later in the year, a group of Egyptian soldiers and *emirs* attempted to assassinate Saladin, but having already known of their intentions, thanks to his intelligence chief Ali bin Safyan, he had the chief conspirator, Naji, Mu'tamin al-Khilafa—the civilian controller of the Fatimid Palace—arrested, and killed. The day after, 50,000 black African soldiers from the regiments of the Fatimid army opposed to Saladin's rule along with a number of Egyptian *emirs* and commoners staged a revolt. By August 23, Saladin had decisively quelled the uprising, and never again had to face a military challenge from Cairo.<sup>[21]</sup>

Towards the end of 1169, Saladin—with reinforcements from Nur ad-Din—defeated a massive Crusader-Byzantine force near Damietta. Afterward, in the spring of 1170, Nur ad-Din sent Saladin's father to Egypt in compliance with Saladin's request, as well as encouragement from the Baghdad-based Abbasid caliph, al-Mustanjid, who aimed to pressure Saladin in deposing his rival caliph, al-Adid.<sup>[22]</sup> Saladin himself had been strengthening his hold on Egypt and widening his support base there. He began granting his family members high-ranking positions in the region and increased Sunni influence in Cairo; he ordered the construction of a college for the Maliki branch of Sunni Islam in the city, as well as one for the Shafi'i denomination to which he belonged in al-Fustat.<sup>[23]</sup>

After establishing himself in Egypt, Saladin launched a campaign against the Crusaders, besieging Darum in 1170.<sup>[24]</sup> Amalric withdrew his Templar garrison from Gaza to assist him in defending Darum, but Saladin evaded their force and fell on Gaza instead. He destroyed the town built outside the city's castle and killed most of its inhabitants after they were refused entry into the castle.<sup>[25]</sup> It is unclear exactly when, but during that same year, he

attacked and captured the Crusader castle of Eilat, built on an island off the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. It did not pose a threat to the passage of the Muslim navy, but could harass smaller parties of Muslim ships and Saladin decided to clear it from his path.<sup>[24]</sup>

## Sultan of Egypt



Saladin as depicted on a Dirham coin, ca. 1190

According to Imad ad-Din, Nur ad-Din wrote to Saladin in June 1171, telling him to reestablish the Abbasid caliphate in Egypt, which Saladin coordinated two months later after additional encouragement by Najm ad-Din al-Khabushani, the Shafi'i *faqih*, who vehemently opposed Shia rule in the country. Several Egyptian *emirs* were thus killed, but al-Adid was told that they were killed for rebelling against him. He then fell ill, or was poisoned according to one account. While ill, he asked Saladin to pay him a visit to request that he take care of his young children, but Saladin refused, fearing treachery against the Abbasids, and is said to have regretted his action after realizing what al-Adid had wanted.<sup>[26]</sup> He died on September 13 and five days later, the Abbasid *khutba* was pronounced in Cairo and al-Fustat, proclaiming al-Mustadi as caliph.<sup>[27]</sup>

On September 25, Saladin left Cairo to take part in a joint attack on Kerak and Montreal, the desert castles of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, with Nur ad-Din who would attack from Syria. Prior to arriving at Montreal, Saladin withdrew, realizing that if he met Nur ad-Din at Shaubak, he would be refused return to Egypt because of Nur ad-Din's reluctance to consolidate such massive territorial control to Saladin. Also, there was a chance that the Crusader kingdom—which acted as a buffer state between Syria and Egypt—could have collapsed had the two leaders attacked it from the east and the coast. This would have given Nur ad-Din the opportunity to annex Egypt. Saladin claimed he withdrew amid Fatimid plots against him, but Nur ad-Din did not accept "the excuse."<sup>[27]</sup>

During the summer of 1172, a Nubian army along with a contingent of Armenian refugees were reported on the Egyptian border, preparing for a siege against Aswan. The *emir* of the city had requested Saladin's assistance and was given reinforcements under Turan-Shah—Saladin's brother. Consequently, the Nubians departed, but returned in 1173 and were again driven off. This time Egyptian forces advanced from Aswan and captured the Nubian town of Ibrim. Seventeen months after al-Adid's death, Nur ad-Din had not taken any action regarding Egypt, but expected some return for the 200,000 dinars he had allocated to Shirkuh's army which seized the country. Saladin paid this debt with 60,000 dinars, "wonderful manufactured goods", some jewels, an ass of the finest breed, and an elephant. While transporting these goods to Damascus, Saladin took the opportunity to ravage the Crusader countryside. He did not press an attack against the desert castles, but attempted to drive out the Muslim Bedouins who lived in Crusader territory with the aim of depriving the Franks of guides.<sup>[28]</sup>

On July 31, 1173, Saladin's father Ayyub was wounded in a horse-riding accident, ultimately causing his death on August 9.<sup>[29]</sup> In 1174, Saladin sent Turan-Shah to conquer Yemen to allocate it and its port Aden to the territories of the Ayyubid Dynasty. Yemen also served as an emergency territory, to which Saladin could flee in the event of an invasion by Nur ad-Din.

## Acquisition of Syria

### Capture of Damascus

In the early summer of 1174, Nur ad-Din was mustering an army, sending summons to Mosul, Diyarbakir, and al-Jazira in an apparent preparation of attack against Saladin's Egypt. The Ayyubid dynasty held a council upon the revelation of his preparations to discuss the possible threat and Saladin collected his own troops outside Cairo. On May 15, Nur ad-Din died after being poisoned the previous week and his power was handed to his eleven-year-old son as-Salih Ismail al-Malik. His death left Saladin with political independence and in a letter to as-Salih, he promised to "act as a sword" against his enemies and referred to the death of his father as an "earthquake shock."<sup>[30]</sup>

In the wake of Nur ad-Din's death, Saladin faced a difficult decision; he could move his army against the Crusaders from Egypt or wait until invited by as-Salih in Syria to come to his aid and launch a war from there. He could also take it upon himself to annex Syria before it could possibly fall into the hands of a rival, but feared that attacking a land that formerly belonged to his master—which is forbidden in the Islamic principles he followed—could portray him as hypocritical and thus, unsuitable for leading the war against the Crusaders. Saladin saw that in order to acquire Syria, he either needed an invitation from as-Salih or warn him that potential anarchy and danger from the Crusaders could rise.<sup>[31]</sup>

When as-Salih was removed to Aleppo in August, Gumushtigin, the *emir* of the city and a captain of Nur ad-Din's veterans assumed guardianship over him. The *emir* prepared to unseat all of his rivals in Syria and al-Jazira, beginning with Damascus. In this emergency, the *emir* of Damascus appealed to Saif al-Din (a cousin of Gumushtigin) of Mosul for assistance against Aleppo, but he refused, forcing the Syrians to request the aid of Saladin who complied.<sup>[32]</sup> Saladin rode across the desert with 700 picked horsemen, passing through al-Kerak then reaching Bosra and according to him, was joined by "*emirs*, soldiers, Kurds, and Bedouins—the emotions of their hearts to be seen on their faces."<sup>[33]</sup> On November 23, he arrived in Damascus amid general acclamations and rested at his father's old home there, until the gates of the Citadel of Damascus were opened to him four days later. He installed himself in the castle and received the homage and salutations of the citizens.<sup>[32]</sup>

### Further conquests

Leaving his brother Tughtigin as Governor of Damascus, Saladin proceeded to reduce other cities that had belonged to Nur ad-Din, but were now practically independent. His army conquered Hamah with relative ease, but avoided attacking Homs because of the strength of its citadel.<sup>[34]</sup> Saladin moved north towards Aleppo, besieging it on December 30 after Gumushtigin refused to abdicate his throne.<sup>[35]</sup> As-Salih, fearing capture by Saladin, came out of his palace and appealed to the inhabitants not to surrender him and the city to the invading force. One of Saladin's chroniclers claimed "the people came under his spell."<sup>[36]</sup>

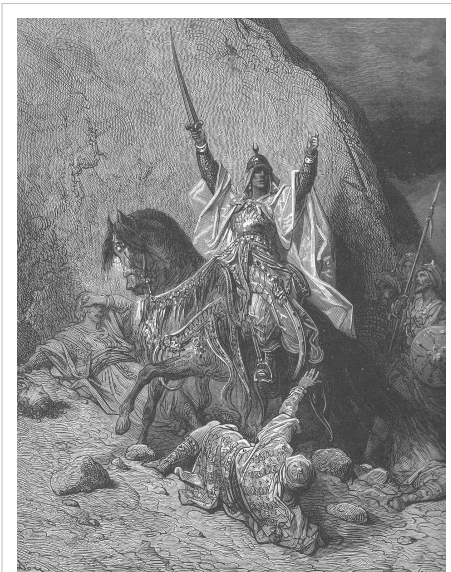
Gumushtigin requested from Rashid ad-Din Sinan, grand-master of the Assassins of Syria, who were already at odds with Saladin since he replaced the Fatimids of Egypt, to assassinate Saladin in his camp.<sup>[37]</sup> A group of thirteen Assassins easily gained admission into Saladin's camp, but were detected immediately before they carried out their attack. One was killed by a general of Saladin and the others were slain while trying to escape.<sup>[36][38]</sup> To deter Saladin's progress, Raymond of Tripoli gathered his forces by Nahr al-Kabir where they were well-placed for an attack on Muslim territory. Saladin later moved toward Homs instead, but retreated after being told a relief force was being sent to the city by Saif al-Din.<sup>[39]</sup>

Meanwhile, Saladin's rivals in Syria and Jazira waged a propaganda war against him, claiming he had "forgotten his own condition [servant of Nur ad-Din]" and showed no gratitude for his old master by besieging his son, rising "in rebellion against his Lord." Saladin aimed to counter this propaganda by ending the siege, claiming he was defending Islam from the Crusaders; his army returned to Hama to engage a Crusader force there. The Crusaders withdrew beforehand and Saladin proclaimed it "a victory opening the gates of men's hearts."<sup>[39]</sup> Soon after, Saladin entered Homs and captured its citadel in March 1175, after stubborn resistance from its defenders.<sup>[40]</sup>

Saladin's successes alarmed Saif al-Din. As head of the Zengids, including Gumushtigin, he regarded Syria and Mesopotamia as his family estate and was angered when Saladin attempted to usurp his dynasty's holdings. Saif al-Din mustered a large army and dispatched it to Aleppo whose defenders anxiously had awaited them. The combined forces of Mosul and Aleppo marched against Saladin in Hama. Heavily outnumbered, Saladin initially attempted to make terms with the Zengids by abandoning all conquests north of the Damascus province, but they refused, insisting he return to Egypt. Seeing that confrontation was unavoidable, Saladin prepared for battle, taking up a superior position on the hills by the gorge of the Orontes River. On April 13, 1175, the Zengid troops marched to attack his forces, but soon found themselves surrounded by Saladin's Ayyubid veterans who crushed them. The battle ended in a decisive victory for Saladin who pursued the Zengid fugitives to the gates of Aleppo, forcing as-Salih's advisers to recognize Saladin's control of the provinces of Damascus, Homs and Hama, as well as a number of towns outside Aleppo such as Ma'arat al-Numan.<sup>[41]</sup>

After his victory against the Zengids, Saladin proclaimed himself king and suppressed the name of as-Salih in Friday prayers and Islamic coinage. From then on, he ordered prayers in all the mosques of Syria and Egypt as the sovereign king and he issued at the Cairo mint gold coins bearing his official title—*al-Malik an-Nasir Yusuf Ayyub, ala ghaya* "the King Strong to Aid, Joseph son of Job; exalted be the standard." The Abbasid caliph in Baghdad graciously welcomed Saladin's assumption of power and declared him "Sultan of Egypt and Syria."<sup>[42]</sup>

The Battle of Hama did not end the contest for power between the Ayyubids and the Zengids, with the final confrontation occurring in the spring of 1176. Saladin had gathered massive reinforcements from Egypt while Saif al-Din was levying troops among the minor states of Diyarbakir and al-Jazira.<sup>[43]</sup> When Saladin crossed the Orontes, leaving Hama, the sun was eclipsed. He viewed this as an omen, but he continued his march north. He reached the Sultan's Mound, c. 25 km from Aleppo, where his forces encountered Saif al-Din's army. A hand-to-hand fight ensued and the Zengids managed to plow Saladin's left wing, driving it before him, when Saladin himself charged at the head of the Zengid guard. The Zengid forces panicked and most of Saif al-Din's officers ended up being killed or captured—Saif al-Din narrowly escaped. The Zengid army's camp, horses, baggage, tents, and stores were seized by the Ayyubids. The Zengid prisoners of war, however, were given gifts and freed. All of the booty from the Ayyubid victory was accorded to the army, Saladin not keeping anything himself.<sup>[44]</sup>



19th-century depiction of a victorious Saladin, by Gustave Doré.

He continued towards Aleppo which still closed its gates to him, halting before the city. On the way, his army took Buza'a, then captured Manbij. From there they headed west to besiege the fortress of A'zaz on May 15. A few days later, while Saladin was resting in one of his captain's tents, an assassin rushed forward at him and struck at his head with a knife. The cap of his head armor was not penetrated and he managed to grip the assassin's hand—the dagger only slashing his gambeson—and the assailant was soon killed. Saladin was unnerved at the attempt on his life, which he accused Gumushtugin and the Assassins of plotting, and so increased his efforts in the siege.<sup>[45]</sup>

A'zaz capitulated on June 21, and Saladin then hurried his forces to Aleppo to punish Gumushtigin. His assaults were again resisted, but he managed to secure not only a truce, but a mutual alliance with Aleppo, in which Gumushtigin and as-Salih were allowed to continue their hold on the city and in return, they recognized Saladin as the sovereign over all of the dominions he conquered. The *emirs* of Mardin and Keyfa, the Muslim allies of Aleppo, also recognized Saladin as the King of Syria. When the treaty was concluded, the younger sister of as-Salih came to Saladin and requested the return of the Fortress of A'zaz; he complied and escorted her back to the gates of Aleppo with numerous presents.<sup>[45]</sup>



## Campaign against Assassins

Saladin had by now agreed truces with his Zengid rivals and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (latter occurred in the summer of 1175), but faced a threat from the Hashshashin sect or "Assassins" led by Rashid ad-Din Sinan. Based in the al-Nusayri Mountains, they commanded nine fortresses built atop high elevations. As soon as he dismissed the bulk of his troops to Egypt, Saladin led his army into the al-Nusayri range in August 1176. He retreated the same month, after laying waste to the countryside, but failing to conquer any of the forts. Most Muslim historians claim that Saladin's uncle mediated a peace agreement between him and Sinan.<sup>[46]</sup> However, the latter's panegyrist claims Saladin departed due to fears for his own life at the hands of the Assassins. He had his guards supplied with link lights and had chalk and cinders strewed around his tent outside Masyaf—which he was besieging—to detect any footsteps by the Assassins.<sup>[47]</sup>

According to this version, one night, Saladin's guards noticed a spark glowing down the hill of Masyaf and then vanishing among the Ayyubid tents. Presently, Saladin awoke from his sleep to find a figure leaving the tent. He then saw that the lamps were displaced and beside his bed laid hot scones of the shape peculiar to the Assassins with a note at the top pinned by a poisoned dagger. The note threatened that he would be killed if he didn't withdraw from his assault. Saladin gave a loud cry, exclaiming that Sinan himself was the figure that left the tent. As such, Saladin told his guards to settle an agreement with Sinan.<sup>[47]</sup> Realizing he was unable to subdue the Assassins, he sought to align himself with them, consequently depriving the Crusaders of aligning themselves against him.<sup>[48]</sup>



Rashid ad-Din Sinan the Grand Master of the Hashshashins at Masyaf successfully alarmed Saladin not to assault the realms of the sect.

## Return to Cairo and forays in Palestine

After leaving the al-Nusayri Mountains, Saladin returned to Damascus and had his Syrian soldiers return home. He left Turan Shah in command of Syria, and left for Egypt with only his personal followers, reaching Cairo on September 22. Having been absent roughly two years, he had much to organize and supervise in Egypt, namely fortifying and reconstructing Cairo. The city walls were repaired and their extensions laid out, while the construction of the Cairo Citadel was commenced.<sup>[48]</sup> The 280 feet (**unknown operator: u'strong' m**) deep Bir Yusuf ("Joseph's Well") was built on Saladin's orders. The chief public work he commissioned outside of Cairo was the large bridge at Giza, which intended to form an outwork of defense against a potential Moorish invasion.<sup>[49]</sup>

Saladin remained in Cairo supervising its improvements, building colleges such as the Madrasa of the Sword Makers and ordering the internal administration of the country. In November 1177, he set out upon a raid into Palestine; the Crusaders had recently forayed into the territory of Damascus and so Saladin saw the truce was no longer worth



Saladin and the Mamluks assured the protection of Caravan routes that allowed travel to distant lands.



preserving. The Christians sent a large portion of their army to besiege the fortress of Harim north of Aleppo and so southern Palestine bore few defenders.<sup>[49]</sup> Saladin found the situation ripe, and so marched to Ascalon, which he referred to as the "Bride of Syria." William of Tyre recorded that the Ayyubid army consisted of 26000 soldiers, of which 8,000 were elite forces and 18000 were black slave soldiers from the Sudan. This army proceeded to raid the countryside, sack Ramla and Lod, and dispersed themselves as far as the Gates of Jerusalem.<sup>[50]</sup>

### Battles and truce with Baldwin

The Ayyubids did allow King Baldwin to enter Ascalon with his Gaza-based Templars without taking any precautions against a sudden attack. Although the Crusader force consisted only of 375 knights, Saladin hesitated to ambush them due to the presence of highly skilled generals. On November 25, while the greater part of the Ayyubid army was absent, Saladin and his men were surprised near Ramla in the battle of Montgisard. Before they could form up, the Templar force hacked the Ayyubid army down. Initially, Saladin attempted to organize his men into battle order, but as his bodyguards were being killed, he saw that defeat was inevitable and so with a small remnant of his troops mounted a swift camel, riding all the way to the territories of Egypt.<sup>[51]</sup>

Not discouraged by his defeat at Tell Jezer, Saladin was prepared to fight the Crusaders once again. In the spring of 1178, he was encamped under the walls of Homs and a few skirmishes occurred between his generals and the Crusader army. His forces in Hama won a victory over their enemy and brought the spoils, together with many prisoners of war to Saladin who ordered the captives to be beheaded for "plundering and laying waste the lands of the Faithful." He spent the rest of the year in Syria without a confrontation with his enemies.<sup>[52]</sup>

Saladin's intelligence services reported to him that the Crusaders were planning a raid into Syria. As such, he ordered one of his generals, Farrukh-Shah, to guard the Damascus frontier with a thousand of his men to watch for an attack, then to retire avoiding battle and lighting warning beacons on the hills on which Saladin would march out. In April 1179, the Crusaders led by King Baldwin expected no resistance and waited to launch a surprise attack on Muslim herders grazing their herds and flocks east of the Golan Heights. Baldwin advanced too rashly in pursuit of Farrukh-Shah's force which was concentrated southeast of Quneitra and was subsequently defeated by the Ayyubids. With this victory, Saladin decided to call in more troops from Egypt; he requested 1,500 horsemen to be sent by al-Adil.<sup>[53]</sup>

In the summer of 1179, King Baldwin had set up an outpost on the road to Damascus and aimed to fortify a passage over the Jordan River, known as Jacob's Ford, that commanded the approach to the Banias plain (the plain was divided by the Muslims and the Christians). Saladin had offered 100,000 gold pieces for Baldwin to abandon the project which was peculiarly offensive to the Muslims, but to no avail. He then resolved to destroy the fortress, called Chastellet and manned by the Templars, moving his headquarters to Banias. As the Crusaders hurried down to attack the Muslim forces, they fell into disorder, with the infantry falling behind. Despite early success, they pursued the Muslims far enough to become scattered and Saladin took advantage by rallying his troops and charged at the Crusaders. The engagement ended in a decisive Ayyubid victory and many high-ranking knights were captured. Saladin then moved to besiege the fortress which fell on August 30, 1179.<sup>[54]</sup>



Jacob's Ford Battlefield, looking from the west bank to the east bank of the Jordan River.

In the spring of 1180, while Saladin was in the area of Safad, anxious to commence a vigorous campaign against the Kingdom of Jerusalem, King Baldwin sent messengers to him with proposals of peace. Due to droughts and bad harvests hampering his commissariat, Saladin agreed to a truce. Raymond of Tripoli denounced the truce, but was compelled to accept after an Ayyubid raid in his territory in May and upon the appearance of Saladin's naval fleet off the port of Tartus.<sup>[55]</sup>

## Domestic issues



Ibn Jubayr a famous traveler from Al-Andalus is known to have met Saladin in Cairo after the abdication of the Fatimids.

In June 1180, Saladin held a reception for Nur al-Din Muhammad, the Artuqid *emir* of Keyfa, at Geuk Su, in which he presented him and his brother Abu Bakr gifts, valued at over 100,000 dinars according to Imad al-Din. This was intended to cement an alliance with Artuqids and to impress other *emirs* in Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Previously, Saladin offered to mediate relations between Nur al-Din and Kilij Arslan II—the Seljuk Sultan of Rum—after the two came into conflict. The latter demanded Nur al-Din return the lands given to him as a dowry for marrying his daughter when he received reports that she was being abused by him and was used to gain to Seljuk territory. Nur al-Din requested assistance from Saladin, but Arslan refused.<sup>[56]</sup>

After Nur al-Din and Saladin met at Geuk Su, the top Seljuk *emir*, Ikhtiyar al-Din al-Hasan, confirmed Arslan's submission, after which an agreement was drawn up. Saladin was enraged to receive a message from Arslan soon after, complaining of more abuses against his daughter. He threatened to attack the city of Malatya, saying, "it is two days march for me and I shall not dismount [my horse] until I am in the city."<sup>[56]</sup> Alarmed at the threat, the Seljuks pushed for negotiations. Saladin felt the Arslan was right to care for his daughter, but Nur al-Din had taken refuge with him, and therefore he could not betray him. It was finally agreed that the woman would be sent away for a year and that if Nur al-Din failed to comply, Saladin would abandon his support for him.<sup>[56]</sup>

Leaving Farrukh-Shah in charge of Syria, Saladin returned to Cairo at the beginning of 1181; According to Abu-Shama, he intended to spend the fast of Ramadan in Egypt and then make the *hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca. For an unknown reason he apparently changed his mind about the pilgrimage and was seen inspecting the Nile River banks in June. He was again embroiled with the Bedouin; he removed two-thirds of their fiefs to use as compensation for the fief-holders at Fayyum which he intended to take over. The Bedouin were also accused of trading with the Crusaders and so their grain was confiscated and they were forced to move westward. Later, warships were waged against Bedouin river pirates who were plundering the shores of Lake Tanis.<sup>[57]</sup>

In the summer of 1181, Saladin's former palace administrator Qara-Qush led a force to arrest Majd al-Din—a former deputy of Turan-Shah in the town of Zabid in Yemen—while he was entertaining Imad ad-Din at his estate in Cairo. Saladin's intimates accused him of misappropriating the revenues of Zabid, but Saladin himself replied there was no evidence against him. He realized the mistake and had Majd al-Din released in return for a payment of 80,000 dinars to him and other sums to Saladin's brothers al-Adil and Taj al-Muluk Bari. The controversial detainment of Majd al-Din was a part of the larger discontent associated with the aftermath of Turan-Shah's departure from Yemen; although his deputies continued to send him revenues from the province, centralized authority was lacking and internal quarrel arose between the Izz al-Din Uthman of Aden and Hittan of Zabid. Saladin wrote in a letter to al-Adil: "this Yemen is a treasure house ... We conquered it, but up to this day we have had no return and no advantage from it. There have been only innumerable expenses, the sending out of troops ... and expectations which did not produce what was hoped for in the end."<sup>[58]</sup>

## Empire expansions

### Conquest of Mesopotamian hinterland

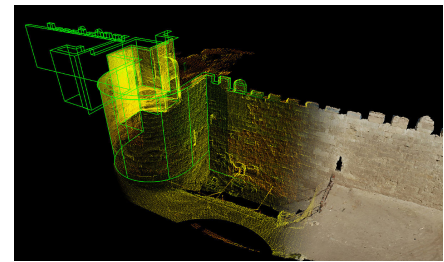
Saif al-Din had died earlier in June 1181 and his brother Izz al-Din inherited leadership of Mosul.<sup>[59]</sup> On December 4, the crown-prince of the Zengids, as-Salih, died in Aleppo. Prior to his death, he had his chief officers swear an oath of loyalty to Izz al-Din, as he was the only Zengid ruler strong enough to oppose Saladin. Izz al-Din was welcomed in Aleppo, but possessing it and Mosul put too great of a strain on his abilities. He thus, handed Aleppo to his brother Imad al-Din Zangi, in exchange for Sinjar. Saladin offered no opposition to these transactions in order to respect the treaty he previously made with the Zengids.<sup>[60]</sup>

On May 11, 1182, Saladin along with half of the Egyptian Ayyubid army and numerous non-combatants left Cairo for Syria. On the evening before he departed, he sat with his companions and the tutor of one of his sons quoted a line of poetry: "enjoy the scent of the ox-eye plant of Najd, for after this evening it will come no more." Saladin took this as an evil omen and he never saw Egypt again.<sup>[59]</sup> Knowing that Crusader forces were massed upon the frontier to intercept him, he took the desert route across the Sinai Peninsula to Ailah at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. Meeting no opposition, Saladin ravaged the countryside of Montreal, whilst Baldwin's forces watched on, refusing to intervene.<sup>[61]</sup> He arrived in Damascus in June to learn that Farrukh-Shah had attacked the Galilee, sacking Daburiyya and capturing Habis Jaldek, a fortress of great importance to the Crusaders. In July, Saladin dispatched Farrukh-Shah to attack Kawkab al-Hawa. Later, in August, the Ayyubids launched a naval and ground assault to capture Beirut; Saladin led his army in the Bekaa Valley. The assault was leaning towards failure and Saladin abandoned the operation to focus on issues in Mesopotamia.<sup>[62]</sup>

Kukbary, the *emir* of Harran, invited Saladin to occupy the Jazira region, making up northern Mesopotamia. He complied and the truce between him and the Zengids officially ended in September 1182.<sup>[63]</sup> Prior to his march to Jazira, tensions had grown between the Zengid rulers of the region, primarily concerning their unwillingness to pay deference to Mosul.<sup>[64]</sup> Before he crossed the Euphrates, Saladin besieged Aleppo for three days, signaling that the truce was over.<sup>[63]</sup>

Once he reached Bira, near the river, he was joined by Kukbary and Nur al-Din of Hisn Kayfa and the combined forces captured the cities of Jazira, one after the other. First, Edessa fell, followed by Saruj, then ar-Raqqah, Karkesiya and Nusaybin.<sup>[63]</sup> Ar-Raqqah was an important crossing point and held by Qutb al-Din Inal, who had lost Manbij to Saladin in 1176. Upon seeing the large size of Saladin's army, he made little effort to resist and surrendered on the condition that he would retain his property. Saladin promptly impressed the inhabitants of the town by publishing a decree that ordered a number of taxes to be canceled and erased all mention of them from treasury records, stating "the most miserable rulers are those whose purses are fat and their people thin." From ar-Raqqah, he moved to conquer al-Fudain, al-Husain, Maksim, Durain, 'Araban, and Khabur—all of which swore allegiance to him.<sup>[65]</sup>

Saladin proceeded to take Nusaybin which offered no resistance. A medium-sized town, Nusaybin was not of great importance, but it was located in a strategic position between Mardin and Mosul and within easy reach of Diyarbakir.<sup>[66]</sup> In the midst of these victories, Saladin received word that the Crusaders were raiding the villages of Damascus. He replied "Let them... whilst they knock down villages, we are taking cities; when we come back, we shall have all the more strength to fight them."<sup>[63]</sup> Meanwhile, in Aleppo, the *emir* of the city Zangi raided Saladin's cities to the north and east, such as Balis, Manbij, Saruj, Buza'a, al-Karzain. He also destroyed his own citadel at A'zaz to prevent it from being used by the Ayyubids if they were to conquer it.<sup>[66]</sup>



Isometric laser scan data image of the Bab al-Barqiyya Gate in the 12th century Ayyubid Wall. This fortified gate was constructed with interlocking volumes that surrounded the entrant in such a way as to provide greater security and control than typical city wall gates.

## Possession of Aleppo

Saladin turned his attention from Mosul to Aleppo, sending his brother Taj al-Mulk Buri to capture Tell Khalid, 130 km northeast of the city. A siege was set, but the governor of Tell Khalid surrendered upon the arrival of Saladin himself on May 17 before a siege could take place. According to Imad ad-Din, after Tell Khalid, Saladin took a detour northwards to Ain Tab, but he gained possession of it when his army turned towards it, allowing to quickly move backward another c. 100 km towards Aleppo. On May 21, he camped outside the city, positioning himself east of the Citadel of Aleppo, while his forces encircled the suburb of Banaqusa to the northeast and Bab Janan to the west. He stationed his men dangerously close to the city, hoping for an early success.<sup>[67]</sup>

Zangi did not offer long resistance. He was unpopular with his subjects and wished to return to his Sinjar, the city he governed previously. An exchange was negotiated where Zangi would hand over Aleppo to Saladin in return for the restoration of his control of Sinjar, Nusaybin, and ar-Raqqah. Zangi would hold these territories as Saladin's vassals on terms of military service. On June 12, Aleppo was formally placed in Ayyubid hands.<sup>[68]</sup> The people of Aleppo had not known about these negotiations and were taken by surprise when Saladin's standard was hoisted over the citadel. Two *emirs*, including an old friend of Saladin, Izz al-Din Jurduk, welcomed and pledged their service to him. Saladin replaced the Hanafi courts with Shafi'i administration, despite a promise he would not interfere in the religious leadership of the city. Although he was short of money, Saladin also allowed the departing Zangi to take all the stores of the citadel that he could travel with and to sell the remainder—which Saladin purchased himself.<sup>[69]</sup>

In spite of his earlier hesitation to go through with the exchange, he had no doubts about his success, stating that Aleppo was "the key to the lands" and "this city is the eye of Syria and the citadel is its pupil."<sup>[70]</sup> For Saladin, the capture of the city marked the end of over eight years of waiting since he told Farrukh-Shah "we have only to do the milking and Aleppo will be ours." From his standpoint, he could now threaten the entire Crusader coast.<sup>[71]</sup>

After spending one night in Aleppo's citadel, Saladin marched to Harim, near the Crusader-held Antioch. The city was held by Surhak, a "minor *mamluk*." Saladin offered him the city of Busra and property in Damascus in exchange for Harim, but when Surhak asked for more, his own garrison in Harim forced him out.<sup>[71]</sup> He was then arrested by Saladin's deputy Taqi al-Din on allegations that he was planning to cede Harim to Bohemond III of Antioch. When Saladin received its surrender, he proceeded to arrange the defense of Harim from the Crusaders. He reported to the caliph and his own subordinates in Yemen and Baalbek that was going to attack the Armenians. Before he could move, however, there were a number of administrative details to be settled. Saladin agreed to a truce with Bohemond in return for Muslim prisoners being held by him and then he gave A'zaz to Alam ad-Din Suleiman and Aleppo to Saif al-Din al-Yazkuj—the former was an *emir* of Aleppo who joined Saladin and the latter was a former *mamluk* of Shirkuh who helped rescue him from the assassination attempt at A'zaz.<sup>[72]</sup>

## Fight for Mosul

As Saladin approached Mosul, he faced the issue of taking over a large city and justifying the action.<sup>[73]</sup> The Zengids of Mosul appealed to an-Nasir, the Abbasid caliph at Baghdad whose vizier favored them. An-Nasir sent Badr al-Badr (a high-ranking religious figure) to mediate between the two sides. Saladin arrived at the city on November 10, 1182. Izz al-Din would not accept his terms because he considered them disingenuous and extensive, and Saladin immediately laid siege to the heavily fortified city.<sup>[74]</sup>

After several minor skirmishes and a stalemate in the siege that was initiated by the caliph, Saladin intended to find a way to withdraw from the siege without damage to his reputation while still keeping up some military pressure. He decided to attack Sinjar which was now held by Izz al-Din's brother Sharaf al-Din. It fell after a 15-day siege on December 30.<sup>[75]</sup> Saladin's commanders and soldiers broke their discipline, plundering the city; Saladin only managed to protect the governor and his officers by sending them to Mosul. After establishing a garrison at Sinjar, he awaited a coalition assembled by Izz al-Din consisting of his forces, those from Aleppo, Mardin, and Armenia.<sup>[76]</sup> Saladin and his army met the coalition at Harran in February 1183, but on hearing of his approach, the latter sent messengers to Saladin asking for peace. Each force returned to their cities and al-Fadil writes "They [Izz al-Din's coalition] advanced like men, like women they vanished."



Sculpture of Saladin in Cairo

On March 2, al-Adil from Egypt wrote to Saladin that the Crusaders had struck the "heart of Islam." Raynald de Châtillon had sent ships to the Gulf of Aqaba to raid towns and villages off the coast of the Red Sea. It was not an attempt to extend the Crusader influence into that sea or to capture its trade routes, but merely a piratical move.<sup>[77]</sup> Nonetheless, Imad al-Din writes the raid was alarming to the Muslims because they were not accustomed to attacks on that sea and Ibn al-Athir adds that the inhabitants had no experience with the Crusaders either as fighters or traders.<sup>[78]</sup>

Ibn Jubair was told that sixteen Muslim ships were burnt by the Crusaders who then captured a pilgrim ship and caravan at Aidab. He also reported they intended to attack Medina and remove Muhammad's body. Al-Maqrizi added to the rumor by claiming Muhammad's tomb was going to be relocated to Crusader territory so Muslims would make pilgrimages there. Fortunately for Saladin, al-Adil had his warships moved from Fustat and Alexandria to the Red Sea under the command of an Armenian mercenary Lu'lu. They broke the Crusader blockade, destroyed most of their ships, and pursued and captured those who anchored and fled into the desert.<sup>[79]</sup> The surviving Crusaders, numbered at 170, were ordered to be killed by Saladin in various Muslim cities.<sup>[80]</sup>

From Saladin's own point of view, in terms of territory, the war against Mosul was going well, but he still failed to achieve his objectives and his army was shrinking; Taqi al-Din took his men back to Hama, while Nasir al-Din Muhammad and his forces had left. This encouraged Izz al-Din and his allies to take the offensive. The previous coalition regrouped at Harzam some 140 km from Harran. In early April, without waiting for Nasir al-Din, Saladin and Taqi al-Din commenced their advance against the coalition, marching eastward to Ras al-Ein unhindered.<sup>[81]</sup> By late April, after three days of "actual fighting" according to Saladin, the Ayyubids had captured Amid. He handed the city Nur al-Din Muhammad together with its stores—which consisted of 80,000 candles, a tower full of arrowheads, and 1,040,000 books. In return for a diploma granting him the city, Nur al-Din swore allegiance to Saladin, promising to follow him in every expedition in the war against the Crusaders and repairing damage done to the city.



The fall of Amid, in addition to territory, convinced Il-Ghazi of Mardin to enter the service of Saladin, weakening Izz al-Din's coalition.<sup>[82]</sup>

Saladin attempted to gain the Caliph an-Nasir's support against Izz al-Din by sending him a letter requesting a document that would give him legal justification for taking over Mosul and its territories. Saladin aimed to persuade the caliph claiming that while he conquered Egypt and Yemen under the flag of the Abbasids, the Zengids of Mosul openly supported the Seljuks (rivals of the caliphate) and only came to the caliph when in need. He also accused Izz al-Din's forces of disrupting the Muslim "Holy War" against the Crusaders, stating "they are not content not to fight, but they prevent those who can." Saladin defended his own conduct claiming that he had come to Syria to fight the Crusaders, end the heresy of the Assassins, and to end the wrong-doing of the Muslims. He also promised that if Mosul was given to him, it would lead to the capture of Jerusalem, Constantinople, Georgia, and the lands of the Almohads in the Maghreb, "until the word of God is supreme and the Abbasid caliphate has wiped the world clean, turning the churches into mosques." Saladin stressed that all this would happen by the will of God and instead of asking for financial or military support from the caliph, he would capture and give the caliph the territories of Tikrit, Daquq, Khuzestan, Kish Island, and Oman.<sup>[83]</sup>

## Wars against Crusaders

On September 29, 1182 Saladin crossed the Jordan River to attack Beisan which was found to be empty. The next day his forces sacked and burned the town and moved westwards. They intercepted Crusader reinforcements from Karak and Shaubak along the Nablus road and took a number of prisoners. Meanwhile, the main Crusader force under Guy of Lusignan moved from Sepphoris to al-Fula. Saladin sent out 500 skirmishers to harass their forces and he himself marched to Ain Jalut. When the Crusader force—reckoned to be the largest the kingdom ever produced from its own resources, but still outmatched by the Muslims—advanced, the Ayyubids unexpectedly moved down the stream of Ain Jalut. After a few Ayyubid raids—including attacks on Zir'in, Forbelet, and Mount Tabor—the Crusaders still were not tempted to attack their main force, and Saladin led his men back across the river once provisions and supplies ran low.<sup>[72]</sup>



Saladin and Guy of Lusignan after Battle of Hattin

However, Crusader attacks provoked further responses by Saladin. Raynald of Châtillon, in particular, harassed Muslim trading and pilgrimage routes with a fleet on the Red Sea, a water route that Saladin needed to keep open. In response, Saladin built a fleet of 30 galleys to attack Beirut in 1182. Raynald threatened to attack the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. In retaliation, Saladin twice besieged Kerak, Raynald's fortress in Oultrejordain, in 1183 and 1184. Raynald responded by looting a caravan of pilgrims on the Hajj in 1185. According to the later thirteenth century *Old French Continuation of William of Tyre*, Raynald captured Saladin's sister in a raid on a caravan, although this claim is not attested in contemporary sources, Muslim or Frankish, instead stating that Raynald had attacked a preceding caravan, and Saladin set guards to ensure the safety of his sister and her son, who came to no harm.

Following the failure of his Kerak sieges, Saladin temporarily turned his attention back to another long-term project and resumed attacks on the territory of 'Izz ad-Dīn (Mas'ūd ibn Mawdūd ibn Zangi), around Mosul, which he had begun with some success in 1182. However, since then, Mas'ūd had allied himself with the powerful governor of Azerbaijan and Jibal, who in 1185 began moving his troops across the Zagros Mountains, causing Saladin to hesitate in his attacks. The defenders of Mosul, when they became aware that help was on the way, increased their efforts, and Saladin subsequently fell ill, so in March 1186 a peace treaty was signed.<sup>[84]</sup>



In July 1187 Saladin captured most of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. On July 4, 1187, at the Battle of Hattin, he faced the combined forces of Guy of Lusignan, King Consort of Jerusalem and Raymond III of Tripoli. In this battle alone the Crusader army was largely annihilated by the motivated army of Saladin. It was a major disaster for the Crusaders and a turning point in the history of the Crusades. Saladin captured Raynald de Châtillon and was personally responsible for his execution in retaliation for his attacking Muslim caravans. The members of these caravans had, in vain, besought his mercy by reciting the truce between the Muslims and the Crusaders, but he ignored this and insulted their prophet Muhammad before murdering and torturing a number of them. Upon hearing this, Saladin swore an oath to personally execute Raynald.<sup>[85]</sup>

Guy of Lusignan was also captured. Seeing the execution of Raynald, he feared he would be next. However, his life was spared by Saladin, who said of Raynald:

It is not the wont of kings, to kill kings; but that man had transgressed all bounds, and therefore did I treat him thus.<sup>[86]</sup>

### Capture of Jerusalem

Saladin had captured almost every Crusader city. Jerusalem capitulated to his forces on October 2, 1187, after a siege. When the siege had started, Saladin was unwilling to promise terms of quarter to the Frankish inhabitants of Jerusalem until Balian of Ibelin threatened to kill every Muslim hostage, estimated at 5000, and to destroy Islam's holy shrines of the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque if quarter was not given. Saladin consulted his council and these terms were accepted. An unusually low ransom for the times (around \$50 in modern money) was to be paid for each Frank in the city whether man, woman or child but Saladin, against the wishes of his treasurers, allowed many families who could not afford the ransom to leave.<sup>[87][88]</sup> Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem organised, and contributed to a collection which paid the ransoms for about 18,000 of the poorer citizens, leaving another 15,000 to be enslaved, Saladin's brother al-Adil, "asked Saladin for a thousand of them for his own use and then released them on the spot." Most of the foot soldiers were sold into slavery.<sup>[89]</sup> Upon the capture of Jerusalem, Saladin summoned the Jews and permitted them to resettle in the city.<sup>[90]</sup> In particular, the residents of Ashkelon, a large Jewish settlement, responded to his request.<sup>[91]</sup>

Tyre, on the coast of modern-day Lebanon, was the last major Crusader city that was not captured by Muslim forces (strategically, it would have made more sense for Saladin to capture Tyre before Jerusalem—however, Saladin chose to pursue Jerusalem first because of the importance of the city to Islam). The city was now commanded by Conrad of Montferrat, who strengthened Tyre's defences and withstood two sieges by Saladin. In 1188, at Tortosa, Saladin released Guy of Lusignan and returned him to his wife, Queen Sibylla of Jerusalem. They went first to Tripoli, then to Antioch. In 1189, they sought to reclaim Tyre for their kingdom, but were refused admission by Conrad, who did not recognize Guy as king. Guy then set about besieging Acre.

### Third Crusade

It is equally true that his generosity, his piety, devoid of fanaticism, that flower of liberality and courtesy which had been the model of our old chroniclers, won him no less popularity in Frankish Syria than in the lands of Islam.

*René Grousset (writer)*<sup>[92]</sup>

Hattin and the fall of Jerusalem prompted the Third Crusade, financed in England by a special "Saladin tithe". Richard I of England (Richard the Lionheart) led Guy's siege of Acre, conquered the city and executed 3,000 Muslim prisoners, including women and children.<sup>[93]</sup> Saladin retaliated by killing all Franks captured from August 28 – September 10. Bahā' ad-Dīn writes, "Whilst we were there they brought two Franks to the Sultan (Saladin) who had been made prisoners by the advance guard. He had them beheaded on the spot."<sup>[94]</sup> Bahā' ad-Dīn also wrote:

The motives of this massacre are differently told; according to some, the captives were slain by way of reprisal for the death of those Christians whom the Musulmans had slain. Others again say that the king of England, on deciding to attempt the conquest of Ascalon, thought it unwise to leave so many prisoners in the town after his

departure. God alone knows what the real reason was.<sup>[93]</sup>

The armies of Saladin engaged in combat with the army of King Richard at the Battle of Arsuf on September 7, 1191, at which Saladin's forces were defeated. After the battle of Arsuf, Richard moved his forces towards Ascalon. Anticipating Richard's next move, Saladin emptied the city and camped a few miles away from the city. When Richard arrived at the city, he was stunned to see the city abandoned and the towers demolished. The next day when Richard was preparing to retreat to Jaffa, Saladin attacked his Army. After a furious battle, Richard managed to save some of his troops and retreated to Ascalon. This was the last major battle between the two forces. All military attempts and battles made by Richard the Lionheart to re-take Jerusalem were defeated and failed. Richard only had 2,000 fit soldiers and 50 fit knights to use in battle. With such a small force, Richard could not hope to take Jerusalem even though he got near enough to see the Holy City. However, Saladin's relationship with Richard was one of chivalrous mutual respect as well as military rivalry. At Arsuf, when Richard lost his horse, Saladin sent him two replacements. Richard proposed that his sister, Joan of England, Queen of Sicily, should marry Saladin's brother and that Jerusalem could be their wedding gift.<sup>[95]</sup> However, the two men never met face to face and communication was either written or by messenger.

As leaders of their respective factions, the two men came to an agreement in the Treaty of Ramla in 1192, whereby Jerusalem would remain in Muslim hands but would be open to Christian pilgrimages. The treaty reduced the Latin Kingdom to a strip along the coast from Tyre to Jaffa.

## Death

A Knight without fear or blame who often had to teach his opponents the right way to practice chivalry.

An inscription written by Kaiser Wilhelm II on a wreath he laid on Saladin's Tomb.<sup>[92]</sup>

Saladin died of a fever on March 4, 1193, at Damascus, not long after Richard's departure. In Saladin's possession at the time of his death were 1 piece of gold and 47 pieces of silver. He had given away his great wealth to his poor subjects and there was none left to pay for his funeral.<sup>[96]</sup> He was buried in a mausoleum in the garden outside the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, Syria.

Seven centuries later, Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany donated a new marble sarcophagus to the mausoleum. Saladin was, however, not placed in it. Instead the mausoleum, which is open to visitors, now has two sarcophagi: the empty one made of marble and the original wooden one, which holds Saladin.

## Family

According to Imad al-Din, Saladin had fathered five sons before he left Egypt in 1174. Saladin's eldest son, al-Afdal was born in 1170 and Uthman was born in 1172 to Shamsa who accompanied Saladin to Syria. Saladin had a third son named, Az-Zahir Ghazi, who later became Lord of Aleppo.<sup>[97]</sup> Al-Afdal's mother bore Saladin another child in 1177. A letter preserved by Qalqashandi records that a twelfth son was born in May 1178, while on Imad al-Din's list, he appears as Saladin's seventh son. Mas'ud was born in 1175 and Yaq'ub in 1176, the latter to Shamsa. Nur al-Din's widow, Ismat al-Din Khatun, remarried to Saladin in September 1176. Ghazi and Da'ud were born to the same mother in 1173 and 1178, respectively, and the mother of Ishaq who was born in 1174 also gave birth to another son in July 1182.<sup>[98]</sup>

## Recognition and legacy

### Muslim world

In 1898 German Emperor Wilhelm II visited Saladin's tomb to pay his respects. The visit, coupled with anti-colonial sentiments, led nationalist Arabs to reinvent the image of Saladin and portray him as a hero of the struggle against the West. The image of Saladin they used was the romantic one created by Walter Scott and other Europeans in the West at the time. It replaced Saladin's reputation as a figure who had been largely forgotten in the Muslim world, eclipsed by more successful figures such as Baybars of Egypt.<sup>[99]</sup>

Modern Arab states have sought to commemorate Saladin through various measures, often based on the image created of him in the 19th century west. A governorate centered around Tikrit and Samarra in modern-day Iraq, Salah ad Din Governorate, is named after him, as is Salahaddin University in Arbil, the largest city of Iraqi Kurdistan. A suburb community of Arbil, Masif Salahaddin, is also named after him.

Few structures associated with Saladin survive within modern cities. Saladin first fortified the Citadel of Cairo (1175–1183), which had been a domed pleasure pavilion with a fine view in more peaceful times. In Syria, even the smallest city is centred on a defensible citadel, and Saladin introduced this essential feature to Egypt.

Although the Ayyubid dynasty that he founded would only outlive him by 57 years, the legacy of Saladin within the Arab World continues to this day. With the rise of Arab nationalism in the Twentieth Century, particularly with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict, Saladin's heroism and leadership gained a new significance. Saladin's recapture of Palestine from the European Crusaders is considered inspiration for the modern-day Arabs' opposition to Zionism.

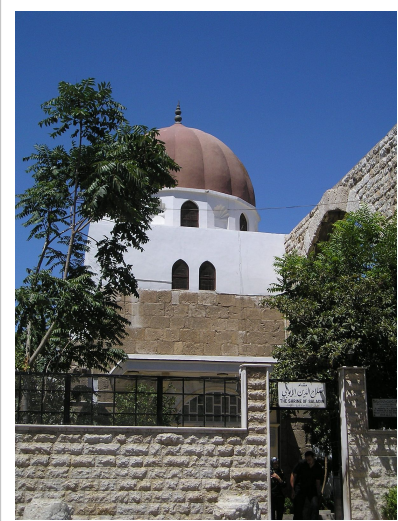
Moreover, the glory and comparative unity of the Arab World under Saladin was seen as the perfect symbol for the new unity sought by Arab nationalists, such as Gamal Abdel Nasser. For this reason, the Eagle of Saladin became the symbol of revolutionary Egypt, and was subsequently adopted by several other Arab states (United Arab Emirates, Iraq, the Palestinian Territory, and Yemen).



Saladin's tomb in Damascus, Syria.

## Western world

His fierce struggle against the crusaders was where Saladin achieved a great reputation in Europe as a chivalrous knight, so much so that there existed by the fourteenth century an epic poem about his exploits. Though Saladin faded into history after the Middle Ages, he appears in a sympathetic light in Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Talisman* (1825). It is mainly from this novel that the contemporary view of Saladin originates. According to Jonathan Riley-Smith, Scott's portrayal of Saladin was that of a "modern [19th Century] liberal European gentlemen, beside whom medieval Westerners would always have made a poor showing."<sup>[100]</sup> Despite the Crusaders' slaughter when they originally conquered Jerusalem in 1099, Saladin granted amnesty and free passage to all common Catholics and even to the defeated Christian army, as long as they were able to pay the aforementioned ransom (the Greek Orthodox Christians were treated even better, because they often opposed the western Crusaders). An interesting view of Saladin and the world in which he lived is provided by Tariq Ali's novel *The Book of Saladin*.<sup>[101]</sup> Notwithstanding the differences in beliefs, the Muslim Saladin was respected by Christian lords, Richard especially. Richard once praised Saladin as a great prince, saying that he was without doubt the greatest and most powerful leader in the Islamic world.<sup>[102]</sup> Saladin in turn stated that there was not a more honorable Christian lord than Richard. After the treaty, Saladin and Richard sent each other many gifts as tokens of respect, but never met face to face.



Saladin's tomb, near Umayyad Mosque's NW corner.

In April 1191, a Frankish woman's three month old baby had been stolen from her camp and had been sold on the market. The Franks urged her to approach Saladin herself with her grievance. According to Bahā' al-Dīn, Saladin used his own money to buy the child back:

He gave it to the mother and she took it; with tears streaming down her face, and hugged the baby to her chest. The people were watching her and weeping and I (Ibn Shaddad) was standing amongst them. She suckled it for some time and then Saladin ordered a horse to be fetched for her and she went back to camp.<sup>[103]</sup>

At the end of World War I British Commander General Edmund Allenby had succeeded in capturing Damascus from Turkish troops. According to some sources, after his triumphal entry into the city, Allenby raised his sword in salute to the famous statue of Saladin and proudly declared "Today the wars of the Crusaders are completed." This quotation was incorrectly attributed to Allenby, and throughout his life he vehemently protested against his conquest of Palestine in 1917 having been called a "Crusade". In 1933 Allenby reiterated this stance by saying: "The importance of Jerusalem lay in its strategic importance, there was no religious impulse in this campaign".<sup>[104]</sup> Never the less, as if to thumb their nose at Allenby the British press continued to celebrate his victory over the Ottoman Empire by printing cartoons of Richard the Lionheart looking down on Jerusalem from the heavens with the caption reading "At last my dream has come true."<sup>[105][106]</sup>

After marching into Damascus in July 1920 to put down an anti-colonial rising, French General Henri Gouraud is reputed have stood at Saladin's grave, kicked it and said: "The Crusades have ended now! Awake Saladin, we have returned! My presence here consecrates the victory of the Cross over the Crescent." There are a number of accounts of this, but the anecdote seems of fairly recent provenance. See: *Waiting for Saladin*, Dawn (newspaper), Irfan Husain, 5 April 2003. *Joining hands politically*, Dawn (newspaper), Anwar Syed, 27 March 2005. *Another Gulf War, another al-Qaeda*, Asia Times, Ahmad Faruqui, 20 March 2003. *Syriana, or The Godfather, Part I*, World Policy Journal, Karl E. Meyer, Volume XXIII, No 1, Winter 2006. Tariq Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity*. Verso, 2002, p.43. *Memories of war, fear and friendship in my home city, where time has stood still*, The Independent, Robert Fisk, 19 March 2005.

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- [2] A number of contemporary sources make note of this. The biographer Ibn Khallikan writes, "Historians agree in stating that [Saladin's] father and family belonged to Duwin [Dvin]....They were Kurds and belonged to the Rawādiya (sic), which is a branch of the great tribe al-Hadāniya": Minorsky (1953), p. 124. The medieval historian Ibn Athir relates a passage from another commander: "...both you and Saladin are Kurds and you will not let power pass into the hands of the Turks": Minorsky (1953), p. 138.
- [3] Steed, Brian L., *Piercing the Fog of War: Recognizing Change on the Battlefield*, (Zenith Press, 2009), 176; "Saladin was a Kurd from Tikrit."
- [4] "Encyclopedia of World Biography on Saladin" (<http://www.bookrags.com/biography/saladin/>). . Retrieved August 20, 2008.
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- [14] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 14
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- [16] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 16
- [17] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 25
- [18] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 28
- [19] Lyons & Jackson 1982, pp. 28–29
- [20] Lyons & Jackson 1982, pp. 32–33
- [21] Lyons & Jackson 1982, pp. 34, 36
- [22] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 38
- [23] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 41
- [24] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 43
- [25] Pringle, 1993, p.208.
- [26] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 45
- [27] Lyons & Jackson 1982, pp. 46–47
- [28] Lyons & Jackson 1982, pp. 60–62
- [29] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 64
- [30] Lyons & Jackson 1982, pp. 73–74
- [31] Lyons & Jackson 1982, pp. 74–75
- [32] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 136
- [33] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 81
- [34] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 13
- [35] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 137
- [36] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 87
- [37] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 138
- [38] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 139
- [39] Lyons & Jackson 1982, pp. 88–89
- [40] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 140
- [41] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 141
- [42] Lane-Poole 1906, pp. 141–142
- [43] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 143
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- [46] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 148
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- [48] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 151
- [49] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 153
- [50] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 154

- [51] Lane-Poole 1906, p. 155
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- [53] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 136
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- [56] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 148
- [57] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 156
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- [67] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 195
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- [71] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 201
- [72] Lyons & Jackson 1982, pp. 202–203
- [73] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 178
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- [79] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 186
- [80] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 187
- [81] Lyons & Jackson 1982, p. 188
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- [104] Jonathan Phillips, *Holy Warriors: a modern History of the Crusades* (London, 2009), pp.327–331.
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## Saladin in fiction

- A heavily fictionalized version of Saladin is played by Ghassan Massoud in the 2005 movie *Kingdom of Heaven*.
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- Stanley Lane-Poole, "The Life of Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem", in "btm" format (<http://www.third-millennium-library.com/readinghall/GalleryofHistory/Saladin/LIFE-DOOR.html>)
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  - Saladin: The Sultan and His Times, 1138–1193 ([http://www.press.jhu.edu/books/title\\_pages/9465.html](http://www.press.jhu.edu/books/title_pages/9465.html))
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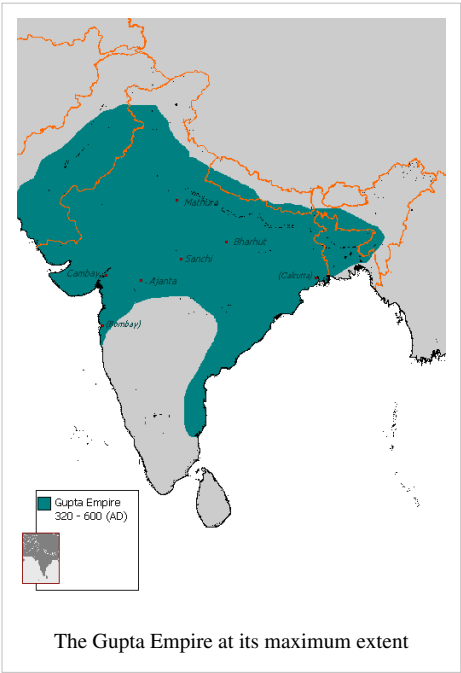
# Samudragupta

Samudragupta	
Gupta Emperor	
Coin of Gupta period depicting Samudragupta playing the veena.	
Reign	335–375 CE
Full name	Samudragupta Vikramaditya
Titles	Vikramank, Kaviraj, Ashwamedhkarta
Predecessor	Chandragupta I
Successor	Ramagupta
Consort	Dattadevi
Royal House	Gupta dynasty
Father	Chandragupta -I
Religious beliefs	Hinduism

**Samudragupta (Samudragupta the Great)**, ruler of the Gupta Empire (c. AD 335 – 375), and successor to Chandragupta I, is considered to be one of the greatest military geniuses in Indian history according to Historian V. A. Smith. His name is taken to be a title acquired by his conquests (*samudra* referring to the 'oceans'). Samudragupta the Great is believed to have been his father's chosen successor even though he had several elder brothers. Therefore, some believe that after the death of Chandragupta I, there was a struggle for succession in which Samudragupta prevailed.

## Sources

The main source of Samudragupta's history is an inscription engraved on one of the rocks edicts found in Kausambi (near present day Allahabad). In this inscription Samudragupta details his conquests. This inscription is also important because of the political geography of India that it indicates by naming the different kings and peoples who populated India in the first half of the fourth century AD. The inscription to Samudragupta's martial exploits states that its author is Harisena, who was an important poet of Samudragupta's court.





Coin of Samudragupta, with Garuda pillar.  
British Museum.

## Samudragupta's conquests

The beginning of Samudragupta's reign was marked by the defeat of his immediate neighbours, Achyuta, ruler of Ahichchhatra, and Nagasena. Following this Samudragupta began a campaign against the kingdoms to the south. This southern campaign took him south along the bay of Bengal. He passed through the forest tracts of Madhya Pradesh, crossed the Orissa coast, marched through Ganjam, Vishakapatnam, Godavari, Krishna and Nellore districts and may have reached as far as Kancheepuram. Here however he did not attempt to maintain direct control. After capturing his enemies he reinstated them as tributary kings. This act prevented the Gupta Empire from attaining the almost immediate demise of the Maurya Empire and is a testament to his abilities as a statesman.

The details of Samudragupta's campaigns are too numerous to recount (these can be found in the first reference below). However it is clear that he possessed a powerful navy in addition to his army. In addition to tributary kingdoms, many other rulers of foreign states like the Saka and Kushan kings accepted the suzerainty of Samudragupta and offered him their services. Samudragupta is called 'Napoleon of India' because he waged many wars. At first he defeated the rulers of Western UP and Delhi and brought them under his direct rule. Next, frontier states of Kamrupa (Assam), Bengal in the East and Punjab in the West, were made to accept his suzerainty. He also brought the forest tribes of the Vindhya region under his rule. samudragupta

## Patronage

Much is known about Samudragupta through coins issued by him and inscriptions. These were of eight different types and all made of pure gold. His conquests brought him the gold and also the coin-making expertise from his acquaintance with the Kushana. Samudragupta is also known to have been "a man of culture". He was a patron of learning, a celebrated poet and a musician. Several coins depict him playing on the Indian lyre or veena. He gathered a galaxy of poets and scholars and took effective actions to foster and propagate religious, artistic and literary aspects of Indian culture. Though he favoured the Hindu religion like the other Gupta kings, he was reputed to possess a tolerant spirit vis-a-vis other religions. A clear illustration of this is the permission granted by him to the king of Ceylon to build a monastery for Buddhist pilgrims in Bodhi Gaya. Samudragupta is called 'Napoleon of India' because he waged many wars.



A coin created by Samudragupta I to commemorate the Ashvamedha ritual. The tethered horse is depicted on the left; the queen, carrying ritual equipment, is on the right

## External links


- Text of the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta <sup>[1]</sup>
- Catalogue of Coins of Samudragupta <sup>[2]</sup>
- Coins of Samudragupta <sup>[3]</sup>

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# Sancho III of Navarre

Sancho III Garcés



The burial stone of Sancho III, bearing his effigy

Spouse(s)	Muniadona Mayor
Noble family	House of Jiménez
Father	García Sánchez II of Pamplona
Mother	Jimena Fernández
Born	c. 992
Died	18 October 1035

**Sancho III Garcés** (c. 992 – 18 October 1035),<sup>[1][2]</sup> called **the Great** (Spanish: *el Mayor*, Basque: *Nagusia*), succeeded as a minor to the Kingdom of Navarre in 1004, and through conquest and political maneuvering increased his power, until at the time of his death in 1035 he controlled the majority of Christian Iberia, bearing the title of *rex Hispaniarum*. Having gone further than any of his predecessors in uniting the divided kingdoms of Iberia, his life's work was undone when he divided his domains shortly before his death to provide for each of his sons. The Kingdom of Navarre existed for almost six centuries after his death, but was never as powerful again.

## Regency and early acquisitions

Sancho was born around 992 to García Sánchez II the Tremulous and Jimena Fernández, daughter of the count of Cea on the Galician frontier. He was raised in Leyra. His father last appears in 1000, while Sancho is first found as king in 1004, inheriting the kingdom of Pamplona (later known as Navarre). This gap has led to speculation as to whether there was an interregnum, while one document shows Sancho Ramírez of Viguera reigning in Pamplona in 1002, perhaps ruling as had Jimeno Garcés during the youth of García Sánchez I three generations earlier. On his succession, Sancho initially ruled under a council of regency led by the bishops, his mother Jimena, and grandmother Urraca Fernández.

Sancho aspired to unify the Christian principalities in the face of the fragmentation of Muslim Spain into the taifa kingdoms following the Battle of Calatañazor. In about 1010 he married Muniadona Mayor, daughter of Sancho García of Castile, and in 1015 he began a policy of expansion. He displaced Muslim control in the depopulated former county of Sobrarbe. In Ribagorza, another opportunity arose. The 1010 partition of the county left it divided



between William Isarn, illegitimate son of count Isarn, and Raymond III of Pallars Jussà and his wife, Mayor of Castile, who was both niece of Isarn and aunt of Sancho's wife. In 1018, William Isarn tried to solidify his control over the Arán valley, but was killed, and Sancho jumped on the opportunity to take his portion, presumably based on some loose claim derived from his wife. Raymond and Mayor annulled their marriage, creating a further division finally resolved in 1025 when Mayor retired to a Castilian convent and Sancho received the submission of Raymond as vassal.<sup>[3]</sup> He also forced Berengar Raymond I of Barcelona to become his vassal, though he was already a vassal of the French king. Berengar met Sancho in Zaragoza and in Navarre many times to confer on a mutual policy against the counts of Toulouse.

## Acquisition of Castile

In 1016, Sancho fixed the border between Navarre and Castile, part of the good relationship he established by marrying Muña Mayor Sánchez (Muniadona), daughter of Sancho García of Castile. In 1017, he became the protector of Castile for the young García Sánchez. However, relations between the three Christian entities of León, Castile, and Navarre soured after the assassination of Count García in 1027. He had been betrothed to Sancha, daughter of Alfonso V, who was set



thus to gain from Castile lands between the rivers Cea and Pisuerga (as the price for approving the marital pact). As García arrived in León for his wedding, he was killed by the sons of a noble he had expelled from his lands.

Sancho III had opposed the wedding and the expected expansion of Leonese power to Castile, and used García's death to reverse this. Using the pretext of the protectorship he had exercised over Castile, he immediately occupied the county and named as successor his own younger son Ferdinand, who was nephew of the deceased count, bringing it fully within his sphere of influence.

## Gascon suzerainty

Sancho established relations with the Duchy of Gascony, probably of a suzerain–vassal nature, him being the suzerain.<sup>[4]</sup> In consequence of his relationship with the monastery of Cluny, he improved the road from Gascony to León. This road would begin to bring increased traffic down to Iberia as pilgrims flocked to Santiago de Compostela. Because of this, Sancho ranks as one of the first great patrons of the Saint James Way.

Sancho VI of Gascony was a relative of Sancho of Navarre and he spent a portion of his life at the royal court in Pamplona. He also partook alongside Sancho the Great in the Reconquista. In 1010, the two Sanchos appeared together with Robert II of France and William V of Aquitaine, neither of whom was the Gascon duke's suzerain, at Saint-Jean d'Angély. After Sancho VI's death in 1032, Sancho the Great extended his authority definitively into Gascony, where he began to mention his authority as extending as far as the Garonne in the documents issued by his chancery.

In southern Gascony, Sancho created a series of viscounties: Labourd (between 1021 and 1023), Bayonne (1025), and Baztán (also 1025).

## Acquisition of León

After the succession of Bermudo III to León, Sancho negotiated the marriage of his son Ferdinand of Castile to Sancha, the former fiancée of García Sánchez and Bermudo's sister, and along with it a dowry that included disputed Leonese lands. Sancho was soon engaged in a full-scale war with León, and combined Castilian and Navarrese armies quickly overran much of Bermudo's kingdom, occupying Astorga. By March 1033, he was king from Zamora to the borders of Barcelona.

In 1034, even the city of León, the *imperiale culmen* (imperial capital, as Sancho saw it), fell, and there Sancho had himself crowned again. This was the height of Sancho's rule which now extended from the borders of Galicia in the west to the county of Barcelona in the east. In 1035, he refounded the diocese of Palencia, which had been laid waste by the Moors. He gave the see and its several abbeys to Bernard, of French or Navarrese origin, to whom he also gave the secular lordship (as a *feudum*), which included many castles in the region. However, he was assassinated at Aguilar de Bureba [dubious – discuss] on 18 October 1035 and was buried in the monastery of San Salvador of Oña, an enclave in Burgos, under the inscription *Sancius, gratia Dei, Hispaniarum rex*.

## Legacy

Taking residence in Nájera instead of the traditional capital of Pamplona, as his realm grew larger, he considered himself a European monarch, establishing relations on the other side of the Pyrenees.

He introduced French feudal theories and ecclesiastic and intellectual currents into Iberia. Through his close ties with the count of Barcelona and the duke of Gascony and his friendship with the monastic reformer Abbot Oliva, Sancho established relations with several of the leading figures north of the Pyrenees, most notably Robert II of France, William V of Aquitaine, William II and Alduin II of Angoulême, and Odo II of Blois and Champagne.<sup>[5]</sup> It was through this circle that the Cluniac reforms first probably influenced his thinking. In 1024 a Navarrese monk, Paterno from Cluny, returned to Navarre and was made abbot of San Juan de la Peña, where he instituted the Cluniac custom and founded thus the first Cluniac house in Iberia west of Catalonia, under the patronage of Sancho. The Mozarabic rite continued to be practiced at San Juan, and the view that Sancho spread the Cluniac usage to other houses in his kingdom has been discredited by Justo Pérez de Urbel. Sancho sowed the seeds of the Cluniac reform and of the adoption of the Roman rite, but he did not widely enact them.

Sancho also began the Navarrese series of currency by minting what the Encyclopædia Britannica calls "deniers of Carolingian influence." The division of his realm upon his death, the concepts of vassalage and suzerainty, and the use of the phrase "by the grace of God" (*Dei gratia*) after his title were imported from France, with which he tried to maintain relations. For this he has been called the "first Europeaniser of Iberia."<sup>[6]</sup>

His most obvious legacy, however, was the temporary union of all Christian Iberia. At least nominally, he ruled over León, the ancient capital of the kingdom won from the Moors in the eighth century, and Barcelona, the greatest of the Catalan cities. Though he divided the realm at his death, thus creating the enduring legacy of Castilian and Aragonese kingdoms, he left all his lands in the hands of one dynasty, the Jiménez, which kept the kingdoms allied by blood until the twelfth century. He made the Navarrese pocket kingdom strong, politically stable, and independent, preserving it for the remainder of the Middle Ages. It is for this that his seal has been appropriated by Basque nationalism. Though, by dividing the realm, he isolated the kingdom and inhibited its ability to gain land at the expense of the Moslems. Summed up, his reign defined the political geography of Iberia until its union under the Catholic Monarchs.



The Arrano Beltza flag was derived from the seal of Sancho VII of Navarre by Basque nationalists mistakenly attributing it to Sancho III since his kingdoms covered most of the Basque Country.

## Titulature

Throughout his long reign, Sancho used a myriad of titles. After his coronation in León, he styled himself *rex Dei gratia Hispaniarum*, or "by the grace of God, king of the Spains", and may have minted coins with the legend "*NAIARA/IMPERATOR*".<sup>[7]</sup> The use of the first title implied his kingship over all the independently founded Iberian kingdoms and the use of the form *Dei gratia*, adopted from French practice, stressed that his right to rule was of divine origin and sustenance. The latter, imperial title was only rarely employed, for it is not documented, being found only on coins only probably datable to his reign. It is not unlikely, however, that he desired to usurp the imperial title which the kings of León had thitherto carried.<sup>[6]</sup>

Despite this, the contemporary ecclesiastic Abbot Oliva only ever acknowledged Sancho as *rex Ibericus* or *rex Navarrae Hispaniarum*, while he called both Alfonso V and Vermudo III emperor. The first title considers Sancho as king of all Iberia, as does the second, though it stresses his kingship over Navarre alone as if it had been extended to authority over the whole Christian portion of the peninsula.

## Succession

Before his death in 1035, Sancho divided his possessions among his sons. Of the three surviving sons by Mayor, the eldest, García, had already appeared as *regulus* in Navarre, inheriting the kingdom including the Basque country as well as exercising suzerainty over the kingdom's lands given his brothers. Gonzalo had been placed in control of the counties of Sobrarbe and Ribagorza, which he would hold as *regulus*. Ferdinand had been given Castile on the death of count García Sánchez in 1127, holding it first under his father and later of Vermudo III of León, before killing that king to take León and the royal title. Ramiro, the eldest but illegitimate son of Sancho by mistress Sancha of Aybar, was given property in the former county of Aragón with the provision that he should ask for no more lands of García, under whom he first acted as *baiulus* but from whom he later achieved *de facto* independence. Documents report two further sons, a second Ramiro and Bernard, but scholarship is divided on whether they were legitimate sons who died in youth, or if their appearance instead results from either scribal error or forgery. Sancho left two daughters, Mayor and Jimena, the former perhaps the wife of Pons, Count of Toulouse, the latter wife of Vermudo III.

## Notes

- [1] *World and Its Peoples Volume 5 Europe* (<http://books.google.ca/books?id=KetpijSSLv8C&pg=PA611>). Marshall Cavendish Corporation. 2009. ISBN 978-0-7614-7883-6. .
- [2] "Sancho III Garces (King of Pamplona [Navarre (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/521789/Sancho-III-Garces>))"]]. *Britannica Online Encyclopedia*. britannica.com. 2010. . Retrieved 2010-03-25.
- [3] Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Sancho III el Mayor: rey de Pamplona, Rex Ibericus*, pp. 81-89.
- [4] Collins.
- [5] Richard B. Donovan (1958), *Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies), 22.
- [6] Menéndez Pidal.
- [7] These are usually attributed to Sancho III, although Ubieto Arteta attributes them to his ancestor Sancho I.


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- Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. "Estudios en torno a la división del Reino por Sancho el Mayor de Navarra", *Príncipe de Viana*, vol. 21, pp. 5–56, 163–236.

External links

- Sancho III el Mayor in Medieval History of Navarre (<http://www.lebrelblanco.com/08.htm>)
- Map of the division of Sancho's realm (<http://libro.uca.edu/chaytor/sancho.jpg>).

Sargon of Akkad

Sargon	
King of Akkad	
<div></div>	
Bust of an Akkadian ruler, probably Sargon, Nineveh, c. 23rd – 22nd century BC. This bust might depict Sargon's grandson Naram-Sin.	
Reign	c. 2270 BC – 2215 BC
Full name	Birth name unknown; regnal name was <i>Šarru-kin</i> ("the true King" or "the legitimate King")
Titles	King of Kish, Lagash, Umma, Uruk, overlord of Sumer, Elam, Mari, and Yarmuti
Birthplace	Azupiranu, Mesopotamia
Died	c. 2215 BC
Place of death	Akkad, Mesopotamia
Successor	Rimush
Consort to	Tashlultum
Royal House	House of Sargon
Dynasty	Akkadian dynasty
Father	La'ibum (natural) Akki (foster-)
Children	Enheduanna, Rimush, Manishtushu, Ibarum, and Abaish-Takal

**Sargon of Akkad**, also known as **Sargon the Great** "the Great King" (Akkadian *Šarru-kīnu*, meaning "the true king" or "the king is legitimate"),<sup>[1]</sup> was a Semitic Akkadian emperor famous for his conquest of the Sumerian city-states in the 23rd and 22nd centuries BC. The founder of the Dynasty of Akkad, Sargon reigned in the last quarter of the third millennium BC. He became a prominent member of the royal court of Kish, killing the king and usurping his throne before embarking on the quest to conquer Mesopotamia. He was originally referred to as *Sargon*

*I* until records concerning an Assyrian king also named Sargon (now usually referred to as Sargon I) were unearthed.<sup>[2]</sup>

Sargon's vast empire is thought to have included large parts of Mesopotamia, and included parts of modern-day Iran, Asia Minor and Syria. He ruled from a new, but as yet archaeologically unidentified capital, Akkad (Agade), which the Sumerian king list claims he built (or possibly renovated).<sup>[3]</sup> He is sometimes regarded as the first person in recorded history to create a multiethnic, centrally ruled empire, although the Sumerians Lugal-anne-mundu and Lugal-zage-si also have a claim. His dynasty controlled Mesopotamia for around a century and a half.<sup>[4]</sup>

## Origins and rise to power

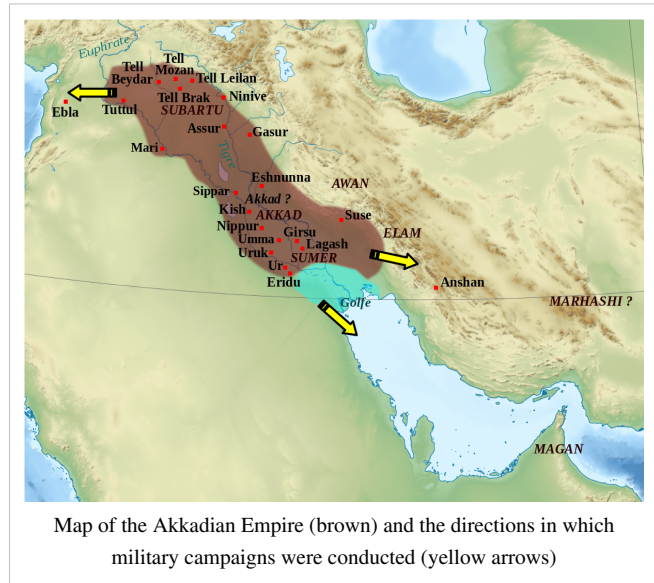
The exact dates of Sargon's birth, death or even reign are unknown. According to the short chronology, he reigned from 2270 to 2215 BC (the Middle Chronology lists his reign as 2334 to 2279 BC). These dates are based on the Sumerian king list<sup>[5]</sup> Sargon was likely a regnal name; his given name is unknown.<sup>[6]</sup>

The story of Sargon's birth and childhood is given in the "Sargon legend", a Sumerian text purporting to be Sargon's biography. The extant versions are incomplete, but the surviving fragments name Sargon's father as La'ibum. After a lacuna, the text skips to Ur-Zababa, king of Kish, who awakens after a dream, the contents of which are not revealed on the surviving portion of the tablet. For unknown reasons, Ur-Zababa appoints Sargon as his cupbearer. Soon after this, Ur-Zababa invites Sargon to his chambers to discuss a dream of Sargon's, involving the favor of the goddess Inanna and the drowning of Ur-Zababa by the goddess. Deeply frightened, Ur-Zababa orders Sargon murdered by the hands of Beliš-tikal, the chief smith, but Inanna prevents it, demanding that Sargon stop at the gates because of his being "polluted with blood." When Sargon returns to Ur-Zababa, the king becomes frightened again, and decides to send Sargon to king Lugal-zage-si of Uruk with a message on a clay tablet asking him to slay Sargon.<sup>[7]</sup> The legend breaks off at this point; presumably, the missing sections described how Sargon becomes king.<sup>[8]</sup>

The Sumerian king list relates: "In Agade [Akkad], Sargon, whose father was a gardener, the cupbearer of Ur-Zababa, became king, the king of Agade, who built Agade; he ruled for 56 years." There are several problems with this entry in the king list. Thorkild Jacobsen marked the clause about Sargon's father being a gardener as a lacuna, indicating his uncertainty about its meaning.<sup>[9]</sup> Furthermore, confusingly, Ur-Zababa and Lugal-zage-si are both listed as kings, but several generations apart. The claim that Sargon was the original founder of Akkad has come into question in recent years, with the discovery of an inscription mentioning the place and dated to the first year of Enshakushanna, who almost certainly preceded him.<sup>[10]</sup> This claim of the king list had been the basis for earlier speculation by a number of scholars that Sargon was an inspiration for the mythical biblical figure of Nimrod.<sup>[11]</sup> The *Weidner Chronicle* (ABC 19:51) states that it was Sargon who built Babylon "in front of Akkad."<sup>[12][13]</sup> The *Chronicle of Early Kings* (ABC 20:18-19) likewise states that late in his reign, Sargon "dug up the soil of the pit of Babylon, and made a counterpart of Babylon next to Agade."<sup>[13][14]</sup> Van de Mieroop suggested that those two chronicles may in fact refer to the much later Assyrian king, Sargon II of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, rather than to Sargon of Akkad.<sup>[15]</sup>

## Formation of the Akkadian Empire

After coming to power in Kish, Sargon soon attacked Uruk, which was ruled by Lugal-Zage-Si of Umma. He captured Uruk and dismantled its famous walls. The defenders seem to have fled the city, joining an army led by fifty ensis from the provinces. This Sumerian force fought two pitched battles against the Akkadians, as a result of which the remaining forces of Lugal-Zage-Si were routed.<sup>[16]</sup> Lugal-Zage-Si himself was captured and brought to Nippur; Sargon inscribed on the pedestal of a statue (preserved in a later tablet) that he brought Lugal-Zage-Si "in a dog collar to the gate of Enlil."<sup>[17]</sup> Sargon pursued his enemies to Ur before moving eastwards to Lagash, to the Persian Gulf, and thence to Umma. He made a symbolic gesture of washing his weapons in the "lower sea" (Persian Gulf) to show that he had conquered Sumer in its entirety.<sup>[17]</sup>



Another victory Sargon celebrated was over Kashtubila, king of Kazalla. According to one ancient source, Sargon laid the city of Kazalla to waste so effectively "that the birds could not find a place to perch away from the ground."<sup>[18]</sup>

To help limit the chance of revolt in Sumer he appointed a court of 5,400 men to "share his table" (i.e., to administer his empire).<sup>[19]</sup> These 5,400 men may have constituted Sargon's army.<sup>[20]</sup> The governors chosen by Sargon to administer the main city-states of Sumer were Akkadians, not Sumerians.<sup>[21]</sup> The Semitic Akkadian language became the *lingua franca*, the official language of inscriptions in all Mesopotamia, and of great influence far beyond. Sargon's empire maintained trade and diplomatic contacts with kingdoms around the Arabian Sea and elsewhere in the Near East. Sargon's inscriptions report that ships from Magan, Meluhha, and Dilmun, among other places, rode at anchor in his capital of Agade.<sup>[22]</sup>

The former religious institutions of Sumer, already well-known and emulated by the Semites, were respected. Sumerian remained, in large part, the language of religion and Sargon and his successors were patrons of the Sumerian cults. Sargon styled himself "anointed priest of Anu" and "great *ensi* of Enlil",<sup>[23]</sup> While Sargon is often credited with the first true empire, Lugal-Zage-Si preceded him; after coming to power in Umma he had conquered or otherwise come into possession of Ur, Uruk, Nippur, and Lagash. Lugal-Zage-Si claimed rulership over lands as far away as the Mediterranean.<sup>[24]</sup>

## Wars in the northwest and east

Shortly after securing Sumer, Sargon embarked on a series of campaigns to subjugate the entire Fertile Crescent. According to the *Chronicle of Early Kings*, a later Babylonian historiographical text:

"[Sargon] had neither rival nor equal. His splendor, over the lands it diffused. He crossed the sea in the east. In the eleventh year he conquered the western land to its farthest point. He brought it under one authority. He set up his statues there and ferried the west's booty across on barges. He stationed his court officials at intervals of five double hours and ruled in unity the tribes of the lands. He marched to Kazallu and turned Kazallu into a ruin heap, so that there was not even a perch for a bird left."<sup>[13]</sup>

Sargon captured Mari, Yarmuti, and Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest (Amanus) and the silver mountain (Taurus). The Akkadian Empire secured trade routes and supplies of wood and precious metals could be safely and freely floated



down the Euphrates to Akkad.<sup>[5]</sup>

In the east, Sargon defeated an invasion by the four leaders of Elam, led by the king of Awan. Their cities were sacked; the governors, viceroys and kings of Susa, Barhashe, and neighboring districts became vassals of Akkad, and the Akkadian language made the official language of international discourse. During Sargon's reign, Akkadian was standardized and adapted for use with the cuneiform script previously used in the Sumerian language. A style of calligraphy developed in which text on clay tablets and cylinder seals was arranged amidst scenes of mythology and ritual.<sup>[25]</sup>

## Later reign

The *Epic of the King of the Battle* is known from an Akkadian-language tablet in the Amarna archives; translations have since been discovered in Hittite and Hurrian.<sup>[26]</sup> It depicts Sargon advancing deep into the heart of Anatolia to protect Akkadian and other Mesopotamian merchants from the exactions of the King of Purushanda (Purshahanda). It is anachronistic, however, portraying the 23rd-century Sargon in a 19th-century milieu; the story is thus probably fictional, though it may have some basis in historical fact.<sup>[27]</sup> The same text mentions that Sargon crossed the Sea of the West (Mediterranean Sea) and ended up in Kuppura, which some authors have interpreted as the Akkadian word for Keftiu, an ancient locale usually associated with Crete or Cyprus.<sup>[28]</sup>

Famine and war threatened Sargon's empire during the latter years of his reign. The *Chronicle of Early Kings* reports that revolts broke out throughout the area under the last years of his overlordship:

“Afterward in his [Sargon's] old age all the lands revolted against him, and they besieged him in Akkad; and Sargon went onward to battle and defeated them; he accomplished their overthrow, and their widespreading host he destroyed. Afterward he attacked the land of Subartu in his might, and they submitted to his arms, and Sargon settled that revolt, and defeated them; he accomplished their overthrow, and their widespreading host he destroyed, and he brought their possessions into Akkad. The soil from the trenches of Babylon he removed, and the boundaries of Akkad he made like those of Babylon. But because of the evil which he had committed, the great lord Marduk was angry, and he destroyed his people by famine. From the rising of the sun unto the setting of the sun they opposed him and gave him no rest.”<sup>[29]</sup>

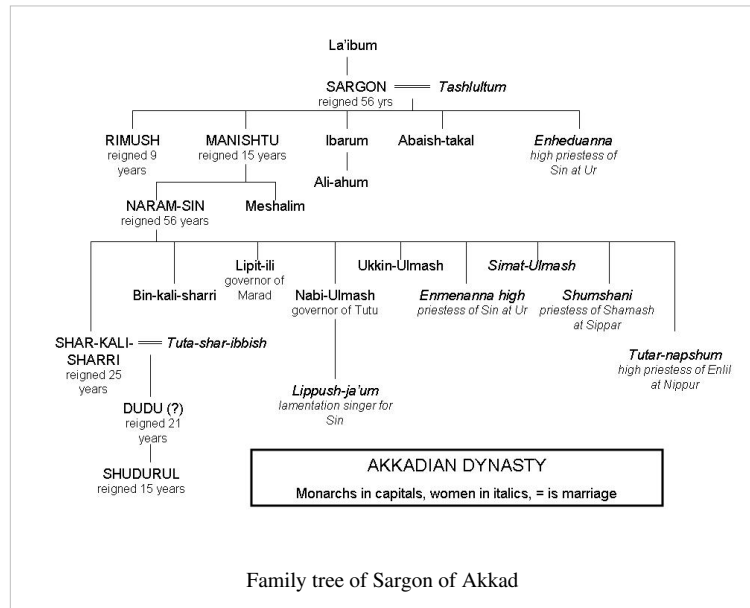
However Oppenheim translates the last sentence as "From the East to the West he [i.e. Marduk] alienated (them) from him and inflicted upon (him as punishment) that he could not rest (in his grave)."<sup>[18]</sup>

Later literature proposes that the rebellions and other troubles of Sargon's later reign were the result of sacrilegious acts committed by the king. Modern consensus is that the veracity of these claims are impossible to determine, as disasters were virtually always attributed to sacrilege inspiring divine wrath in ancient Mesopotamian literature.<sup>[25]</sup>

## Legacy

Sargon died, according to the short chronology, around 2215 BC. His empire immediately revolted upon hearing of the king's death. Most of the revolts were put down by his son and successor Rimush, who reigned for nine years and was followed by another of Sargon's sons, Manishtushu (who reigned for 15 years).<sup>[30]</sup> Sargon was regarded as a model by Mesopotamian kings for some two millennia after his death. The Assyrian and Babylonian kings who based their empires in Mesopotamia saw themselves as the heirs of Sargon's empire. Kings such as Nabonidus (r. 556–539 BC) showed great interest in the history of the Sargonid dynasty, and even conducted

excavations of Sargon's palaces and those of his successors.<sup>[31]</sup> Indeed, such later rulers may have been inspired by the king's conquests to embark on their own campaigns throughout the Middle East. The Neo-Assyrian Sargon text challenges his successors thus:



"The black-headed peoples I ruled, I governed; mighty mountains with axes of bronze I destroyed. I ascended the upper mountains; I burst through the lower mountains. The country of the sea I besieged three times; Dilmun I captured. Unto the great Dur-ilu I went up, I ... I altered ... Whatsoever king shall be exalted after me, ... Let him rule, let him govern the black-headed peoples; mighty mountains with axes of bronze let him destroy; let him ascend the upper mountains, let him break through the lower mountains; the country of the sea let him besiege three times; Dilmun let him capture; To great Dur-ilu let him go up."<sup>[32]</sup>

Another source attributed to Sargon the challenge "now, any king who wants to call himself my equal, wherever I went [conquered], let him go."<sup>[33]</sup>

## Family

The name of Sargon's main wife, Queen Tashlultum,<sup>[34][35]</sup> and those of a number of his children are known to us. His daughter Enheduanna, who flourished during the late 24th and early 23rd centuries BC, was a priestess who composed ritual hymns.<sup>[36]</sup> Many of her works, including her *Exaltation of Inanna*, were in use for centuries thereafter.<sup>[37]</sup> Sargon was succeeded by his son, Rimush; after Rimush's death another son, Manishtushu, became king. Two other sons, Shu-Enlil (Ibarum) and Ilaba'is-takal (Abaish-Takal), are known.<sup>[38]</sup>

## In comparative mythology

Sargon survives as a legendary figure into the Neo-Assyrian literature of the Early Iron Age. A Neo-Assyrian text from the 7th century BC purporting to be Sargon's autobiography asserts that the great king was the illegitimate son of a priestess. In the Neo-Assyrian account Sargon's birth and his early childhood are described thus:

"My mother was a high priestess, my father I knew not. The brothers of my father loved the hills. My city is Azupiranu, which is situated on the banks of the Euphrates. My high priestess mother conceived me, in secret she bore me. She set me in a basket of rushes, with bitumen she sealed my lid. She cast me into the river which rose over me. The river bore me up and carried me to Akki, the drawer of water. Akki, the drawer of water, took me as his son and reared me. Akki, the drawer of water, appointed me as his gardener. While I was a gardener, Ishtar granted me her love, and for four and ... years I exercised kingship."<sup>[39]</sup>

The Book of Exodus of the Hebrew Bible was composed or redacted around the 6th century BC and was influenced by Neo-Assyrian legend. In particular, the image of Sargon as a castaway set adrift on a river resembles the better-known birth narrative of Moses. But the account of Exodus turns the theme on its head— rather than a royal fostered by commoners before rediscovering his royal blood, Moses is the son of slaves who is fostered by the daughter of Pharaoh.<sup>[40]</sup> Scholars such as Joseph Campbell and Otto Rank have also compared the 7th century BC Sargon account with the obscure births of other heroic figures from history and mythology, including Karna, Oedipus, Paris, Telephus, Semiramis, Perseus, Romulus, Gilgamesh, Cyrus, Jesus, and others.<sup>[41]</sup>

Furthermore, a number of 20th-century scholars have speculated that Sargon was an inspiration for the biblical Nimrod, mainly since both figures were credited with the construction of the cities Babylon and Akkad.<sup>[11]</sup>

## Notes

- [1] Chavalas 2006
- [2] Bromiley 1996
- [3] Kramer 1963: 60–61
- [4] Van de Mieroop 2006: 63
- [5] Kramer 1963
- [6] Lewis 1984: 277–292
- [7] "The Sargon Legend." *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*. (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section2/tr214.htm>) Oxford University, 2006
- [8] Cooper & Heimpel 1983: 67–82
- [9] Jacobsen 1939: 111
- [10] Van de Mieroop 1999: 74–75
- [11] Levin 2002: 350–356; Poplitcha 1929: 303–317
- [12] Grayson 1975: 19:51
- [13] Chronicle of Early Kings at Livius.org. (<http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/abc20/kings.html#1>) Translation adapted from Grayson 1975 and Glassner 2004
- [14] Grayson 1975: 20:18–19
- [15] Dalley 2005
- [16] Kramer 1963: 61; Van de Mieroop 2006: 64–66
- [17] Oppenheim 1969: 267
- [18] Oppenheim 1969: 266
- [19] Kramer 1963: 61
- [20] Frayne 1993: 31
- [21] Van de Mieroop 2006: 62–68
- [22] Kramer 1963: 62, 289–291
- [23] Van de Mieroop 2006: 67–68
- [24] Beaulieu 2005: 43
- [25] *Britannica*
- [26] Postgate 1994: 216
- [27] Studevent-Hickman & Morgan 2006
- [28] Wainright 1952: 197–212; Strange 1982: 395–396; Vandersleyen 2003: 209
- [29] Botsforth 1912: 27–28
- [30] Kramer 1963: 61–63; Roux 1980: 155
- [31] Oates 1979: 162.
- [32] Barton 310, as modernized by J. S. Arkenberg (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/2300sargon1.html>)
- [33] Nougayrol 1951: 169
- [34] Tetlow 2004
- [35] Roaf 1992
- [36] Schomp 2005: 81
- [37] Schomp 2005: 81; Kramer 1981: 351; Hallo & Van Dijk 1968
- [38] Frayne 1993: 3637
- [39] King 1907: 87–96
- [40] Lewis 1984: 211–272
- [41] Rank 1932; MacKenzie 1900: 126

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# Sejong the Great

Sejong Daewang  
세종대왕  
世宗大王

King of Joseon



Reign	September 18, 1418 – May 18, 1450
Coronation	September 18, 1418
Born	April 10, 1397
Died	May 18, 1450 (aged 53)
Predecessor	Taejong of Joseon
Successor	Munjong of Joseon
Consort	Queen Soheon
Offspring	Munjong of Joseon, Sejo of Joseon
Royal House	House of Yi
Father	Taejong of Joseon
Mother	Queen Wongyeong
Religious beliefs	Buddhist <sup>[1][2]</sup>



Korean name	
Hangul	세종대왕
Hanja	世宗大王
Revised Romanization	Sejong Daewang
McCune–Reischauer	Sejong Taewang
Birth name	
Hangul	이도
Hanja	李禔
Revised Romanization	I Do
McCune–Reischauer	Yi To
Childhood name	
Hangul	원정
Hanja	元正
Revised Romanization	Won Jeong
McCune–Reischauer	Wŏn Chŏng

**Sejong the Great** (April 10, 1397 – May 18, 1450, r. 1418–1450) was the fourth king of the Joseon Dynasty of Korea. During his regency, he reinforced Korean Confucian policies and executed major legal amendments (공법; 貢法). He also used the creation of Hangul and the advancement of technology to expand his territory. He was the third son of King Taejong and Queen Consort Wonkyeong.

Sejong is one of only two Korean rulers posthumously honored with the appellation "the Great", the other being Gwanggaeto the Great of Goguryeo.<sup>[3]</sup>

## Early life

Sejong was born on April 10, 1397, the third son of King Taejong.<sup>[3]</sup> When he was twelve, he became **Grand Prince Chungnyeong**. As a young prince, Sejong excelled in various studies and was favored by King Taejong over his two older brothers.

Sejong's ascension to the throne was different from those of most other kings. Taejong's eldest son, Yangnyeong (양녕대군), viewing himself as lacking in the requisite skills for kingship, believed that his younger brother Sejong was destined to become king. He believed it was his duty to place Sejong as king, so he behaved rudely in court and was soon banished from Seoul. This plot ultimately brought Sejong to the throne. The eldest prince became a wandering traveler and lived in the mountains. The second son traveled to a Buddhist temple, where he became a monk.

In August 1418, following Taejong's abdication two months earlier, Sejong ascended the throne. However, Taejong still retained certain powers at court, particularly regarding military matters, until he died in 1422.

## Strengthening of the Korean military

King Sejong was an effective military planner. He created various military regulations to strengthen the safety of his kingdom,<sup>[4]</sup> supported the advancement of Korean military technology, including cannon development. Different kinds of mortars and fire arrows were tested as well as the use of gunpowder.

In May 1419, King Sejong, under the advice and guidance of his father Taejong, embarked upon the Gihae Eastern Expedition, the ultimate goal of this military expedition to remove the nuisance of Japanese pirates who had been operating out of Tsushima Island. During the expedition, 243 Japanese were killed, and another 110 were captured in combat, while 180 Korean soldiers were killed. 146 Chinese and 8 Korean kidnapped were liberated by this expedition. In September 1419 the Daimyos of Tsushima and Sadamori capitulated to the Joseon court. The Treaty of Gyehae was signed in 1443, in which the Daimyo of Tsushima recognized and obeyed the suzerainty of the King of Joseon; in return, the Joseon court rewarded the Sō clan with preferential rights regarding trade between Japan and Korea.<sup>[5]</sup>

In 1433, Sejong sent Kim Jong-seo (hangul: 김종서, hanja: 金宗瑞), a prominent general, north to destroy the Manchu. Kim's military campaign captured several castles, pushed north, and restored Korean territory, to the Songhua River.<sup>[6][7][8]</sup> Four forts and six posts were established (hangul: 사군육진 hanja: 四郡六鎭) to safeguard the people from Jurchen nomads.

## Science and technology



A modern reconstruction and scaled down model of Jang Yeong-sil's self-striking water clock.

Sejong is credited with technological advances during his reign. He wanted to help farmers so he decided to create a farmer's handbook. The book—the Nongsa jikseol (hangul: 농사직설, hanja: 農事直說)—contained information about the different farming techniques that he told scientists to gather in different regions of Korea.<sup>[9]</sup> These techniques were needed in order to maintain the newly-adopted methods of intensive, continuous cultivation in Korean agriculture.<sup>[9]</sup>

During his rule, Jang Yeong-sil (hangul: 장영실, hanja: 蔣英實) became known as a prominent inventor. Jang was naturally a creative and smart thinker as a young person. However, Jang was at the bottom of the social class. Taejong, the father of Sejong,

noticed Jang's skill and immediately called him to his court in Seoul. Upon giving Jang a government position and funding for his inventions, officials protested, believing a person from the lower classes should not rise to power among nobles. Sejong instead believed Jang merited support because of his ability. Jang created new significant designs for water clocks, armillary spheres, and sundials.<sup>[10]</sup> However, his most impressive invention came in 1442, the world's first rain gauge, named Cheugugi (source?); this model has not survived, since the oldest existing East Asian rain gauge is one made in 1770, during the reign period of King Yeongjo. According to the Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat (hangul: 승정원일기, hanja: 承政院日記) King Yeongjo wanted to revive the glorious times of King Sejong the Great, and so read chronicles of Sejong's era. When he came across mention of a rain gauge, King Yeongjo ordered a reproduction. Since there is a mark of the Qing Dynasty ruler Qianlong (r. 1735–1796) of China, dated 1770,<sup>[11]</sup> this Korean-designed rain gauge is sometimes misunderstood as having been imported from China.

Sejong also wanted to reform the Korean calendar system, which was at the time based upon the longitude of the Chinese capital.<sup>[9]</sup> Sejong, for the first time in Korean history, had his astronomers create a calendar with the Korean capital of Seoul as the primary meridian.<sup>[9]</sup> This new system allowed Korean astronomers to accurately predict the timing of solar and lunar eclipses.<sup>[9][12]</sup>

In the realm of traditional Korean medicine, two important treatises were written during the reign of Sejong. These were the *Hyangyak jipseongbang* and the *Euibang yuchwi*, which historian Kim Yongsik says represents 'Koreans' efforts to develop their own system of medical knowledge, distinct from that of China.<sup>[9]</sup> They were now separated.



Korean celestial globe first made by the scientist Jang Yeongsil during the Joseon Dynasty under the reign of King Sejong

## Literature

Sejong supported literature, and encouraged high class officials and scholars to study at the court. King Sejong created the written language of hangul and announced it to the Korean people in the Hunminjeongeum (Hangul: 훈민정음, Hanja: 訓民正音), meaning 'The verbally right sounds meant to teach the people.'

Sejong depended on the agricultural produce of Joseon's farmers, so he allowed them to pay more or less tax according to fluctuations of economic prosperity or hard times. Because of this, farmers could worry less about tax quotas and work instead at surviving and selling their crops. Once the palace had a significant surplus of food, King Sejong then distributed food to poor peasants or farmers who needed it. In 1429 *Nongsajikseol* (hangul: 농사직설, hanja: 農事直說) was compiled under the supervision of King Sejong. It was the first book about Korean farming, dealing with agricultural subjects such as planting, harvesting, and soil treatment.

Although most government officials and aristocrats opposed usage of hangul, lower classes embraced it, became literate, and were able to communicate with one another in writing.

Sejong's personal writings are also highly regarded. He composed the famous *Yongbi Eocheon Ga* ("Songs of Flying Dragons", 1445), *Seokbo Sangjeol* ("Episodes from the Life of Buddha", July 1447), *Worin Cheon-gang Jigok* ("Songs of the Moon Shining on a Thousand Rivers", July 1447), and the reference *Dongguk Jeong-un* ("Dictionary of Proper Sino-Korean Pronunciation", September 1447).

In 1420 Sejong established the Hall of Worthies (집현전; 集賢殿; Jiphyeonjeon) at the Gyeongbokgung Palace. It consisted of scholars selected by the king. The Hall participated in various scholarly endeavors, of which the best known may be the compilation of the *Hunmin Jeongeum*.<sup>[13]</sup>

## Hangul

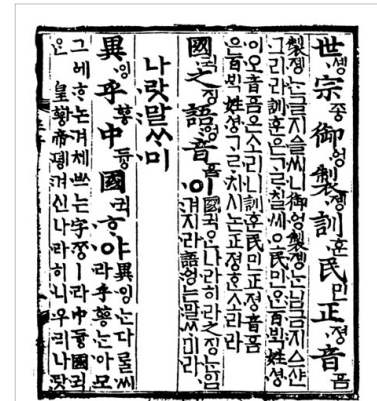
King Sejong the Great profoundly impacted Korean history with his introduction of hangul, the native phonetic alphabet system for the Korean language.<sup>[14]</sup>

Before the creation of Hangul, only members of the highest class were literate (hanja was typically used to write Korean by using adapted Chinese characters, while Hanmun was sometimes used to write court documents in classical Chinese). One would have to learn the quite complex hanja characters in order to read and write Korean. Further, despite modifications to the Chinese characters, hanja could prove cumbersome when transcribing the Korean language, due to considerable differences in grammar and sentence order.<sup>[15]</sup>

King Sejong presided over the introduction of the 28-letter Korean alphabet, with the explicit goal being that Koreans from all classes would read and write.

He also attempted to establish a cultural identity for his people through its unique script. While creating the alphabet, King Sejong encountered opposition of courtiers. First published in 1446, anyone could learn Hangul in a matter of days. Persons previously unfamiliar with Hangul can typically pronounce Korean script accurately after only a few hours study.

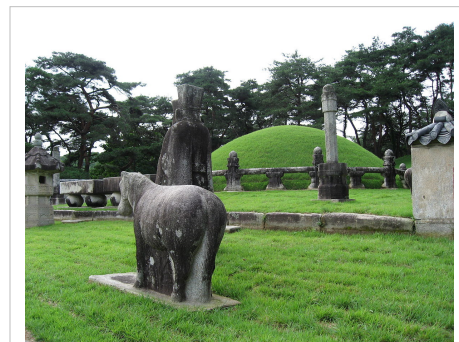
Each hangul letter is based on a simplified diagram of the patterns made by the mouth, tongue and teeth when making the sound related to the character. Morphemes are built by writing the characters in syllabic blocks. The blocks of letters are then strung together linearly.



*Hunmin Jeongeum Eonhae*

## Death and legacy

Sejong was blinded in later years by diabetes complications and died 11 days after his 53rd birthday. He was buried at the Yeong Mausoleum (영릉; 英陵) in 1450. His successor was his first son, Munjong. Sejong judged that his sickly son Munjong was unlikely to live long and on his deathbed asked the Hall of Worthies scholars to look after his young grandson Danjong. As predicted, Munjong died two years after his accession, and political stability enjoyed under Sejong disintegrated when Danjong became the sixth king of Joseon at the age of twelve. Eventually, Sejong's second son Sejo usurped the throne from Danjong in 1455. When six martyred ministers were implicated in a plot to restore Danjong to throne, Sejo abolished the Hall of Worthies and executed Danjong and many ministers who served during Sejong's reign.



The tomb of Sejong the Great located in Yeosu, Gyeonggi Province, South Korea.

The street Sejongno and the Sejong Center for the Performing Arts— both located in central Seoul— are named after King Sejong.<sup>[16]</sup>

In early 2007, the Republic of Korea government has decided to create a special administrative district out of part of the present Chungcheongnam-do Province, near what is presently Daejeon. The new district will be named Sejong Special Autonomous City.

The life of Sejong was depicted in the KBS Korean historical drama King Sejong the Great (TV series) in 2008.<sup>[17]</sup> Sejong is also depicted in the 2011 SBS drama Deep Rooted Tree.

## Family

- Father: King Taejong (태종)
- Mother: Queen Wongyeong of the Yeoheung Min clan (원경왕후 민씨, September 1337 – September 12, 1391)
- Consorts and their Respective Issue:
  1. Queen Soheon of the Cheongsong Shim clan (소헌왕후 심씨, September 28, 1395 – March 24, 1446)<sup>[18][19]</sup>
    1. Yi Hyang, the Royal Prince Successor (이향 왕세자), 1st son
    2. Yi Yoo, the Grand Prince Suyang (이유 수양대군), 2nd son
    3. Yi Yong, the Grand Prince Anpyeong (이용 안평대군, 1418–1453), 3rd son
    4. Yi Gu, the Grand Prince Imyeong (이구 임영대군, January 7, 1419 – January 21, 1469), 4th son
    5. Yi Yeo, the Grand Prince Gwangpyeong (이여 광평대군, 1425–1444), 5th son
    6. Yi Yoo, the Grand Prince Geumseong (이유 금성대군, March 28, 1426 – October 21, 1457), 6th son
    7. Yi Im, the Grand Prince Pyeongwon (이임 평원대군, 1427–1445), 7th son
    8. Yi Yeom, the Grand Prince Yeongeung (이염 영응대군, 1434–1467), 8th son
    9. Princess Jeongso (정소공주, 1412–1424), 1st daughter<sup>[20]</sup>
    10. Princess Jeong-ui (정의공주, 1415–1477), 2nd daughter<sup>[21]</sup>
  2. Royal Noble Consort Hye of the Cheongju Yang clan (혜빈 양씨, ? – November 9, 1455)<sup>[22][23]</sup>
    1. Yi Eo, the Prince Hannam (이어 한남군), 1st son
    2. Yi Hyeon, the Prince Soochun (이현 수춘군), 2nd son
    3. Yi Jeon, the Prince Yeongpung (이전 영풍군, August 15, 1434 – June 20, 1456), 3rd son
  3. Royal Noble Consort Yeong of the Jinju Kang clan (영빈 강씨)<sup>[24]</sup>
    1. Yi Yeong, the Prince Hwa-ui (이영 화의군), Only son
  4. Royal Noble Consort Shin of the Cheongju Kim clan (신빈 김씨, 1406 – September 4, 1464)<sup>[25][26]</sup>
    1. Yi Jeung, the Prince Gyeyang (이증 계양군, 1427–1464), 1st son<sup>[27]</sup>
    2. Yi Gong, the Prince Uichang (이공 의창군, 1428–1460), 2nd son
    3. Yi Chim, the Prince Milseong (이침 밀성군, 1430–1479), 3rd son
    4. Yi Yeon, the Prince Ikhyeon (이연 익현군, 1431–1463), 4th son
    5. Yi Dang, the Prince Yeonghae (이당 영해군, 1435–1477), 5th son
    6. Yi Geo, the Prince Damyang (이거 담양군, 1439–1450), 6th son
    7. 2 Unnamed daughters who died at childbirth
  5. Park *Gwi-in* (귀인 박씨) – No issue.<sup>[28]</sup>
  6. Choi *Gwi-in* (귀인 최씨) – No issue.<sup>[29]</sup>
  7. Jo *Suk-ui* (숙의 조씨) – No issue.
  8. Hong *So-yong* (소용 홍씨) – No issue.
  9. Lee *Suk-won* (숙원 이씨)
    1. Princess Jeong-an (정안옹주, 1438–1461), Only daughter<sup>[30]</sup>
  10. Song *Sang-chim* (상침 송씨)
    1. Princess Jeonghyeon (정현옹주, 1424–1480), Only daughter<sup>[31]</sup>
  11. Cha *Sa-gi* (사기 차씨, ? – July 10, 1444)
    1. An unnamed daughter (1430–1431)

## His full posthumous name

- Hangul : 세종장헌영문예무인성명효대왕
- English : King Sejong Jangheon Yeongmun Yemu Inseong Myeonghyo the Great
- Hanja : 世宗莊憲英文睿武仁聖明孝大王

## Depiction in arts and media

- King Sejong the Great (TV series)
- The Divine Weapon (film)
- Sid Meier's Civilization V
- Deep Rooted Tree

## Portrait in Korean Currency Notes

Sejong the Great is the only linguistic scholar other than Samuel Johnson<sup>[32]</sup> or Jacob Grimm or Wilhelm Grimm<sup>[33]</sup> or Elias Lönnrot<sup>[34]</sup> depicted as a portrait in a national currency.

## Notes

- [1] [http://www.koreanbuddhism.net/library/academic\\_essay/download.asp?article\\_seq=711&page=1&search\\_key=&search\\_value=](http://www.koreanbuddhism.net/library/academic_essay/download.asp?article_seq=711&page=1&search_key=&search_value=)
- [2] <http://www.ekoreajournal.net/archive/detail.jsp?BACKFLAG=Y&VOLUMENO=47&BOOKNUM=3&PAPERNUM=6&SEASON=A...&YEAR=null>
- [3] *Encyclopedia of World History*, Vol II, P362 Sejong, Edited by Marsha E. Ackermann, Michael J. Schroeder, Janice J. Terry, Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur, Mark F. Whitters, ISBN 978-0-8160-6386-4
- [4] <<책한권으로 읽는 세종대왕실록>>(Learning Sejong Silok in one book) ISBN 10 – 890107754X
- [5] (**Korean**) 계해조약 ([http://preview.britannica.co.kr/bol/topic.asp?article\\_id=b01g3496a](http://preview.britannica.co.kr/bol/topic.asp?article_id=b01g3496a))
- [6] <http://sejong.prkorea.com/kor/letter/letter.jsp>
- [7] [http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/ppl/pplView.aks?pplId=PPL\\_6JOa\\_A1397\\_1\\_0005792](http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/ppl/pplView.aks?pplId=PPL_6JOa_A1397_1_0005792)
- [8] <<책한권으로 읽는 세종대왕실록>>(Learning Sejong Silok in one book) ISBN 10 – 890107754X
- [9] Kim (1998), 57.
- [10] (**Korean**) 장영실 蔣英實 (<http://www.bueb125.com.ne.kr/san311.htm>)
- [11] Kim (1998), 51.
- [12] (**Korean**) Science and Technology during Sejong the Great of Joseon ([http://www.reportnet.co.kr/knowledge/pop\\_preview.html?dn=2075262](http://www.reportnet.co.kr/knowledge/pop_preview.html?dn=2075262))
- [13] (**Korean**) Introduction to Sejong the Great ([http://urimal.cs.pusan.ac.kr/edu\\_sys\\_new/new/docu/history/sejong/default.asp](http://urimal.cs.pusan.ac.kr/edu_sys_new/new/docu/history/sejong/default.asp))
- [14] Kim Jeong Su (1990), <<한글의 역사와 미래>>(History and Future of Hangul) ISBN 10 – 8930107230
- [15] *Hunmin Jeongeum Haerye*, postface of Jeong Inji, p. 27a, translation from Gari K. Ledyard, *The Korean Language Reform of 1446*, p. 258
- [16] (**Korean**) Tourguide – Tomb of Sejong the Great ([http://www.tourguide.co.kr/local/local\\_detail.htm?pCode=CULTTOMB0262](http://www.tourguide.co.kr/local/local_detail.htm?pCode=CULTTOMB0262))
- [17] Official website of the drama King Sejong the Great (<http://www.kbs.co.kr/drama/3jong/>)
- [18] Daughter of Shim On (심온, 1375 – December 25, 1418), Lord Anhyo (안효공), Internal Prince Cheongcheon (청천부원군); and Lady Sunheung, Princess Consort to the Internal Prince, of the Ahn clan (순흥부부인 안씨). Granddaughter of Shim Deok-bu (심덕부, 1328–1401)
- [19] Her uncle Shim Jong (Shim On's brother) is Taejo's son-in-law (created Prince Consort Cheongwon) thru his marriage to Princess Gyeongseon
- [20] Eldest offspring
- [21] Later married Ahn Maeng-dam (안맹담, ?-1469), son of Ahn Mang-ji (안망지); created Military Officer Yeonchang (연창위)
- [22] Daughter of Yang Gyeong (양경) and Lady Lee (이씨). Granddaughter of Yang Cheom-shik (양첨식) & great-granddaughter of Yang Ji-soo (양지수)
- [23] Given the temple name "Lady Minjeong" (민정) in 1791
- [24] Daughter of Kang Seok-deok (강석덕) and Shim On's 2nd daughter (심씨; Queen Soheon's younger sister), making her Queen Soheon's niece
- [25] Daughter of Kim Won (김원)
- [26] Originally a slave of Naega Temple (내자사 內資寺), and became a palace girl in 1418, under Queen Wongyeong, and later under Queen Soheon
- [27] Later married Han Hwak (한확)'s 2nd daughter (Lady Jeongseon, Princess Consort (정선군부인)), elder sister to the future Queen Sohye
- [28] Also known by her lesser title "Lady Jang-ui" (장의궁주), granted in 1424. *Gwi-in* status was granted in 1428



- [29] Also known by her lesser title "Lady Myeong-ui" (명의궁주), granted in 1424. *Gwi-in* status was granted in 1428
- [30] Later married Shim An-ui (심안의), created Military Officer Cheongseong (청성위)
- [31] Later married Yoon Sa-ro (윤사로, 1423–1463), son of Yoon Eun (윤은); created Internal Prince Yeongcheon (영천부원군)
- [32] More linguistic numismatics (<http://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=1515>)
- [33] Brothers Grimm
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## External links

- King Sejong's Confucian Humanism in the Early Choson Period (<http://cinema.sangji.ac.kr/WINDOW/window/win00045.htm>)
  - Location of the four forts and the six posts ([http://dicimg.paran.com/100\\_img/jpg/180/p18050200003.jpg](http://dicimg.paran.com/100_img/jpg/180/p18050200003.jpg))
  - King Sejong featured on the 10000 Korean Won banknote. (<http://www-personal.umich.edu/~jbourj/money5.htm>)
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# Shapur II

Shapur II

"King of kings of Iran and Aniran"<sup>[1]</sup>



Reign	309–379
Born	309 <sup>[2]</sup>
Birthplace	<i>possibly</i> Firuzabad
Died	379
Place of death	Bishapur
Predecessor	Hormizd II
Successor	Ardashir II
Royal House	Sasan
Father	Hormizd II
Religious beliefs	Zoroastrian

**Shapur II the Great** was the ninth King of the Persian Sassanid Empire from 309 to 379 and son of Hormizd II.<sup>[3]</sup> During his long reign, the Sassanid Empire saw its first golden era since the reign of Shapur I (241–272). His name is sometimes given in English as "Shahpour" or "Sapor".<sup>[4]</sup>

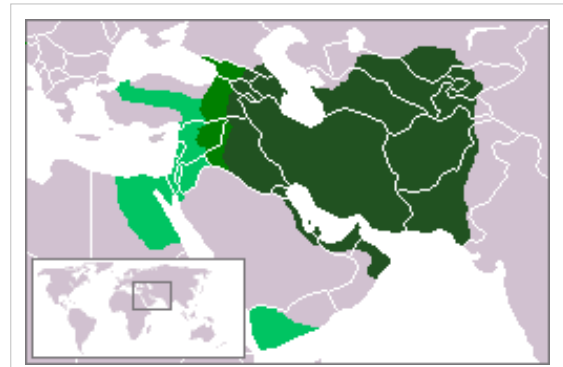
## Early childhood

When King Hormizd II (302–309) died, Persian nobles killed his eldest son, blinded the second, and imprisoned the third (Hormizd, who afterwards escaped to the Roman Empire).<sup>[5]</sup> The throne was reserved for the unborn child of one of the wives of Hormizd II. It is said that Shapur II may have been the only king in history to be crowned *in utero*: the crown was placed upon his mother's belly. This child, named Shapur, was therefore born king; the government was conducted by his mother and the magnates.

## Conquests

During the early years of the reign of Shapur, Arabs crossed the Persian Gulf from Bahrain to "Ardashir-Khora" of Pars and raided the interior. In retaliation, Shapur led an expedition through Bahrain, defeated the combined forces of the Arab tribes of "Taghlib", "Bakr bin Wael", and "Abd Al-Qays" and advanced temporarily into Yamama in central Najd. He resettled these tribes in Kerman and Hormizd-Ardashir. Arabs named him, as "Shabur Dhul-aktāf" or "Zol 'Aktāf" that means "The owner of the shoulders" after this battle.<sup>[6]</sup> In 337, just before the death of Constantine I (324–337), Shapur II, probably provoked by religious differences, broke the peace concluded in 297 between Narseh (293–302) and Emperor Diocletian (284–305), which had been observed for forty years. This was the beginning of two long drawn-out wars

(337–350 and 358–363) which were inadequately recorded. After crushing a rebellion in the south, Shapur II invaded Roman Mesopotamia and recaptured Armenia. Apparently 9 major battles were fought. The most renowned was the inconclusive Battle of Singara (Sinjar, in Iraq) in which the Roman emperor Constantius II was at first successful, capturing the Persian camp, only to be driven out by a surprise night attack after Shapur had rallied his troops (344-or 348?). Gibbon asserts that Shapur II invariably defeated Constantius, but there is reason to believe that the honours were fairly evenly shared between the two capable commanders. (Since Singara was on the Persian side of the Mesopotamian frontier, this alone may suggest that the Romans had not seriously lost ground in the war up to that time.) The most notable feature of this war was the consistently successful defence of the Roman fortress of Nisibis in Mesopotamia. Shapur besieged the fortress three times (337, 344? and 349) and was repulsed each time by Roman general Lucilianus.



Dark green: the Sassanid empire; Medium green: contested territory; Light green: temporarily occupied in the seventh century during war with the Byzantine Empire, three hundred years after Shapur's reign.



Silver plate showing Shapur II hunting a deer whilst riding a stag

Although often victorious in battles, Shapur II had made scarcely any progress. At the same time he was attacked in the east by Scythian Massagetae and other Central Asian tribes. He had to break off the war with the Romans and arrange a hasty truce in order to pay attention to the east (350). Most able and persistent of Shapur's opponents in the north east was Grumbates, ruler of the Xionites. After a prolonged struggle (353–358) they were forced to conclude a peace, and Grumbates agreed to enlist his light cavalymen into the Persian army and accompany Shapur II in renewed war against the Romans.

In 358 Shapur II was ready for his second series of wars against Rome, which met with much more success. In 359, Shapur II invaded southern Armenia, but was held up by the valiant Roman defence of the fortress of Amida (Diyarbakir, in Turkey) which finally surrendered in 359 after a seventy-three day siege in which the Persian army suffered great losses. The delay forced Shapur to halt operations for the winter. Early the following spring he continued his operations against the Roman fortresses, capturing Singara and Bezabde (Cirze?). Constantius arrived from the west at this time, and unsuccessfully tried to recapture Bezabde. In 363 the Emperor Julian (361–363), at the head of a strong army, advanced to Shapur's capital at Ctesiphon and defeated a superior Sassanid army at the Battle of Ctesiphon; however, he was killed during his retreat back to Roman territory. His successor Jovian (363–364) made an ignominious peace, by which the districts beyond the Tigris which had been acquired in 298 were given to the Persians along with

Nisibis and Singara, and the Romans promised to interfere no more in Armenia. The great success is represented in the rock-sculptures near the town Bishapur in Persis (Stolze, *Persepolis*, p. 141); under the hooves of the king's horse lies the body of an enemy, probably Julian, and a suppliant Roman, the Emperor Jovian, asks for peace.

Shapur II then invaded Armenia, where he took King Arshak II, the faithful ally of the Romans, prisoner by treachery and forced him to commit suicide. He then attempted to introduce Zoroastrian orthodoxy into Armenia. However, the Armenian nobles resisted him successfully, secretly supported by the Romans, who sent King Pap, the son of Arshak II, into Armenia. The war with Rome threatened to break out again, but Valens sacrificed Pap, arranging for his assassination in Tarsus, where he had taken refuge (374). Shapur II subdued the Kushans and took control of the entire area now known as Afghanistan and Pakistan. Shapur II had conducted great hosts of captives from the Roman territory into his dominions, most of whom were settled in Susiana. Here he rebuilt Susa, after having killed the city's rebellious inhabitants.

By his death in 379 the Persian Empire was stronger than ever before, considerably larger than when he came to the throne, the eastern and western enemies were pacified and Persia had gained control over Armenia.

## Contributions

Under Shapur II's reign the collection of the Avesta was completed, heresy and apostasy punished, and the Christians persecuted (see Abdecalas, Aceptsimas of Hnaita). This was a reaction against the Christianization of the Roman Empire by Constantine I. He was successful in the east, and the great town Nishapur in Khorasan (eastern Parthia) was founded by him. He founded some other towns as well.


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# Simeon I of Bulgaria

Simeon I the Great

Tsar of the Bulgarians and the Romans



Anonymous seal of Simeon I

Reign	893 – 27 May 927
Born	864/865
Died	27 May 927
Predecessor	Vladimir
Successor	Peter I
Consort	two, names unknown
Offspring	see below
Father	Boris I
Mother	Maria

**Simeon** (also **Symeon**)<sup>[1]</sup> **I the Great** (Bulgarian: Симеон I Велики, transliterated *Simeon I Veliki*<sup>[2]</sup> Macedonian pronunciation: [simɛˈɔn ˈpɔ̞rvi vɛˈlikɪ]) ruled over Bulgaria from 893 to 927,<sup>[3]</sup> during the First Bulgarian Empire. Simeon's successful campaigns against the Byzantines, Magyars and Serbs led Bulgaria to its greatest territorial expansion ever,<sup>[4]</sup> making it the most powerful state in contemporary Eastern Europe.<sup>[5]</sup> His reign was also a period of unmatched cultural prosperity and enlightenment later deemed the Golden Age of Bulgarian culture.<sup>[6]</sup>

During Simeon's rule, Bulgaria spread over a territory between the Aegean, the Adriatic and the Black Sea,<sup>[7][8]</sup> and the new Bulgarian capital Preslav was said to rival Constantinople.<sup>[8][9]</sup> The newly independent Bulgarian Orthodox Church became the first new patriarchate besides the Pentarchy, and Bulgarian Glagolitic translations of Christian texts spread all over the Slavic world of the time.<sup>[10]</sup> Halfway through his reign, Simeon assumed the title of Emperor (*Tsar*),<sup>[11]</sup> having prior to that been styled Prince (*Knyaz*).<sup>[12]</sup>

## Biography

### Background and early life

Simeon was born in 864 or 865, as the third son of Knyaz Boris I<sup>[12]</sup> of Krum's dynasty.<sup>[13]</sup> As Boris was the ruler who Christianized Bulgaria in 865, Simeon was a Christian all his life.<sup>[12][14]</sup> Because his eldest brother Vladimir was designated heir to the Bulgarian throne, Boris intended Simeon to become a high-ranking cleric,<sup>[15]</sup> possibly Bulgarian archbishop, and sent him to the leading University of Constantinople to receive theological education when he was thirteen or fourteen.<sup>[14]</sup> He took the Hebrew name Simeon<sup>[16]</sup> as a novice in a monastery in Constantinople.<sup>[14]</sup> During the decade (ca. 878–888) he spent in the Byzantine capital, he received excellent education and studied the rhetoric of Demosthenes and Aristotle.<sup>[17]</sup> He also learned fluent Greek, to the extent that he was referred to as "the half-Greek" in Byzantine chronicles.<sup>[18]</sup> He is speculated to have been tutored by Patriarch Photios I of Constantinople,<sup>[19]</sup> but this is not supported by any source.<sup>[14]</sup>

“For who could have anticipated that Simeon, who for his great wisdom, for the favour shown him by heaven, has led the Bulgarian nation to a height of glory, who more than any man detests knavery, who honours justice, who abominates injustice, who is above all sensual pleasures...”

—from Nicholas Mystikos' letters to Simeon<sup>[20]</sup>

Around 888, Simeon returned to Bulgaria and settled at the newly established royal monastery of Preslav "at the mouth of the Tiča",<sup>[21]</sup> where, under the guidance of Naum of Preslav, he engaged in active translation of important religious works from Greek to Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian), aided by other students from Constantinople.<sup>[14]</sup> Meanwhile, Vladimir had succeeded Boris, who had retreated to a monastery, as ruler of Bulgaria. Vladimir attempted to reintroduce paganism in the empire and possibly signed an anti-Byzantine pact with Arnulf of Carinthia,<sup>[22]</sup> forcing Boris to re-enter political life. Boris had Vladimir imprisoned and blinded, and then appointed Simeon as the new ruler.<sup>[23][24]</sup> This was done at an assembly in Preslav which also proclaimed Bulgarian as the only language of state and church<sup>[25]</sup> and moved the Bulgarian capital from Pliska to Preslav, to better cement the recent conversion.<sup>[26]</sup> It is not known why Boris did not place his second son, Gavril, on the throne, but instead preferred Simeon.<sup>[12]</sup>

### Trade War with Byzantium and Magyar invasions

With Simeon on the throne, the long-lasting peace with the Byzantine Empire established by his father was about to end. A conflict arose when Byzantine Emperor Leo VI the Wise, allegedly acting under pressure from his mistress Zoe Zaoutzaina and her father Stylianos Zaoutzes, moved the marketplace for Bulgarian goods from Constantinople to Thessaloniki,<sup>[15]</sup> where the Bulgarian merchants were heavily taxed. The Bulgarians sought protection by Simeon, who in turn complained to Leo. However, the Byzantine emperor ignored his embassy.<sup>[27][28]</sup>



Forced to take action, in the autumn of 894 Simeon invaded the Byzantine Empire from the north, meeting with little opposition<sup>[29]</sup> due to the concentration of most Byzantine forces in eastern Anatolia to counter Arab invasions.<sup>[30]</sup> Informed of the Bulgarian offensive, the surprised Leo sent an army consisting of guardsmen and other military units from the capital to halt Simeon, but his troops were routed<sup>[15][31]</sup> somewhere in the theme of Macedonia.<sup>[8]</sup> The Bulgarians took most of the Khazar mercenary guardsmen prisoners and killed many archons, including the army's commander. However, instead of continuing his advance to the Byzantine capital, Simeon quickly withdrew his troops to face a Magyar invasion from the north.<sup>[32]</sup> These events were later called "the first trade war in medieval Europe" by Bulgarian historians.<sup>[31]</sup>



Unable to effectively respond to the Bulgarian campaign due to the engagement of their forces against the Arabs, the Byzantines convinced the Magyars to attack Bulgaria,<sup>[15]</sup> promising to transport them across the Danube using the Byzantine navy.<sup>[31][33]</sup> Leo VI may have also concluded an agreement with Arnulf to make sure that the Franks did not support Simeon against the Magyars.<sup>[34]</sup> In addition, the talented commander Nikephoros Phokas was called back from Italy to lead a separate army against Bulgaria in 895 with the mere intention to overawe the Bulgarians.<sup>[35]</sup> Simeon, unaware of the threat from the north, rushed to meet Phokas' forces, but the two armies did not engage in a fight.<sup>[36]</sup> Instead, the Byzantines offered peace, informing him of both the Byzantine foot and maritime campaign, but intentionally did not notify him of the planned Magyar attack. Simeon did not trust the envoy and, after sending him to prison, ordered the Byzantine navy's route into the Danube closed off with ropes and chains, intending to hold it until he had dealt with Phokas.<sup>[37]</sup>

Despite the problems they encountered because of the fencing, the Byzantines ultimately managed to ferry the Magyar forces led by Árpád's son Liüntika across the Danube,<sup>[38]</sup> possibly near modern Galați,<sup>[39]</sup> and assisted them in pillaging the nearby Bulgarian lands. Once notified of the surprise invasion, Simeon headed north to stop the Magyars, leaving some of his troops at the southern border to prevent a possible attack by Phokas.<sup>[12]</sup> Simeon's two encounters with the enemy in Northern Dobruja resulted in Magyar victories,<sup>[15]</sup> forcing him to retreat to Drăstăr.<sup>[12][40]</sup> After pillaging much of Bulgaria and reaching Preslav, the Magyars returned to their lands,<sup>[41]</sup> but not before Simeon had concluded an armistice with Byzantium towards the summer of 895.<sup>[35]</sup> A complete peace was delayed, as Leo VI required the release of the Byzantine captives from the Trade War.<sup>[42]</sup>

## Anti-Magyar campaign and further wars with Byzantium



Simeon I's army defeating the Byzantines, led by Procopius Crenites and Curtacius the Armenian in Macedonia. From the Madrid Skylitzes.

Having dealt with the pressure from the Magyars and the Byzantines, Simeon was free to plan a campaign against the Magyars looking for retribution. He negotiated a joint force with the Magyars' eastern neighbours, the Pechenegs, and imprisoned the Byzantine envoy Leo Choirosphaktes in order to delay the release of the captives until after the campaign against the Magyars.<sup>[43]</sup> This would allow him to renegotiate the peace conditions in his favour. In an exchange of letters with the envoy, Simeon refused to release the captives and ridiculed Leo VI's astrological abilities.<sup>[15][44]</sup>

Using a Magyar invasion in the lands of the

neighbouring Slavs in 896 as a *casus belli*, Simeon headed against the Magyars together with his Pecheneg allies, defeating them completely<sup>[45]</sup> in the Battle of Southern Buh and making them leave Etelköz forever and settle in Pannonia.<sup>[8][15]</sup> Following the defeat of the Magyars, Simeon finally released the Byzantine prisoners in exchange for Bulgarians captured in 895.<sup>[15]</sup>

Claiming that not all prisoners had been released,<sup>[45]</sup> Simeon once again invaded Byzantium in the summer of 896, heading directly to Constantinople.<sup>[46]</sup> He was met in Thrace by a hastily assembled Byzantine army, but annihilated the Byzantine forces in the Battle of Bulgarophygon (at modern Babaeski, Turkey).<sup>[15][47]</sup> Arming Arab captives and sending them to fight with the Bulgarians as a desperate measure, Leo VI managed to repel the Bulgarians from Constantinople, which they had besieged.<sup>[15][48]</sup> The war ended with a peace treaty which formally lasted until around Leo VI's death in 912<sup>[8]</sup> and under which Byzantium was obliged to pay Bulgaria an annual tribute.<sup>[49]</sup> Under the treaty, the Byzantines also ceded an area between the Black Sea and Strandža to the Bulgarian Empire.<sup>[50]</sup> Meanwhile, Simeon had also imposed his authority over Serbia in return for recognizing Petar Gojniković as their ruler.<sup>[51]</sup>

Simeon often violated the peace treaty with Byzantium, attacking and conquering Byzantine territory on several occasions,<sup>[52]</sup> such as in 904, when the Bulgarian raids were used by Arabs led by the Byzantine renegade Leo of Tripoli to undertake a maritime campaign and seize Thessaloniki.<sup>[53]</sup> After the Arabs plundered the city, it was an easy target for Bulgaria and the nearby Slavic tribes. In order to dissuade Simeon from capturing the city and populating it with Slavs,<sup>[15][54]</sup> Leo VI was forced to make further territorial concessions to the Bulgarians in the modern region of Macedonia. With the treaty of 904, all Slavic-inhabited lands in modern southern Macedonia and southern Albania were ceded to the Bulgarian Empire,<sup>[8][55]</sup> with the border line running some 20 kilometres north of Thessaloniki.<sup>[56]</sup>



The Bulgarians routing the Byzantine forces at Bulgarophygon in 896. From the Madrid Skylitzes.

## Recognition as Emperor

The death of Leo VI on 11 May 912 and the accession of his infant son Constantine VII under the guidance of Leo's brother Alexander, who expelled Leo's wife Zoe from the palace, constituted a great opportunity for Simeon to attempt another campaign against Constantinople, the conquest of which remained the dream of his life. In the spring of 913, Simeon's envoys, which had arrived in Constantinople to renew the peace of 896, were sent away by Alexander, who refused to pay the annual tribute, urging Simeon to prepare for war.<sup>[57]</sup>

“Simeon was the Bulgarian Charlemagne, but he was better educated than our Charles the Great and much greater than him, for he laid down the foundations of literature that belonged to the people.”<sup>[58]</sup>

—Alfred Nicolas Rambaud, French historian

Before Simeon could attack, Alexander died on 6 June 913, leaving the empire in the hands of a regency council headed by Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos.<sup>[59]</sup> Many of the residents of Constantinople did not recognize the young emperor and supported the pretender Constantine Doukas,<sup>[60]</sup> which, exacerbated by revolts in southern Italy and the planned Arab invasion in eastern Anatolia, was all to Simeon's advantage.<sup>[61]</sup> Nicholas Mystikos tried to discourage Simeon from invading Byzantium in a long series of pleading letters, but the Bulgarian ruler nevertheless attacked in full force in late July or August 913 and reached Constantinople without any serious resistance.<sup>[62]</sup>

However, the anarchy in Constantinople had ceased after the murder of the pretender Constantine Doukas and a government had promptly been formed with Patriarch Nicholas at the helm.<sup>[12]</sup> This urged Simeon to raise his siege and enter peace negotiations, to the joy of the Byzantines.<sup>[12]</sup> The protracted negotiations resulted in the payment of the Byzantine tribute's arrears,<sup>[63]</sup> the promise that Constantine VII should marry one of Simeon's daughters<sup>[15][62]</sup> and, most importantly, Simeon's official recognition as Emperor of the Bulgarians by Patriarch Nicholas<sup>[64][65]</sup> in the Blachernai Palace.

Shortly after Simeon's visit to Constantinople, Constantine's mother Zoe returned to the palace on the insistence of the young emperor and immediately proceeded to eliminate the regents. Through a plot, she managed to assume power in February 914, practically removing Patriarch Nicholas from the government, disowning and obscuring his recognition of Simeon's imperial title<sup>[66]</sup> and rejecting the planned marriage of her son to one of Simeon's daughters.<sup>[67]</sup> Simeon had to resort to war to achieve his goals. He invaded Thrace in the summer of 914 and captured Adrianople. Zoe was quick to send Simeon numerous presents in order to conciliate him and managed to convince him to cede back Adrianople and withdraw his army. In the following years, Simeon's forces were engaged in the northwestern Byzantine provinces, around Drač (Durrës) and Thessaloniki, but did not make a move against Constantinople.<sup>[68]</sup>

## Victories at Acheloos and Katasyrtai



The Bulgarian victory at Anchialos, Madrid Skylitzes.

By 917, Simeon was preparing for yet another war against Byzantium. He attempted to conclude an anti-Byzantine union with the Pechenegs, but his envoys could not match the financial resources of the Byzantines, who succeeded in outbidding them.<sup>[69]</sup> The Byzantines hatched a large-scale campaign against Bulgaria and also tried to persuade the Serbian Prince Petar Gojniković to attack the Bulgarians with Magyar support.<sup>[70]</sup>



In 917, a particularly strong Byzantine army led by Leo Phokas the Elder, son of Nikephoros Phokas, invaded Bulgaria accompanied by the Byzantine navy under the command of Romanos Lekapenos, which sailed to the Bulgarian Black Sea ports. En route to Mesembria (Nesebăr), where they were supposed to be reinforced by troops transported by the navy, Phokas' forces stopped to rest near the river of Acheloos, not far from the port of Anchialos (Pomorie).<sup>[71][72]</sup> Once informed of the invasion, Simeon rushed to intercept the Byzantines, and attacked them from the nearby hills while they were resting disorganized. In the Battle of Acheloos of 20 August 917, one of the largest in medieval history,<sup>[73]</sup> the Bulgarians completely routed the Byzantines and killed many of their commanders, although Phokas managed to escape to Mesembria.<sup>[74]</sup> Decades later, Leo the Deacon would write that "piles of bones can still be seen today at the river Acheloos, where the fleeing army of the Byzantines was then infamously slain".<sup>[75]</sup>

The planned Pecheneg attack from the north also failed, as the Pechenegs quarrelled with admiral Lekapenos, who refused to transport them across the Danube to aid the main Byzantine army.<sup>[71]</sup> The Byzantines were not aided by Serbs and Magyars either: the Magyars were engaged in Western Europe as Frankish allies, and the Serbs under Petar Gojniković were reluctant to attack Bulgaria because Michael of Zahumlje, an ally of Bulgaria, had notified Simeon of their plans.<sup>[77]</sup>

Simeon's army quickly followed up the victory of Acheloos with another success.<sup>[62]</sup> The Bulgarians sent to pursuit the remnants of the Byzantine army approached Constantinople and encountered Byzantine forces under Leo Phokas, who had returned to the capital, at the village of Katasyrtai in the immediate proximity of Constantinople.<sup>[78]</sup> The Bulgarian regiments attacked and again defeated the Byzantines, destroying some of their last units before returning to Bulgaria.<sup>[79]</sup>



## Suppression of Serbian unrest and late campaigns against Byzantium

Immediately after that campaign, Simeon sought to punish the Serbian ruler Petar Gojniković who had attempted to betray him by concluding an alliance with the Byzantines.<sup>[8]</sup> Simeon sent an army led by two of his commanders, Theodore Sigrlica and Marmais, to Serbia. The two managed to persuade Petar to attend a personal meeting, during which he was enchained and carried off to Bulgaria, where he died in a dungeon. Simeon put Pavle Branović, prior to that an exile in Bulgaria, on the Serbian throne, thus restoring the Bulgarian influence in Serbia for a while.<sup>[80]</sup>

Meanwhile, the Byzantine military failures forced another change of government in Constantinople: the admiral Romanos Lekapenos replaced Zoe as regent of the young Constantine VII in 919, forcing her back into a convent. Romanos betrothed his daughter Helena Lekapene to Constantine and advanced to the rank of co-emperor in December 920, effectively assuming the government of the empire,<sup>[81][82]</sup> which was largely what Simeon had planned to do.<sup>[83]</sup>

No longer able to climb to the Byzantine throne by diplomatic means, the infuriated Simeon once again had to wage war to impose his will. Between 920 and 922, Bulgaria increased its pressure on Byzantium, campaigning in the west through Thessaly reaching the Isthmus of Corinth and in the east in Thrace, reaching and crossing the Dardanelles to lay siege on the town of Lampsacus.<sup>[15][84]</sup> Simeon's forces appeared before Constantinople in 921, when they demanded the deposition of Romanos and captured Adrianople, and 922, when they were victorious at Pigae, burned

much of the Golden Horn and seized Bizye.<sup>[71][85]</sup> In the meantime, the Byzantines attempted to ignite Serbia against Simeon, but he substituted Pavle with Zaharije Pribisavljević, a former refugee at Constantinople that he had captured.<sup>[15][71]</sup>

Desperate to conquer Constantinople, Simeon planned a large campaign in 924 and sent envoys to the Fatimid caliph Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi Billah, who possessed a powerful navy which Simeon needed. The caliph agreed and sent his own representatives back with the Bulgarians to arrange the alliance. However, the envoys were captured by the Byzantines at Calabria. Romanos offered peace to the Arabs, supplementing this offer with generous gifts, and ruined their union with Bulgaria.<sup>[15][86]</sup>

In Serbia, Zaharije was persuaded by the Byzantines to revolt against Simeon. Zaharije was supported by many Bulgarians exhausted from Simeon's endless campaigns against Byzantium.<sup>[87]</sup> The Bulgarian emperor sent his troops under Sigrica and Marmais, but they were routed and the two commanders beheaded, which forced Simeon to conclude an armistice with Byzantium in order to concentrate on the suppression of the uprising. Simeon sent an army led by Časlav Klonimirović in 924 to depose Zaharije. He was successful, as Zaharije fled to Croatia. After this victory, the Serbian nobility was invited to come to Bulgaria and bow to the new Prince. However, he did not appear at the supposed meeting and all of them were beheaded. Bulgaria annexed Serbia directly.<sup>[15][88]</sup>

In the summer of 924, Simeon nevertheless arrived at Constantinople and demanded to see the patriarch and the emperor. He conversed with Romanos on the Golden Horn on 9 September 924 and arranged a truce, according to which Byzantium would pay Bulgaria an annual tax, but would be ceded back some cities on the Black Sea coast.<sup>[89]</sup> During the interview of the two monarchs, two eagles are said to have met in the skies above and then to have parted, one of them flying over Constantinople and the other heading to Thrace, as a sign of the irreconcilability of the two rulers.<sup>[90]</sup> In his description of this meeting, Theophanes Continuatus mentions that "the two *emperors*... conversed", which may indicate renewed Byzantine recognition of Simeon's imperial claims.<sup>[91]</sup>



Byzantine Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos negotiating with Simeon I of Bulgaria c. 922-924. miniature of the Radziwill Chronicle (15th century).



Simeon sending envoys to the Fatimids, Madrid Skylitzes.

## War with Croatia and death

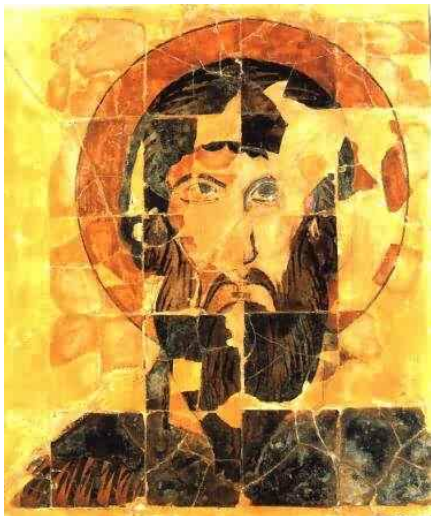
Most likely after (or possibly at the time of) Patriarch Nicholas' death in 925, Simeon raised the status of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church to a patriarchate.<sup>[92]</sup> This may be linked to Simeon's diplomatic relations with the Papacy between 924 and 926, during which he demanded and received Pope John X's recognition of his title as "Emperor of the Romans", truly equal to the Byzantine emperor, and possibly the confirmation of a patriarchal dignity for the head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.<sup>[93]</sup>

In 926, Simeon's troops under Alogobotur invaded Croatia, at the time a Byzantine ally, but were completely defeated by the army of King Tomislav in the Battle of the Bosnian Highlands.<sup>[8]</sup> Fearing a Bulgarian retribution, Tomislav accepted to abandon his union with Byzantium and make peace on the basis of the *status quo*, negotiated by the papal legate Madalbert.<sup>[94][95]</sup> In the last months of his life, Simeon prepared for another siege of Constantinople<sup>[84]</sup> despite Romanos' desperate pleas for peace.<sup>[96]</sup>

On 27 May 927, Simeon died of heart failure in his palace in Preslav. Byzantine chroniclers tie his death to a legend, according to which Romanos decapitated a statue which was Simeon's inanimate double, and he died at that very hour.<sup>[97][98]</sup>

He was succeeded by his son Peter I, with George Sursuvul, the new emperor's maternal uncle, initially acting as a regent.<sup>[84]</sup> As part of the peace treaty which Bulgaria and Byzantium signed in October 927 and Peter's marriage to Maria (Eirene), Romanos' granddaughter, the existing borders were confirmed, as were the Bulgarian ruler's imperial dignity and the head of the Bulgarian Church's patriarchal status.<sup>[99]</sup>

## Culture and religion



Ceramic icon of Theodore Stratelates dating to Simeon's reign

“

A new Ptolemy as he presented himself to them,  
but not in faith — in desire mostly,  
and due to his collection of all  
divine and most precious books,  
with which his palaces he'd filled,  
he earned himself eternal memory.<sup>[100]</sup>

”

— *Praise to Tsar Simeon* by an anonymous contemporary of the tsar



During Simeon's reign, Bulgaria reached its cultural apogee, becoming the literary and spiritual centre of Slavic Europe.<sup>[3][101]</sup> In this respect, Simeon continued his father Boris' policy of establishing and spreading Slavic culture and attracting noted scholars and writers within Bulgaria's borders. It was in the Preslav Literary School and Ohrid Literary School, founded under Boris, that the main literary work in Bulgaria was concentrated during the reign of Simeon.<sup>[102]</sup>

The late 9th and early 10th century constitute the earliest and most productive period of medieval Bulgarian literature.<sup>[102]</sup> Having spent his early years in Constantinople, Simeon introduced Byzantine culture to the Bulgarian court, but eliminated its assimilative effect by means of military power and religious autonomy.<sup>[102]</sup> The disciples of Cyril and Methodius, among whom Clement of Ohrid, Naum and Constantine of Preslav, continued their educational work in Bulgaria, actively translating Christian texts, such as the Bible and the works of John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, Athanasius of Alexandria, as well as historic chronicles such as these of John Malalas and George Hamartolus, to Bulgarian.<sup>[102]</sup> The reign of Simeon also witnessed the production of a number of original theological and secular works, such as John Exarch's *Six Days* (*Šestodnev*), Constantine of Preslav's *Alphabetical Prayer* and *Proclamation of the Holy Gospels*, and Černorizec Hrabăr's *An Account of Letters*.<sup>[102]</sup> Simeon's own contribution to this literary blossoming was praised by his contemporaries, for example in the *Praise to Tsar Simeon* preserved in the *Zlatostruj* collection and *Simeon's Collection*,<sup>[101]</sup> to which the tsar personally wrote an addendum.<sup>[103]</sup>

Simeon turned the new Bulgarian capital Preslav into a magnificent religious and cultural centre, intended more as a display of his realm's heyday and as a royal residence than as a military fortress.<sup>[101]</sup> With its more than twenty cross-domed churches and numerous monasteries, its impressive royal palace and the Golden (or Round) Church, Preslav was a true imperial capital.<sup>[101]</sup> The development of Bulgarian art in the period is demonstrated by a ceramic icon of Theodore of Amasea and the Preslav-style illustrated ceramics.<sup>[104]</sup>

## Family

Simeon was married twice. By his first wife, whose identity is unknown, Simeon had a son called Michael,<sup>[105]</sup> who was born before 913. He was excluded from the succession in 927 and sent to a monastery. He died in 931, shortly after organizing a revolt.<sup>[84]</sup>

By his second wife, the daughter of the influential noble George Sursuvul, he had three sons: Peter, who succeeded as Emperor of Bulgaria in 927 and ruled until 969; Ivan, who rebelled against Peter in 928 and then fled to Byzantium;<sup>[84]</sup> and Benjamin (Bajan), who, according to Lombard historian Liutprand of Cremona, "possessed the power to transform himself suddenly into a wolf or other strange animal".<sup>[106]</sup>

Simeon also had several daughters, including one who was arranged to marry Constantine VII in 913, and was thus born before that date.<sup>[84]</sup> The marriage was annulled by Constantine's mother Zoe once she had returned to the court.<sup>[107]</sup>

## Legacy and popular culture

Tsar Simeon I has remained among the most highly valued Bulgarian historical figures, as indicated by popular vote in the *Velikite Bălgari* (a spin-off of *100 Greatest Britons*) television programme, which in February 2007 placed him fourth among the greatest Bulgarians ever.<sup>[108]</sup> The last Bulgarian monarch, Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, was named after Simeon I.<sup>[109]</sup> A brand of high-quality grape rakija, *Car Simeon Veliki*, also bears his name,<sup>[110]</sup> and an Antarctic peak on Livingston Island of the South Shetland Islands was named Simeon Peak in his honour by the Antarctic Place-names Commission.<sup>[111]</sup>

Simeon the Great has also been regularly featured in fiction. Bulgarian national writer Ivan Vazov dedicated a children's patriotic poem to him, "Car Simeon", and it was later arranged as a song, "Kraj Bosfora šum se vdiga" ("A Clamor Rises by the Bosphorus").<sup>[112]</sup> An eleven-episode drama series filmed in 1984, *Zlatnijat vek* (*Golden Age*),

retells the story of Simeon's reign. In the series, the tsar is played by Marius Donkin.<sup>[113]</sup> A historical drama play called *Car Simeon — Zlatnijat vek* and produced by Stefan Stajčev, director of the Silistra Theatre, debuted in December 2006. Ivan Samokovliev stars in the part of Simeon.<sup>[114]</sup>

The painting, "The Bulgarian Tsar Simeon" is part of the 20-canvas work by Alfons Mucha, *The Slav Epic*.<sup>[115]</sup>

## Footnotes

- [1] For example in Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*.
- [2] This article uses the United Nations-authorized scientific transliteration system to romanize Bulgarian Cyrillic. For details, see Romanization of Bulgarian.
- [3] Lalkov, *Rulers of Bulgaria*, pp. 23–25.
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- [9] "About Bulgaria" ([http://sofia.usembassy.gov/uploads/images/9slwbq67Sfo4dBuR2WMVfg/about\\_bulgaria1.PDF](http://sofia.usembassy.gov/uploads/images/9slwbq67Sfo4dBuR2WMVfg/about_bulgaria1.PDF)) (PDF). U.S. Embassy Sofia, Bulgaria. . Retrieved 2007-03-03.
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- [12] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Părvoto bălgarsko carstvo*, p. 280.
- [13] Dimitrov, Božidar. "Hramăt "Sveti Četirideset măčenicı"" ([http://www.historymuseum.org/upload/fck\\_editor/40\\_mazenizi\(6\).htm?PHPSESSID=c3baefb9cf4c28b27bbb7c03d78cfeec](http://www.historymuseum.org/upload/fck_editor/40_mazenizi(6).htm?PHPSESSID=c3baefb9cf4c28b27bbb7c03d78cfeec)) (in Bulgarian). National Historical Museum. . Retrieved 2007-03-07.
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- [15] Delev, *Bălgarskata dăržava pri car Simeon*.
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\* Zlatarski, *Istorija na Părvoto bălgarsko carstvo*, p. 282.
- [19] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Părvoto bălgarsko carstvo*, p. 281.
- [20] Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, p. 133.
- [21] This is not to be understood literally, as the mouth of the Tiča lies to the east, on the Black Sea coast. Researchers link the word *ustie* ("river mouth") in the sources to a narrow section of the river or to the Ustie pass near the city. Nikolova, Bistra (2002). "Veliki Preslav" (in Bulgarian). *Pravoslavnite cărkvı prez Bălgarskoto srednovekovie*. Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. p. 88. ISBN 954-430-762-1.
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- [28] Runciman, *A history of the First Bulgarian Empire*, pp. 144–145.
- [29] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Părvoto bălgarsko carstvo*, p. 289.
- [30] Theophanes Continuatus, p. 312., cited in Vasil'ev, A. (1902) (in Russian). *Vizantiya i araby, II*. pp. 88, p. 104, pp. 108–111.
- [31] Canev, *Bălgarski hroniki*, p. 198.
- [32] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Părvoto bălgarsko carstvo*, pp. 289–291.
- [33] Runciman, *A history of the First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 145.

- [34] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, pp. 294–295.
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- [36] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, p. 295.
- [37] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, pp. 296–297.
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- [40] Canev, *Bǎlgarski hroniki*, p. 199.
- [41] Bakalov, *Istorija na Bǎlgarija*, "Simeon I Veliki".  
 \* Delev, *Bǎlgarskata dǎržava pri car Simeon*.  
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- [42] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, pp. 301–304.
- [43] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, p. 304.
- [44] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, pp. 304–311.
- [45] Runciman, *A history of the First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 147.
- [46] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, p. 315.
- [47] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, p. 316.
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- [51] Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, p. 141.
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- [53] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, p. 324.
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- [55] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, pp. 334–337.
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 \* Runciman, *A history of the First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 155.  
 \* Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, p. 352.  
 \* *Bǎlgarite i Bǎlgarija*, 1.2.
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 \* Runciman, *A history of the First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 155.  
 \* Canev, *Bǎlgarski hroniki*, p. 212.
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- [69] Runciman, *A history of the First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 159.
- [70] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bǎlgarsko carstvo*, pp. 375–376.
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- [88] Zlatarski, *Istorija na Pǎrvoto bălgarsko carstvo*, p. 459.
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- [98] Canev, *Bălgarski hroniki*, p. 226–227.
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## External links

- Detailed list of Bulgarian rulers ([http://sitemaker.umich.edu/mladjov/files/bulgarian\\_rulers.pdf](http://sitemaker.umich.edu/mladjov/files/bulgarian_rulers.pdf))PDF (96.2 KB)
- **(Bulgarian)** *The Realm of War and the Realm of Peace* (<http://synpress-classic.dveri.bg/03-2003/simeon-petar.htm>), an article by Georgi Todorov
- "Noise Is Being Made Near the Bosphorus" ([http://www.mfa.government.bg/history\\_of\\_Bulgaria/audio/krai\\_bosfora.mp3](http://www.mfa.government.bg/history_of_Bulgaria/audio/krai_bosfora.mp3)), **(Bulgarian)** lyrics (<http://www.slovo.bg/showwork.php3?AuID=14&WorkID=1376&Level=2>)
- OrdoSimeoni, Order of Simeon the Great (<http://www.ordosimeoni.org/>)

# Stephen III of Moldavia

Prince Saint Stephen the Great (Ștefan cel Mare)




Miniature from the 1473 *Gospel* at Humor Monastery

Reign	April 12, 1457 – July 2, 1504 (47 years, 81 days)
Coronation	Direptate
Born	1433
Birthplace	Borzești(?), Moldavia
Died	July 2, 1504
Place of death	Suceava, Moldavia
Buried	Putna Monastery
Wives	Evdokia Olelkovici Maria din Mangop Maria Vochița
Royal House	House of Mușat
Father	Bogdan II of Moldavia
Mother	Lady Oltea

Saint Stephen the Great





Prince of Moldavia	
Honored in	Romanian Orthodox Church
Canonized	July 12, 1992, Bucharest, Romania by Romanian Orthodox Church
Major shrine	Putna Monastery
Feast	July 2

**Stephen III of Moldavia** (also known as **Ștefan the Great**, Romanian: *Ștefan cel Mare*, pronounced [ʃteˈfan t͡ʃel ˈmare] or *Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt*, "Ștefan the Great and Holy"; 1433, Borzești – July 2, 1504) was Prince of Moldavia between 1457 and 1504 and the most prominent representative of the House of Mușat.

During his reign, he strengthened Moldavia and maintained its independence against the ambitions of Hungary, Poland, and the Ottoman Empire, which all sought to subdue the land. Stephen achieved fame in Europe for his long resistance against the Ottomans. He was victorious in 46 of his 48 battles, and was one of the first to gain a decisive victory over the Ottomans at the Battle of Vaslui, after which Pope Sixtus IV deemed him *verus christianae fidei athleta* (*true Champion of Christian Faith*). He was a man of religion and displayed his piety when he paid the debt of Mount Athos to the Porte, ensuring the continuity of Athos as an autonomous monastical community.

Early life and rise to power

Ștefan the Great was a member of the ruling House of Mușat. His father Bogdan II had ruled Moldavia for two years (1449 to 1451) before being killed in a stealthy raid led by Stephen's uncle, Petru Aron. Bogdan II was attending a wedding of one of his boyars - who apparently was in collusion with Petru Aron - and the surprise was complete. Stephen barely escaped with his life, but his father was captured and beheaded on the spot by his stepbrother Petru Aron. Between 1451 and 1457, Moldavia was in turmoil from the civil war between Petru Aron and Alexăndrel - a nephew of Alexander the Good.

Following the outbreak of the conflict, Stephen took refuge in Transylvania, seeking the protection of military commander John Hunyadi. After that, he moved to the court of his first cousin Vlad III Dracul and, in 1457, managed to receive 6,000 horsemen as military assistance, putting them to use in a victorious battle against Petru Aron at Doljești, near Roman. Following another lost battle at Orbic, Aron fled to Poland, while Ștefan was crowned Prince. Two years later, he led an incursion into Poland in search of Aron, but was met with resistance. Instead, a treaty was signed between Moldavia and Poland, through which Stephen recognized King Kazimierz IV Jagiellon as his suzerain, while Aron was banned from entering Moldavia.

## Rule

Menaced by powerful neighbours, he successfully repelled an invasion by the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus, defeating him in the Battle of Baia (in 1467), crushed an invading Tatar force at Lipnic and invaded Wallachia in 1471 (the latter had by then succumbed to Ottoman power and had become its vassal). When the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II launched a retaliatory attack on Moldavia, Stephen defeated the invaders at the Battle of Vaslui in 1475, a victory which temporarily halted the Turkish advance. Stephen was defeated at Războieni (Battle of Valea Albă) the next year, but the Ottomans had to retreat after they failed to take any significant castle (see siege of Cetatea Neamțului) as a plague started to spread in the Ottoman army. Stephen's search for European assistance against the Turks met with little success, even though he had "*cut off the pagan's right hand*" - as he put it in a letter.

Stefan helped to oust Vlad Țepeș's brother, Radu the Handsome who had converted to Islam and later became the Ottoman commander of Wallachia, he then installed Laiotă Basarab the Old on the throne in the hope of bringing Wallachia back into the Christian camp. This proved to be illusory, as Laiotă quickly turned his back on Stephen, deeming that Ottoman protection would better help him consolidate his rule. With Stephen's support, Laiotă was removed from the throne in 1482 by Vlad Călugărul, brother to Vlad Tepes, and for the remainder of the 15th century Wallachia remained relatively stable under his rule.

After 1484, when he lost the fortresses of Chilia Nouă and Cetatea Albă to an Ottoman *blitz* invasion, Stephen had to face not only new Turkish onslaughts which he defeated again on November 16, 1485 at Catlabuga Lake and at Șcheia on the Siret River in March 1486, but also the Polish designs on Moldavian independence. Finally on 20 August 1503<sup>[1]</sup> he concluded a treaty with Sultan Beyazid II that preserved Moldavia's self rule, at the cost of an annual tribute to the Turks.

From the 16th century on, the Principality of Moldavia would spend three hundred years as an Ottoman vassal. In his late years, he dealt successfully with a Polish invasion, defeating the Poles at the Battle of the Cosmin Forest.

## Main battles

### Battle of Baia

The **Battle of Baia** was fought on 15 December 1467 against the armies of Hungarian King, Matthias Corvinus. The battle was the last Hungarian attempt to subdue the independent Moldavia, as previous attempts had ended in failure. Corvinus invaded Moldavia due to Stephen's annexation of Chilia — a fortress and harbour at the coast of the Black Sea, which at the time was controlled by Hungarian and Wallachian forces, though it had belonged to Moldavia centuries earlier.

The conflict ended with a bitter defeat for the Hungarians, who had an army more than three times the size of the Moldavian force. This put an end to all Hungarian claims on Moldavia. Corvinus almost died after being thrice wounded by arrows and barely made his escape to Transylvania.

In 1468, Stephen campaigned in Transylvania, found Aron and had him executed.<sup>[2]</sup> Stephen and Corvinus would later negotiate a peace treaty and become allies; in 1475, Corvinus sent 1,800 soldiers that assisted Stephen in his victory at the Battle of Vaslui.

## Battle of Vaslui

The **Battle of Vaslui** (also referred as **Battle of Podul Înalt** or the **Battle of Racova**) was fought on January 10, 1475, against the Ottoman Beylerbeyi of Rumelia, Hadım Süleyman Paşa. The battle took place at Podul Înalt (*the High Bridge*), near the town of Vaslui, in Moldavia (now part of eastern Romania). The Ottoman troops numbered up to 120,000, facing about 40,000 Moldavian troops, plus smaller numbers of allied and mercenary troops.<sup>[3]</sup>

Stephen inflicted on the Ottomans a decisive defeat that has been described as "the greatest ever secured by the Cross against Islam,"<sup>[4]</sup> with casualties, according to Venetian and Polish records, reaching beyond 40,000 on the Ottoman side. Mara Branković (Mara Hatun), who had formerly been the younger wife of Murad II, told a Venetian envoy that the invasion had been worst ever defeat for the Ottomans.<sup>[5]</sup> Stephen was later awarded the title "Athleta Christi" (*Champion of Christ*) by Pope Sixtus IV, who referred to him as "*Verus christiane fidei aletha*" (The true defender of the Christian faith).<sup>[6]</sup>

According to the Polish chronicler Jan Długosz, Stephen did not celebrate his victory; instead, he fasted for forty days on bread and water and forbade anyone to attribute the victory to him, insisting that credit be given only to "The Lord".

## Battle of Valea Albă

After the disaster of the Battle of Vaslui, the Sultan Mehmed II assembled a large army and entered Moldavia in June 1476. Meanwhile groups of Tartars from the Crimean Khanate (the Ottomans' recent ally) were sent to attack Moldavia. Romanian sources may state that they were repelled.<sup>[7]</sup> Other sources state that joint Ottoman and Crimean Tartar forces "occupied Bessarabia and took Akkerman, gaining control of southern mouth of Danube. Stephen tried to avoid open battle with the Ottomans by following a scorched-earth policy."<sup>[8]</sup> In the process the Moldavians forces ended up being dispersed throughout the country, leaving only a small force of about 12–20,000 men, led by Ștefan cel Mare himself, to face the main Ottoman attack.

The battle began with the Moldavians luring the main Ottoman forces into a forest that was set on fire, causing some casualties to the attacking Ottoman army in the forest. According to another battle description, the defending Moldavian forces repelled several Ottoman attacks with steady fire from hand-guns.<sup>[9]</sup> The attacking Turkish Janissaries were forced to crouch on their stomachs instead of charging headlong into the defenders positions. Seeing the imminent defeat of his forces, Mehmed charged with his personal guard against the Moldavians, managing to rally the Janissaries, and turning the tide of the battle. Turkish Janissaries penetrated inside the forest and engaged the defenders in man-to-man fighting.

The Moldavian army was utterly defeated (casualties were very high on both sides), and the chronicles say that the entire battlefield was covered with the bones of the dead, a probable source for the toponym (*Valea Albă* is



Coat of arms of Moldavia in 1481, at Putna Monastery.



Battle flag of Stephen the Great: Saint George enthroned, trampling a dragon.

Romanian and *Akdere* Turkish for "The White Valley").

Ștefan cel Mare retreated into the north-western part of Moldavia or even into the Polish Kingdom<sup>[10]</sup> and began forming another army. The Ottomans were unable to conquer any of the major Moldavian strongholds (Suceava, Neamț, Hotin)<sup>[7]</sup> and were constantly harassed by small scale Moldavians attacks. Soon they were also confronted with starvation, a situation made worse by an outbreak of the plague, and were driven out of the country, many of them dying while crossing the Danube river. The Sultan returned to Istanbul without considering himself defeated, but also without conquering anything.

### Battle of the Cosmin Forest

After the Moldavian loss of Chilia and Cetatea Albă, the Ottoman threat seemed more evident. King John I Albert of Poland was suzerain of Moldavia, and, when Stephen asked him for military assistance, they met, in 1494 at the conference of Levoča, where together with King Ladislaus II of Hungary and Elector Johann Cicero of Brandenburg, they forged plans for an expedition against the Porte. The objective was to recapture Chilia and Cetatea Albă. However, in unexplained circumstances, Ștefan received reports from Hungary that John Albert prepared to place his own brother, the Polish prince Sigismund (later king, as Sigismund I the Old), on the Moldavian throne. By 1497 John Albert managed to gather 80,000 men and was preparing for the expedition when Ștefan invaded Galicia and pillaged it. The plans for the Ottoman invasion were put aside and John Albert went against Moldavia instead.



Coat of arms of Stephen the Great

The campaign started on the wrong foot, with John Albert entering Moldavia at Hotin and - despite sound advice to the contrary - deciding not to take the fortress, but to go straight for the capital city of Suceava. After the abortive siege of Suceava (September 26 – October 16) - with the taking of the recently rebuilt and reinforced fortress nowhere in sight (despite having used heavy siege artillery on its walls), and facing famine, disease, bad weather plus the prospect of coming winter - John Albert was compelled to lift the siege. After some negotiations, the Poles left Suceava on October 19.

John Albert accepted Stephen's conditions for retreat, but later decided to break the arrangement. It was a mistake that Stephen was waiting for all along: on October 26 he ambushed the Poles while they were marching on a narrow road passing through a thickly wooded area known as *The Cosmin Forest*. Thus, John Albert was unable to deploy his forces, rendering the Polish heavy cavalry completely useless. The several phases of battle lasted for three days, with Stephen routing the invading army, which was forced to flee in disarray, harassed all the way by the forces of the prince. At the same time a Moldavian contingent intercepted on October 29 a hastily assembled Polish relief force and completely annihilated it at Lențești. However, once back in open space, the Poles were able again to take advantage of their heavy cavalry, and that part of the remaining troops which managed to retain a measure of order and discipline succeeded in crossing back into Poland - despite Stephen's last effort to engage the remnants of the king's army in a battle of annihilation when they were trying to ford the Prut river at Cernăuți.

After the failed campaign the Poles no longer threatened Moldova for the rest of Stephen's reign.



## Illness and death

In 1462, during the assault of Chilia Nouă, Stephen was shot in the leg. The wound never fully healed. In 1486, during the battle of Șcheia, his horse was injured. They both fell and Stephen was trapped under the horse. The incident aggravated his old leg injury. Over time, he summoned to his royal court many doctors, astrologists and other persons, who attempted to heal his wound. Among these were Hermann, "bacalaurio in medicina", astrologist Baptista de Vesentio, Maestro Zoano barbero from Genoa (in 1468), Isaac Beg (in 1473), Don Antonio Branca (skilled in fixing cut noses), Mateo Muriano from Venice (in 1502), and Hieronimo di Cesena from Venice (in 1503).



The tomb of Stephen the Great and his last wife, Maria Voichița, Putna Monastery.

Towards the end of his life, Stephen suffered from gout, which immobilized his hands and legs. On November 9, 1503, Vladislav, King of Hungary wrote to the Doge of Venice: "The voivode of Moldavia is tormented by an old illness." On June 30, 1504 Stephen's wound was cauterized by the doctors present in Suceava (one of whom was Hieronimo di Cesena from Venice). The operation caused great pain to the old voivode, who died two days later, on the morning of July 2, 1504. He was buried in the Monastery of Putna.

## Canonization

Stephen the Great is perceived by the Romanian Orthodox Church as a defender of the faith, of the Church, and the whole of Christianity. Stephen's opposition to the Ottoman Empire protected the entirety of Europe from an invasion. After the Battle of Vaslui, Pope Sixtus IV named Stephen "the Champion of Christ" (Athleta Christi). It is said that he built 44 churches and monasteries, one for each battle that he won (44 out of a total of 48). At the end of the 20th century, the Romanian Orthodox Church decided to canonize Stephen. The canonization was enacted on June 20, 1992 by the Synodic Council of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Stephen is called "Saint Voivode Stephen the Great". His feast day in the Romanian Orthodox calendar is July 2, the day of his death.

## Legacy



Stephen III on the Moldovan 1 leu banknote.

Though it was marked by continual strife, Stephen's long reign brought considerable cultural development; many churches and monasteries were erected by Stephen himself; some of which, including Voroneț, are now part of UNESCO's World Heritage sites.

Stephen was seen as holy by many Christians, soon after his death. He has been canonized a saint by the Romanian Orthodox Church under the name "*The Right-believing Voivode Stephen the Great and the Holy*".

In a 2006 Romanian national television campaign on TVR 1 (*see Mari Români*), Stephen III was voted by almost 40,000 viewers as the "Greatest Romanian" of all times.

## Coins and banknotes



Stephen III on the Old Romanian 20 lei coin.

Stephen the Great's image was used on coins and banknotes both in Romania and Moldova.

The Romanian leu, the currency used in Romania, features Stephen on the coins of 20 lei, issued in the 1990s. These coins are no longer in use.

The Moldovan leu, established on 29 November 1993, following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the creation of the independent republic of Moldova, features Stephen the Great on the front side of all

the banknotes.

## Monuments

The Stephen the Great Monument is a prominent monument in Chişinău, opposite the main government building.

## Film

Stephen, and his victory at Vaslui, were the subject of a 1975 film, *Ştefan cel Mare - Vaslui 1475*, by Romanian director Mircea Drăgan.

## References

- [1] Ulianski, Mamerualyi, p. 195
- [2] Iorga, p. 99
- [3] *Kronika Polska* mentions 40,000 Moldavian troops; *Gentis Silesiae Annales* mentions 120,000 Ottoman troops and "no more than" 40,000 Moldavian troops; the letter of Stephen addressed to the Christian countries, sent on January 25, 1475, mentions 120,000 Ottoman troops; see also *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, p. 588;
- [4] *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey*
- [5] *Istoria lui Ştefan cel Mare*, p. 133
- [6] *Saint Stephen the Great in his contemporary Europe (Respublica Christiana)*, p. 141
- [7] M. Barbulescu, D. Deletant, K. Hitchins, S. Papacostea, P. Teodor, *Istoria României (History of Romania)*, Ed. Corint, Bucharest, 2002, ISBN 973-653-215-1, p. 157
- [8] Shaw, Stanford J. (1976) *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey - Vol 1: Empire of Gazis*, Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, ISBN 0-521-29163-1 p.68
- [9] **(Romanian)** Akademia, *Rolul distinctiv al artileriei în marile oşti moldoveneşti* (<http://www.akademia.ro/articole.php?view=26>) (*The special role of artillery in the larger Moldavian armies*), April 2000
- [10] **(Romanian)** Jurnalul Naţional, *Calendar 26 iulie 2005.Moment istoric* (<http://old.jurnalul.ro/articol.php?id=2790>) (*Anniversaries on July 26, 2005.A historical moment*)

## External links

- Muşatin family (<http://genealogy.euweb.cz/balkan/balkan18.html>)
- Article in Romanian: *Vlad Ţepeş şi Ştefan cel Mare - Prieteni sau duşmani?* ([http://www.magazinistoric.itcnet.ro/?module=displaystory&story\\_id=633&edition\\_id=1&format=html](http://www.magazinistoric.itcnet.ro/?module=displaystory&story_id=633&edition_id=1&format=html))
- Map of Moldavia under Ştefan cel Mare, 1501 (<http://www.eliznik.org.uk/RomaniaHistory/maps/moldavia-1501.htm>)
- The Princely Court of Ştefan's son, Alexandru, in Bacău (<http://www.patzinakia.ro/wallachiamediaevalis/bacau-index.htm>) - images, layouts (at the Romanian Group for an Alternative History Website (<http://www.patzinakia.ro/>))



Stephen the Great Monument in Chişinău



- Map of Romania during Ștefan cel Mare (<http://www.ici.ro/romania/en/istorie/hi32.html>)

**Polish chronicles**

- Library of Wielkopolska the online access to the oldest Polish writing relicts (<http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra?action=ChangeLanguageAction&language=en|Digital>)

# Stephen Uroš IV Dušan of Serbia

Stephen Uroš IV Dušan <div><i>the Mighty</i></div> Стефан Урош IV Душан Силни	
King of all Serbian and Maritime Lands	
Reign	8 September 1331 – 16 April 1346
Predecessor	Stephen Uroš III <i>of Dečani</i>
Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks 🏰	
Reign	16 April 1346 – 20 December 1355
Successor	Stephen Uroš V <i>the Weak</i>
Spouse	Helena of Bulgaria
Dynasty	Nemanjić 🏰
Father	Uroš III
Mother	Theodora Smilets of Bulgaria
Born	c. 1308
Died	20 December 1355 (aged 47) <div>Devoll</div>
Burial	Saint Archangels Monastery, Prizren. (After 1927. in the St. Mark's Church, Belgrade)

**Stephen Uroš IV Dušan** (Serbian: Стефан Урош IV Душан, pronounced [stêfaːn ūroʃ tʃêʈɔɾːtiː dǔʃan]), commonly known as **Stephen Dušan** and **Dušan the Mighty** (Душан Силни; c. 1308 – 20 December 1355), was the King of Serbia (from 8 September 1331) and Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks (from 16 April 1346) until his death on 20 December 1355. Dušan managed to conquer a large part of Southeast Europe, becoming one of the most powerful monarchs in his time. He enacted the constitution of the **Serbian Empire** in *Dušan's Code*, one of, if not the most important work of medieval Serbia. Dušan promoted the Serbian Church from an Archbishopric to a Patriarchate, finished the construction of the Visoki Dečani-monastery (UNESCO item), and founded the Saint Archangels Monastery, among others. Under his rule Serbia reached its territorial, economical, political and cultural peak.

His death in 1355 is seen as the end of resistance towards the advancing Ottoman Empire, and the subsequent fall of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the region.<sup>[1]</sup> His Crown is presently kept at the Cetinje Monastery, in Montenegro.

## Background

### Serbian crown

In 1314, the initial heir Stephen Uroš III (Dušan's father) quarreled with his father Stephen Uroš II Milutin, who ended up sending Uroš III to Constantinople, to have him blinded. Uroš III was never totally blinded, however. After 1317, Uroš III wrote to Danilo, the Bishop of Hum, asking him to intervene with his father.<sup>[2]</sup> Danilo then wrote to Archbishop Nicodemus of Serbia, who spoke with Milutin and persuaded him to recall his son.<sup>[2]</sup> In 1320 Uroš III was permitted to return to Serbia, and was given the appanage of 'Budimlje' (modern Berane).<sup>[2]</sup> His half-brother and heir to the crown, Stephen Constantine had the title *King of Zeta*.<sup>[3]</sup> Uroš II became ill and died on October 29, 1321, and Constantine was crowned King.<sup>[4]</sup>

Civil war erupted when Constantine refused to submit to Uroš III, who then invaded Zeta, and in the ensuing battle, Constantine was killed.<sup>[4]</sup> After the victory, on January 6, 1322, the Serbian Archbishop Nicodemus crowned Uroš

*King* and Dušan *Young King*.<sup>[3]</sup> As Dušan was intended heir, he would govern Zeta, as Constantine and his predecessors had done.<sup>[4]</sup> In the meantime, Uroš III's cousin Stephen Vladislav II mobilized local support from Rudnik, Stephen Dragutin's former appanage.<sup>[4]</sup> Vladislav called himself King, and was supported by the Hungarians, consolidating control over his lands and preparing for battle with Uroš III.<sup>[4]</sup> As the case was with their fathers, Serbia was divided by two independent rulers; in 1322 and 1323 Ragusan merchants freely visited both lands.<sup>[4]</sup>

In 1323, war broke out between the cousins. In the fall Vladislav still held Rudnik, but by the end of 1323, it was being held by Uroš' forces; Vladislav appeared to have fled north.<sup>[4]</sup> Vladislav was defeated in battle in late 1324, and fled to Hungary,<sup>[5]</sup> leaving the Serbian throne to Uroš III as undisputed *King of All Serbian and Maritime lands*".

## Personal traits

Contemporary writers described Dušan as unusually tall and strong for his age, "the tallest man of his time", very handsome, and one of the rare leaders full of dynamism, quick intelligence and strength.<sup>[6][7]</sup> He had "a kingly presence".<sup>[8]</sup> According to the contemporary depictions of him, he had dark hair and brown eyes, in adult age he grew beard and longer hair.

## Biography



Bowl/plate of Dušan, National Museum of Belgrade.

## Youth and usurpation



Fresco of father and son: Stephen of Dečani and Dušan the Mighty. Visoki Dečani monastery, 14th century (UNESCO).

Uroš IV Dušan was the eldest son of King Uroš III *of Dečani* and Theodora Smilets, the daughter of emperor Smilets of Bulgaria. He was born in ca. 1308, in Serbia, but with his father's exile in 1314, the family lives in Constantinople until 1320, when his father is pardoned and allowed to return. In Constantinople he learned Greek, gained an understanding of Byzantine life and culture, and became acquainted with the Byzantine Empire. He was, on the whole, more a soldier than a diplomat; in his youth he fought exceptionally in two battles; in 1329 he defeated the Bosnian ban Stephen II Kotromanić, and in 1330 the Bulgarian emperor Michael III Shishman in the Battle of Velbazhd. Uroš III appointed his nephew Ivan Stephen (through Anna Neda) at the throne of Bulgaria in August 1330.

Right after the battle of Velbazhd, Uroš III had the chance to attack the Byzantines, but he chose not to, resulting in the alienation of many nobles,<sup>[9]</sup> who sought to expand to the south.<sup>[10]</sup> By January or

February 1331, Dušan was quarreling with his father,<sup>[9]</sup> perhaps pressured by the nobility.<sup>[10]</sup> According to contemporary pro-Dušan sources, evil advisors turned Uroš III against his son; he decided to seize and exclude Dušan of his inheritance. Uroš III sent an army into Zeta against his son, the army ravaged Skadar, but Dušan had crossed the Bojana. A brief period of anarchy in parts of Serbia took place, before the father and son concluded peace in April 1331.<sup>[9]</sup> Three months later, Uroš III ordered Dušan to meet him. Dušan feared for his life and his advisors persuaded him to resist, so Dušan marched from Skadar to Nerodimlje, where he besieged his father.<sup>[9]</sup> Uroš

III fled, and Dušan captured the treasury and family. He then pursued his father, catching up with him at Petrić. On 21 August 1331, Uroš III surrendered, and on the advice or insistence of Dušan's advisors, he was imprisoned.<sup>[9]</sup> Dušan is crowned *King of All Serbian and Maritime lands* in the first week of September.<sup>[10]</sup>

The civil war had prevented Serbia from aiding Ivan Stephen and Anna Neda in Bulgaria, who were deposed in March 1331, taking refuge in the mountains. Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria feared for the danger of Serbia as the situation there had settled, and immediately sought peace with Dušan.<sup>[10]</sup> As Dušan wanted to move against richer Byzantium, the two concluded peace and an alliance in December 1331, accepting Ivan Alexander as ruler. It was sealed with the marriage of Dušan and Helena, the sister of Ivan Alexander.<sup>[10]</sup>



"Wedding of Emperor Dušan", by Paja Jovanović.

## Early reign

Some raids into Macedonia were made in late 1331, but the major attack on Byzantium was delayed, Dušan had to suppress revolts in Zeta in 1332.<sup>[11]</sup> Dušan's ingratitude to his former aids (the Zetan nobility were possibly neglected their promised reward and greater influence) may have been the cause of the rebellion, which was suppressed in the course of 1332.<sup>[11]</sup>

In the first years of his reign, Dušan started to fight against the Byzantine Empire (1334), and warfare continued with interruptions of various duration until his death in 1355. Twice he became involved in larger conflicts with the Hungarians, but these clashes were mostly defensive. Dušan's armies were defeated by Louis the Great's 80,000 strong royal armies in Mačva, therefore Dušan had lost the control over his former territories: vojvodine of Mecső (Mačva) and the principality of Travunia in 1349. After this setback, he focused his attention on the internal affairs of his country, writing, in 1349, the first statute book of the Serbs.<sup>[12]</sup>

Dušan was successful against Louis' vassals; he defeated the armies of the Croatian ban and the forces of southern Hungarian voivodes. He was at peace with the Bulgarians, who even helped him on several occasions, and he is said to have visited Ivan Alexander at his capital. Dušan exploited the civil war in the Byzantine Empire between regent Anna of Savoy for the minor Emperor John V Palaiologos and his father's general John Kantakouzenos. Dušan and Ivan Alexander picked opposite sides in the conflict, but remained at peace with each other, taking advantage of the Byzantine civil war to secure gains for themselves.

Dušan's systematic offensive began in 1342 and in the end he conquered all Byzantine territories in the western Balkans as far as Kavala, except for the Peloponnesus and Thessaloniki, which he could not conquer because he had too small of a fleet. There has been speculation that Dušan's ultimate goal was no less than to conquer Constantinople and replace the declining Byzantine Empire with a united Orthodox Greco-Serbian Empire under his control.<sup>[13][14]</sup> In May 1344, his commander Preljub was stopped at Stephaniana by a Turkic force of 3,100.<sup>[15]</sup> The battle was won by the Turks, but it was not able to thwart the Serbian conquest of Macedonia.<sup>[16][17]</sup>

In 1343, he added "of Romans (Greeks)" to his self-styled title "King of Serbia, Albania and the coast".<sup>[18]</sup> In 1345 he began calling himself *tsar*, equivalent of Emperor, this is attested in charters to two athonite monasteries, one from November and one from January 1346, and around Christmas 1345 at a council meeting in Serres, which was conquered on Sept 25th 1345, he proclaimed himself "Tsar of the Serbs and Romans" (*Romans* is equivalent to *Greeks* in Serbian documents).<sup>[18]</sup>



## Coronation as Emperor and autocephaly of the Serbian church

On April 16, 1346 (Easter), he convoked a huge assembly at Skopje, attended by the Serbian Archbishop Joanikije II, the Archbishop of Ochrid Nikolaj I, the Bulgarian Patriarch Simeon and various religious leaders of Mount Athos.<sup>[19]</sup> The assembly and clerics agreed on, and then ceremonially performed the raising of the autocephalous Serbian Archbishopric to the status of Patriarchate.<sup>[18]</sup> The Archbishop from now on is titled *Patriarch of Serbia*, although one document called him *Patriarch of Serbs and Greeks*, with the seat at the monastery of Peć.<sup>[18]</sup> The new Patriarch Joanikije II now solemnly crowned Dušan as "Emperor and autocrat of Serbs and Romans" (Greek *Βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Σερβίας καὶ Ρωμανίας*).<sup>[18]</sup> Dušan had his son crowned *King of Serbs and Greeks*, giving him nominal rule over the *Serbian lands*, and although Dušan was governing the whole state, he had special responsibility for the "Roman", i.e. *Greek lands*.<sup>[18]</sup>



"Coronation of Emperor Dušan", by Paja Jovanović.

A further increase in the Byzantinization of the Serbian court followed, particularly in court ceremonial and titles.<sup>[18]</sup> As Emperor, Dušan could grant titles only possible as an Emperor.<sup>[20]</sup> In the years that followed, Dušan's half-brother Symeon Uroš and brother-in-law Jovan Asen became *despotes*. Jovan Oliver already had the despot title, granted to him by Andronikos III. His brother-in-law Dejan Dragaš and Branko is granted the title of *sebastocrator*. The military commanders (*voivodes*) Preljub and Vojihna receive the title of *caesar*.<sup>[20]</sup> The raising of the Serbian Patriarch resulted in the same spirit, bishoprics became metropolitans, as for example the Metropolitanate of Skopje.<sup>[20]</sup>

The Patriarchate took over sovereignty on Mt. Athos and the Greek archbishoprics under the rule of the Constantinople Patriarchate (The Ohrid Archbishopric remained autocephalous). For those acts he was excommunicated by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople in 1350.<sup>[20]</sup>

## Epirus and Thessaly

Faced with Dušan's aggression, the Byzantines sought allies in the Ottoman Turks whom they brought into Europe for the first time. The first conflict between the Serbs and the Turks on Balkan soil, at Stephaniana in 1344, ended unfavourably for the Serbs.<sup>[21]</sup> In 1348 Dušan conquered Epirus, Acarnania and Thessaly. He appointed Simeon Uroš as *despotes* of Epirus and Thessaly. He put Vojihna as *caesar* of Drama.

Once Dušan had conquered Epirus and Thessaly, he sought to obtain Constantinople.<sup>[22]</sup> In order to acquire the city, he needed a fleet.<sup>[22]</sup> The fleets of the southern Serbian Dalmatian towns were not capable of such task, thus he opened negotiations with Venice, with which he maintained fairly good relation.<sup>[22]</sup> However, as Venice feared a reduction of privileges in the Empire if the Serbs became the masters of Constantinople over the weakened Byzantines, they found excuses to avoid a military alliance.<sup>[22]</sup> While Dušan sought Venetian aid against Byzantium, the Venetians sought Serbian support in the struggle against the Hungarians over Dalmatia, however, when sensing that the Serbian aid would result in a Venetian obligation to Serbia, Venice politely turned down Dušan's offers of help.<sup>[22]</sup>

While Dušan launched the Bosnian campaign (absence of Serbian troops in Macedonia and Thessaly), Cantacuzenus tried to regain parts of Byzantium's lost lands.<sup>[23]</sup> In his support, the Constantinopolitan patriarch Kallistos excommunicated Dušan in order to discourage the Greek population in Dušan's Greek provinces from supporting the Serbian administration and thereby assist Cantacuzenus' campaign.<sup>[23]</sup> The excommunication did not stop Dušan's relations with Mount Athos, which still addressed him as Emperor, though rather as *Emperor of Serbs* than *Emperor of Serbs and Greeks*.<sup>[24]</sup>

Cantacuzenus raised a small army, the best he could, and took the Chalcidic peninsula, next he took Veria and Voden.<sup>[24]</sup> Veria was the richest town in the Botia region, in order to maintain it, Dušan had earlier replaced many Greeks with Serbs, including a Serb garrison.<sup>[24]</sup> However, the remaining locals were able to open the gates for Cantacuzenus in 1350.<sup>[24]</sup> Voden resisted Cantacuzenus, but was taken by assault.<sup>[24]</sup> Cantacuzenus then marched towards Thessaly, but was stopped at Servia by *Caesar* Preljub and his army of 500 men.<sup>[24]</sup> The Byzantine force retired to Veria, and the aiding Turk contingent went off plundering, reaching as far as Skopje.<sup>[24]</sup>

The Byzantine campaign reached Dušan in Hum, he quickly reassembled his forces from Bosnia and Hum and marched for Thessaly.<sup>[24]</sup>

## War with Bosnia

Dušan evidently wanted to expand his rule over the provinces that had earlier been in the hands of Serbia, such as *Hum*, which was annexed by the Hungarian protégé and Bosnian Ban Stephen II Kotromanić in 1326.<sup>[22]</sup> In 1329, Ban Stephen II launched an attack on Lord Vitomir who held Travunia and Konavle, the Bosnian Army was defeated at Pribojska Banja by Dušan when he was still *Young King*. The Ban soon took over Nevesinje and the rest of Bosnia. Petar Toljenović, the Lord of *seaside Hum* and a distant relative of Dušan, sparked a rebellion against the new ruler but was soon captured and died in prison.

In 1350, Dušan attacked Bosnia, wishing to regain the previously lost land of Hum and stop the raids on his tributaries at Konavle.<sup>[22]</sup> Venice had tried to reach a settlement between the two, but had failed.<sup>[22]</sup> In October he invaded Hum, with an army said to be of 80,000 men, and he seems to have successfully occupied part of the disputed Hum territory.<sup>[22]</sup> According to Orbini, he had secretly been in contact with various Bosnian nobles, offering them bribes for support.<sup>[23]</sup> Many nobles, chiefly of Hum, were ready to betray the Ban, such as the Nikolić family which was kin to the Nemanjić dynasty.<sup>[23]</sup> The Bosnian Ban avoided any major confrontation and did not meet Dušan in battle, instead he retired to the mountains and made small hit-and-run actions.<sup>[23]</sup> Most of Bosnia's fortresses held out, but some nobles submitted to Dušan.<sup>[23]</sup> The Serbs ravaged much of the countryside: with one army they reached Duvno and Cetina, with another reaching Krka on which lay Knin (modern Croatia), and another taking Imotski and Novi, where they left garrisons and entered Hum.<sup>[23]</sup> From this position of strength, Dušan tried to negotiate peace with the Ban, sealing it by the marriage of Dušan's son Uroš with Stephen's daughter Elizabeth who would receive Hum as her dowry - restoring it to Serbia.<sup>[23]</sup> The Ban was not willing to consider this proposal.<sup>[23]</sup>

Dušan may have launched the campaign also in order to aid his sister, Jelena, who married Mladen III Subić of Omis, Klis and Skradin, in 1347.<sup>[23]</sup> Mladen died from the plague in 1348, and Jelena sought to maintain the rule of the cities for herself and her son.<sup>[23]</sup> She was challenged by Hungary and Venice, so the Serbian army's dispatchments in western Hum and Croatia may have been for her, as operations in this region were unlikely to help Dušan conquer Hum.<sup>[23]</sup>

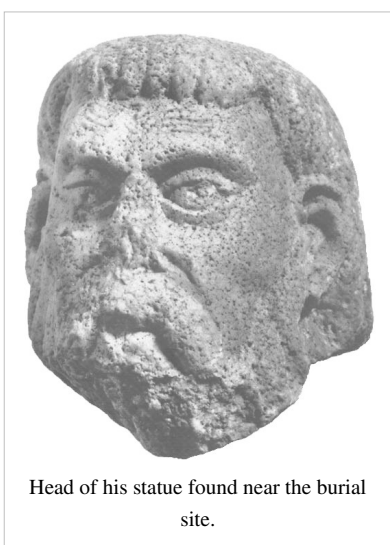
If Dušan was to aid Jelena, and as we know, conquer Hum, this was stopped when trouble started in the East.<sup>[23]</sup>



## Death



His sarcophagus is kept at St. Mark's church in Belgrade.



Head of his statue found near the burial site.

Dušan had grand intentions but they were all cut short by his premature death. While mounting a crusade against the Turks, he fell ill (possibly poisoned) and died of a fever at Devoll on 20 December 1355. He was buried in his foundation, the Monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren.

His empire slowly crumbled, and as his son and successor Stephen Uroš V could not maintain the Empire, several regional feudal families increased their power, although nominally acknowledging Uroš V as Emperor. Simeon Uroš, Dušan's half-brother, had after the death of Dušan proclaimed himself Emperor, ruling a large area of Thessaly and Epirus, which he had received by Dušan earlier.

Today his remains are in the Church of Saint Mark in Belgrade.<sup>[25]</sup> Dušan is the only monarch of the Nemanjić dynasty to have not been canonised as a saint.

## Religious activity

Much like his ancestors, Emperor Dušan was very active in renovating churches and monasteries, but also for founding new ones. First, he cared for the monasteries in which his parents were buried. Both the Banjska monastery, built by King Milutin, where his mother was buried, and the monastery of Visoki Dečani, an endowment of his father, were generously looked after. The monastery was built for eight years and it is certain that the Emperor's role in the building process was huge. Between 1337 and 1339, the emperor got sick, and he gave his word that if he

would survive, he would build a church and monastery in Jerusalem. At the time, there was one Serbian monastery in Jerusalem, dedicated to Archangel Michael (believed to be founded by King Milutin), and a number of Serbian monks at the Sinai Peninsula.

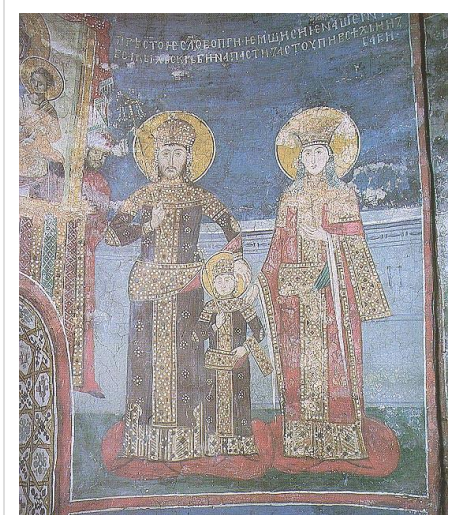
His greatest endowment was the Saint Archangels Monastery, located near the town of Prizren, in which he was originally buried. Dušan gave many possessions to this monastery, including the forest of Prizren which was supposed to be a special property of the monastery where all precious goods and relics were to be stored.

His son, Stephen Uroš V, did not make peace with the Constantinopolitan Patriarch. The first initiative was made by *despot* Uglješa in 1368, which resulted that the areas under his rule were restored to Constantinople. The final initiative for reconciliation between the churches came from Prince Lazar in 1375. There is no evidence of an existing cult of Emperor Dušan in the decades after his death. Dušan's charter to Ragusa (Dubrovnik) served as an statute in the future trade between Serbia and Ragusa, and its regulations were deemed inviolable. Emperor Dušan's legacy was esteemed in Ragusa. Later folk tradition in Serbia included various attitudes to Dušan, mostly negative, made under the influence of the church.

## Church policy

With the raising of the Serbian Archbishopric to a Patriarchate, serious changes in the organization of the church followed. Joanikije II became Patriarch. Bishoprics (Eparchies) were raised to Metropolitanates, and new territories of the Ochrid Archbishopric and Ecumenical Constantinople were added to the jurisdiction of the Serbian church. The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople had Dušan excommunicated in 1350, although this did not affect the religious organization.

Under Serbian jurisdiction came one of the foremost centers of spirituality - Mount Athos.<sup>[26]</sup> As of November 1345, Athonite monks accept his supreme rule, and Dušan guaranteed autonomy, also giving a row of economic privileges, with tremendous gifts and endowments. The monks of Chilandar (the cradle of the Serbian church, founded by Saint Sava, his ancestor) came at the front of the ecclesiastical community.



Fresco of Dušan, his wife Helena, and their son Stephen.

In his codex, Dušan accentuates his role as a protector of Christianity and points out the independence of the church. From the codex we can also see care that the parishes are equally arranged both in cities and villages. He was also taking care of few churches and monasteries from Bari to the west, to Jerusalem to the east.

Besides Orthodox Christians, there were many Catholics in the Empire, mostly in the coastal cities, Kotor, Lješ etc. In the court of Dušan there were also Catholics (servants from Kotor and Dubrovnik, mercenaries, guests etc.). In the central parts, Saxons were in areas active in mining and trading. Catholics had the full right of faith, except for converting non-Catholics. There are no historical record that traders of catholic faith complained about discrimination based on religion. Dušan was also in contact with the Pope, he negotiated about formal acceptance of papal primacy, his two goals were: stopping Hungarian attacks in the north, and, with the help of the Pope, assemble and organize a crusade against the Turks (Muslims). The Pope sent an envoy led by Peter Tome to the Serbian court, however, according to Philippe de Mézières, their negotiations were followed by much unpleasantness, and the mission did not give the expected results.

## Reign

### Royal ideology

Some historians consider that the goal of Emperor Dušan was to establish a new, Serbian-Greek Empire, replacing the Byzantine Empire.<sup>[20]</sup> Ćirković considered his initial ideology as that of the previous Bulgarian emperors, who had envisioned co-rulership. However, starting in 1347, relations with John VI Kantakouzenos worsened, Dušan allied himself with rival John V Palaiologos.

Dušan was the first Serbian monarch who wrote most of his letters in Greek, also signing with the Imperial red ink. He was the first to publish *prostagma*, a kind of Byzantine document, characteristic for Byzantine rulers. In his royal title, *Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks*, his claim as Eastern Roman (Byzantine) successor is clear. He also gave Byzantine court titles to his nobility,<sup>[18]</sup> something that would continue into the 16th century.

## Lawmaker

In works of Nicephorus Gregoras there are recordings that Dušan sent his servants to the Ottoman sultan, offering one of his daughters to sultan's sons. Orhan I accepted the offer, but his servants were intercepted along the way, and with that their diplomatic relations were over. Shortly, Turkish presence on the Balkan was more appreciable. A mark of Dušan's rulership was a bulkin work on law. A large amount of charters was published, and some great works on law subject were translated to Serbian. To conception of that time, emperor Dušan had the right to make laws of general, universal character. Dušan tried to explain his code in one of in his charter, where he explains that the sense is spiritual and that the goals are for the after-life, and that the code is going to help his people to save themselves. First part of the code was proclaimed on 21. May 1349. in Skopje, and I contained of 155 clauses, while the second part came in 1354. with 66 clauses. Makers of the code are not known, but they are probably members of the court which were related to law. The original manuscript of the code did not remain. Dušan's code contains of various subjects and it is made in order to spans in all aspect of life, but to certain subject more attention was given. Serbia had long law tradition, and some parts were well regulated. The old laws were not removed, but they were not exactly repeated. Those laws represented the highest authority. The first 38 appointments are related to the church and they deal with active problems, while the next 25 appointments are related to the nobles Absence of appointments related to civil law is explained because that area was done in works of Saint Sava's *Nomokamon* and in *Corpus Juris Civilis*. Dušan's code originally dealt with criminal law. Byzantine law had the greatest influence on Dušan's codex. That is greatly seen through concept of lawfulness, which was mostly taken directly from Byzantine law.

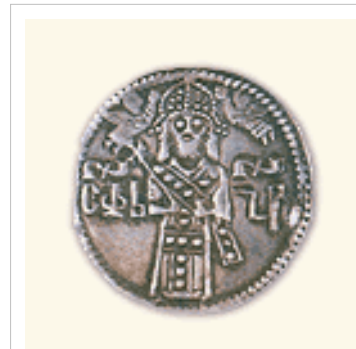
The code continued as the constitution under the rule of Dušan's son, Stefan Uroš V, and during the fall of the Serbian Empire, it was used in all provinces. It was officially used in the successor state, Serbian Despotate,<sup>[27]</sup> until



Serbian Empire and its neighbors at death of Tsar Dušan, 1355.



Dušan's Code, the second oldest preserved constitution of Serbia.



Coin minted at the occasion of his coronation (1346).



its annexation by the Ottoman Empire in 1459. The code was used as a reference for Serbian communities under Turkish rule, which exercised considerable legal autonomy in civil cases.<sup>[27]</sup> The code was used in the Serbian autonomical areas under the Republic of Venice, like Grbalj and Paštrovići.<sup>[28]</sup> The code also served as the base of the Kanun of Albanian prince Leka Dukagjini (1410–1481), a set of customary laws in northern Albania that existed until the 20th century.<sup>[29]</sup>

## Military tactics

Further information: Military history of Serbia

Serbian military tactics consisted of wedge shaped heavy cavalry attacks with horse archers on the flanks. Many foreign mercenaries were in the Serbian army, mostly Germans as cavalry and Spaniards as infantry. He also had personal mercenary guards, mainly German knights. A German knight named Palman became the commander of the Serbian "Alemannic Guard" in 1331 upon crossing Serbia to Jerusalem; he became leader of all mercenaries in the Serbian Army. The main strength of the Serbian army was the armoured knight feared for their ferocious charge and fighting skills.

## Name, epithets and titles

He was titled *Young King* as heir apparent on January 6, 1322, and was entitled the rule of Zeta, thus he was "King of Zeta". In 1331, he succeeded his father as "King of all Serbian and Maritime Lands". In 1343, his title was "King of Serbia, Greeks, Albania and the coast". In 1345 he began calling himself *tsar*, Emperor, and in the of 1345 he proclaimed himself "Emperor of Serbs and Romans". On April 16, 1346, he was crowned *Emperor of Serbs and Romans (Greeks)*. This title was soon enlarged into "*Emperor and Autocrat of the Serbs and Greeks, the Bulgarians and Albanians*".<sup>[1][30][31]</sup>

His epithet *Silni* (Силни) is translated into *the Mighty*,<sup>[32]</sup> but also *the Great*,<sup>[33]</sup> *the Powerful*<sup>[34]</sup> or *the Strong*.<sup>[35]</sup>

## Legacy



The coronation of the Serbian Tsar Stephen Dušan as East Roman Emperor, part of the 20-canvas work, The Slav Epic.

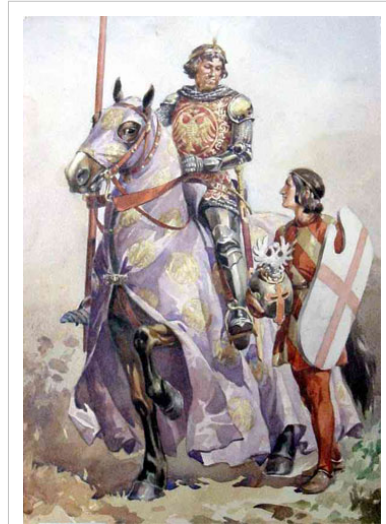
Dušan was the most powerful Serbian ruler in the Middle Ages and "perhaps the most powerful ruler in Europe" during the 14th century,<sup>[36]</sup> and remains a folk hero to Serbs. His state was a rival to the regional powers of Byzantium and Hungary, and it encompassed a large territory, which would also be his empire's greatest weakness. By nature a soldier and a conqueror, Dušan also proved to be very able but nonetheless feared ruler. His empire however, slowly crumbled at the hands of his son, as regional aristocrats distanced from the central rule.

The aim of restoring Serbia as an Empire it once was, was one of the greatest ideals of Serbs, living both in the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian lands. In 1526, Jovan Nenad, in the style of Dušan, proclaimed himself *Emperor*, when ruling a short-lived state of Serbian provinces under the crown of Hungary.

*The Realm of the Slavs*, written by Ragusian historian Mavro Orbin (l. ca. 1550-1614), saw Emperor Dušan's actions and works positively. The book served as the primary source about early history of South Slavs at the time and most of the western

historians drew their information on the Slavs from it. Early Serbian historians, even though they wrote according to the sources, were influenced by the ideas of the time they lived in. They made efforts to harmonize with two different traditions: one from brevets and public documents and other from genealogies and narrative writings. Of early historians, most information came from Jovan Rajić (1726–1801), who wrote fifty pages about Dušan's life. Rajić's work had great influence on Serbian culture of that time, and for decades it was the main source of information about Serbian history.

After the restoration of Serbia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, continuity with the Serbian Middle Ages was accentuated, particularly of its greatest moment - during Emperor Dušan. A political agenda, as with a restoration of his Empire, would find its place in the political programmes of the Principality of Serbia, notably the *Načertanije* by Ilija Garašanin.



Mounted Emperor Dušan, by Paja Jovanović.

## Family

By his first wife, Helena of Bulgaria, Emperor Dušan had at least one child:

- Stephen Uroš V, succeeded his father as Emperor, r. 1355-1371

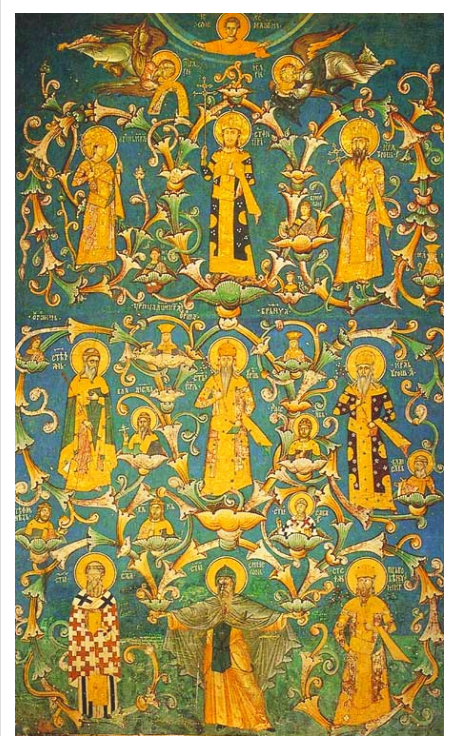
Some historians speculate that the couple had another child, a daughter. J. Fine suggested that it might be "Irene",<sup>[37]</sup> the wife of *caesar* Preljub (governor of Thessaly, d. 1355-1356), mother of Thomas Preljubović (Ruler of Epirus, 1367–1384). In one theory, she married Radoslav Hlapen, Governor of Voden and Veria and Lord of Kastoria, after her first husband's death in 1360. This hypothesis is not widely accepted.<sup>[38]</sup>

## Foundations

- Saint Archangels Monastery
- Podlastva monastery
- Duljevo monastery

Reconstructions:

- Visoki Dečani




Loza Nemanjica, Fresco in Visoki Decani.

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- [34] p. 1 ([http://books.google.com/books?id=\\_QIDL9ZOloUC&pg=PA1](http://books.google.com/books?id=_QIDL9ZOloUC&pg=PA1))
- [35] p. 47 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=Rf8P-7ExoKYC&pg=PA47>)
- [36] Steven Runciman, Byzantine Civilization. Cited in Radoman Stankovic, *The Code of Serbian Emperor Stephan Dushan, Serbian Culture of the 14th Century*. Volume I
- [37] *Profile of Stefan IV in Medieval Lands* by Charles Cawley (<http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/SERBIA.htm#StefanDusandied1355>)
- [38] Група аутора, "Родословне таблице и грбови српских династија и властеле (према таблицама Алексе Ивића)" (друго знатно допуњено и проширено издање), Београд, 1991. ISBN 86-7685-007-0



# Taksin

Taksin the Great	
<i>King of Thonburi</i>	
	
King Taksin's painting from National Museum of Rome.	
King of Siam	
<b>Reign</b>	December 28, 1768 – April 6, 1782
<b>Coronation</b>	December 28, 1768
<b>Predecessor</b>	Ekkathat (prior to fall of Ayutthaya)
<b>Successor</b>	Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke
<b>Spouse</b>	Bathabharicha (Sorn)
<b>Issue</b>	30 sons and daughters <sup>[1]</sup>
<b>House</b>	Thonburi Dynasty
<b>Father</b>	Zheng Yong from Chenghai district <sup>[2]</sup>
<b>Mother</b>	Nok-lang (later Somdet Krom Phra Phithak Thephamat)
<b>Born</b>	April 17, 1734 Ayutthaya, Ayutthaya Kingdom
<b>Died</b>	April 7, 1782 (aged 47) Wang Derm Palace, Thon Buri, Thonburi Kingdom
<b>Religion</b>	Theravada Buddhism

**Taksin** (Royal Institute: **Somdet Phra Chao Taksin Maharat**; Thai: สมเด็จพระเจ้าตากสินมหาราช listen or **The King of the Thonburi Kingdom**; Thai: สมเด็จพระเจ้ากรุงธนบุรี, *Somdet Phra Chao Krung Thonburi*;Chinese: 鄭昭; pinyin: *Zhèng Zhāo*; Teochew: Dênchao; Vietnamese: *Trịnh Quốc Anh*) ; (April 17, 1734 – April 7, 1782) was the only King of the Thonburi Kingdom. He is greatly revered by the Thai people for his leadership in liberating Siam from Burmese occupation after the Second Fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, and the subsequent unification of Siam after it fell under various warlords. He established the city Thonburi as the new capital, as the city Ayutthaya had been almost completely destroyed by the invaders. His reign was characterized by numerous wars, fought to repel new Burmese invasions and to subjugate the northern Thai kingdom of Lanna, the Laotian principalities, and a threatening Cambodia. He was succeeded by the Chakri dynasty and the Rattanakosin Kingdom under his long time friend King Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke.

Although warfare took up most of King Taksin's time, he paid a great deal of attention to politics, administration, economy, and the welfare of the country. He promoted trade and fostered relations with foreign countries including China, Britain, and the Netherlands. He had roads built and canals dug. Apart from restoring and renovating temples, the king attempted to revive literature, and various branches of the arts such as drama, painting, architecture and handicrafts. He also issued regulations for the collection and arrangement of various texts to promote education and religious studies. In recognition for what he did for the Thais, he was later awarded the title of *Maharaj* (The Great).

## Early life and career

The future ruler was born on April 17, 1734 in Ayutthaya. His father, Yong Saetae (Thai: ยอง แซ่เต๋; Chinese: 鄭鏞 *Zheng Yong*), who worked as a tax-collector,<sup>[3]</sup> was a Teochew Chinese immigrant from Chenghai County.<sup>[2]</sup> His mother, Lady Nok-lang (Thai: นกเอี้ยง), was Thai (and was later awarded the feudal title of Somdet Krom Phra Phithak Thephamat).<sup>[4]</sup> Impressed by the boy, Chao Phraya Chakri (Mhud), who was the Samuhanayok (สมุหนายก *Prime Minister*) in King Boromakot's reign, adopted him and gave him the Thai name Sin (สิน) meaning money or treasure.<sup>[5]</sup> When he was 7, he was assigned to a monk named Tongdee to begin his education in a Buddhist monastery called Wat Kosawat (Thai: วัดโกสรวาส) (later Wat Choeng Thar (Thai: วัดเชิงท่า)).<sup>[6]</sup> After seven years of education he was sent by his stepfather to serve as a royal page, he studied Chinese, Annamese, and Indian languages with diligence and soon he was able to converse in them with fluency.<sup>[7]</sup> When Sin and his friend, Tong-Duang, were Buddhist novices they met a Chinese fortune-teller who told them that they both had lucky lines in the palms of their hands and would both become kings. Neither took it seriously, but Tong-Duang was later the successor of King Taksin, Rama I.<sup>[8]</sup>

After taking the vows of a Buddhist monk for about 3 years, Sin joined the service of King Ekatat and was first deputy governor and later governor of the Tak,<sup>[9]</sup> which gained him his name *Phraya Tak*, the governor of Tak, which was exposed to danger from Burma, though his official noble title was "*Phraya Tak*".

In 1764, the Burmese army attacked the southern region of Thailand. Led by Muang Maha Noratha, the Burmese army was victorious and marched on to Phetchaburi. Here, the Burmese were confronted by Thai soldiers led by two generals, Kosadhibodhi and Phraya Tak. The Thai army beat the Burmese back to Singkhorn Pass.

In 1765, when the Burmese attacked Ayutthaya, Phraya Tak defended the capital, for which he was given the title "*Phraya Vajiraprakarn*" of Kamphaeng Phet. But he did not have a chance to govern Kamphaeng Phet because war broke out again. He was immediately called back to Ayutthaya to protect the city. For more than a year, Thai and Burmese soldiers fought fierce battles during the siege of Ayutthaya. It was during this time that Phraya Vajiraprakarn experienced many setbacks which led him to doubt the value of his endeavours.

## Resistance and independence

On January 3, 1766, shortly before Ayutthaya fell in 1767, he cut his way out of the city at the head of 500 followers to Rayong, on the east coast of Gulf of Thailand.<sup>[10]</sup> This action was never adequately explained, as the Royal compound and Ayutthaya proper was located on an island; how Taksin and his followers fought their way out of the Burmese encirclement remains a mystery.

On April 7, 1767, Ayutthaya was facing the full blast of the Burmese siege. After the destruction of Ayutthaya and the death of the Thai king, the country was split into six parts, with Sin controlling the east coast. Together with Tong-Duang, now Chao Phraya Chakri, he eventually managed to drive back the Burmese, defeat his rivals and reunify the country.<sup>[11]</sup>

Due to his courage and skill in fighting the enemy, he was promoted to be the governor of Kamphaeng Phet with the title of Phraya Vajiraprakarn (Thai: พระยาวชิรปราการ), but he was popularly referred as *Phraya*. He carried out the defence of Ayutthaya in its last days. Perhaps Sin saw that the situation of the kingdom was in great despair. Therefore before the end of Ayutthaya came, he decided to cut his way out from the city and travelled first to Chon

Buri, a town on the Gulf of Thailand's eastern coast, and then to Rayong, where he raised a small army and his supporters began to address him as **Prince Tak**.<sup>[12]</sup> He planned to attack and capture Chantaburi, according to a popular version of oral history, he said *"We are going to attack Chantaburi tonight. Destroy all the food and utensils we have, for we will have our food in Chantaburi tomorrow morning."*<sup>[13]</sup>

With his soldiers he moved to Chantaburi, and being rebuffed by the Governor of the town for his friendly overtures, he made a surprise night attack on it and captured it on June 15, 1767, only two months after the sack of Ayutthaya.<sup>[14]</sup> His army was rapidly increasing in numbers, as men of Chantaburi and Trat, which had not been plundered and depopulated by the Burmese,<sup>[15]</sup> naturally constituted a suitable base for him to make preparations for the liberation of his motherland.<sup>[16]</sup>

Having thoroughly looted Ayutthaya, the Burmese did not seem to show serious interest in holding down the capital of Siam, since they left only a handful of troops under General Suki to control the shattered city. They turned their attention to the north of their own country which was soon threatened with Chinese invasion. On November 6, 1767, having mastered 5,000 troops and all in fine spirits, Taksin sailed up the Chao Phraya River and seized Thonburi opposite present day Bangkok, executing the Thai governor, Thong-in, whom the Burmese had placed over it.<sup>[17]</sup> He followed up his victory quickly by boldly attacking the main Burmese camp at Phosamton near Ayutthaya.<sup>[18]</sup> The Burmese were defeated, and Taksin won back Ayutthaya from the enemy within seven months of its destruction.<sup>[16]</sup>

Taksin took important steps to show that he was a worthy successor to the throne. He was said to take an appropriate treatment to the remnants of the ex-Royal Family, arranged a grand cremation of the remains of King Ekathat, and tackled the problem of locating the capital.<sup>[19]</sup> Possibly, Taksin realized that Ayutthaya city had suffered such vast destruction that to restore it to its former state would undoubtedly have strained his resources. The Burmese were quite familiar with the various routes leading to Ayutthaya, and in the event of renewal of a Burmese attack on it, the troops under the liberator would be inadequate for the effective defence of the city. With these considerations in mind, he established his capital at Thon Buri, nearer to the sea than Ayutthaya.<sup>[20]</sup> Not only would Thon Buri be difficult to invade by land, it would also prevent an acquisition of weapons and military supplies by anyone ambitious enough to establish himself as an independent prince further up the Chao Phraya River.<sup>[14]</sup> As Thon Buri was a small town, Prince Tak's available forces, both soldiers and sailors, could man its fortifications, and if he found it impossible to hold it against an enemy's attack, he could embark the troops and beat a retreat to Chantaburi.<sup>[21]</sup>

The successes against competitors for power were due to Taksin's fighting ability as a warrior, splendid leadership, exemplary valor and effective organization of his forces. Usually he put himself in the front rank in an encounter with the enemy, thus inspiring his men to brave danger. Among the officials who threw in their fate with him during the campaigns for the recovery of national independence and for the elimination of the self-appointed local nobles were two personalities who subsequently played exceptionally important roles in Thai history. They were the sons of an official bearing the title of Pra Acksonsuntornsmiantra (Thai:พระอักษรสุนทรเสมียนตรา), the elder of whom named Tongduang (Thai:ทองด้วง) was born in 1737 in Ayutthaya and later to be the founder of the Chakri Dynasty, while the younger one, Boonma (Thai:บุญมา), born six years later, assumed the power second to him. The two brothers joined the royal service.

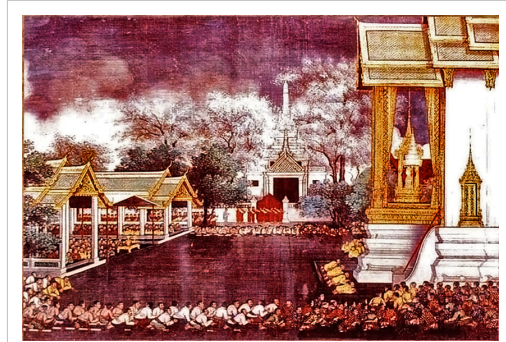
Tongduang, prior to the sacking of Ayutthaya, was ennobled as *Luang Yokkrabat*, taking charge of royal surveillance, serving the Governor of Ratchaburi, and Boonma had a court title conferred upon him as Nai Sudchinda. Luang Yokkrabat (Tongduang) was therefore not in Ayutthaya to witness the horrors that arose from the fall of the city, while Nai Sudchinda (Boonma) made his escape from Ayutthaya. However, while King Taksin was assembling his forces at Chantaburi, Nai Sudchinda brought his retainers to join him, thus helping to increase his fighting strength. Due to his previous acquaintance with him, the liberator was so pleased that he promoted him to be Pra Mahamontri. Just after his coronation, Taksin was fortunate to secure the service of Luang Yokkrabat on the recommendation of Pra Mahamontri (Thai:พระมหามন্ত্রী) and as he was equally familiar with him as with his brother, he raised him to be Pra Rajwarin. Having rendered signal service to the King during his campaigns or their own expeditions against the enemies, Pra Rajwarin (Thai:พระราชวรินทร์) and Pra Mahamontri rose so quickly in

the noble ranks that a few years after, the former was created Chao Phraya Chakri, the rank of the Chancellor, while the latter became Chao Phraya Surasih.<sup>[20]</sup>

## Reign

### Ascension to the throne

On December 28, 1768, he was crowned king of Siam at Wang Derm Palace in Thonburi, the new capital of Siam.<sup>[22]</sup> He assumed the official name of **Boromrāja IV**, but is known in Thai history as King Taksin, being a combination of his popular name, Phya Tak, and his first name, Sin, or the King of Thonburi, being the only ruler of that capital. At the time of his coronation, he was only 34 years of age. His father was Chinese or partly Chinese, and his mother Siamese. He believed that even the forces of nature were under his control when he was destined to succeed, and this faith led him to attempt and achieve tasks which to another man would seem impossible. He never had time to build Thonburi into a great city, as he was fully occupied with suppression of internal and external enemies, as well as territorial expansion throughout his reign.<sup>[23]</sup>



King Taksin the Great enthroned himself as a Thai king, 1768-12-28.

### Five separate states

After the sacking of Ayutthaya, the country had fallen apart, due to the disappearance of the central authority. Besides King Taksin, who had organized his force in the south-eastern provinces, Prince Teppipit, King Boromakot's son, who had been unsuccessful in a diversionary action against the Burmese in 1766, had set himself up as the ruler of Phimai holding sway over the eastern provinces including Nakhon Ratchasima or Khorat, while the Governor of Phitsanulok, whose first name was Ruang (Thai:เรือง), had proclaimed himself independent, with the territory under his control extending to the province of Nakhon Sawan. North of Phitsanulok was the town of Sawangburi (known as Fang in Uttaradit Province), where a Buddhist monk named Ruan had made himself a prince, appointing his qualified fellow monks as army commanders. He had himself pursued Buddhist studies at Ayutthaya with such excellent results that he had been appointed the chief monk of Sawangburi by King Boromakot. In the southern provinces up to Chumphon, a Pra Palad who was the acting Governor of Nakhon Si Thammarat declared his independence and raised himself to the princely rank.<sup>[7][24]</sup>

Having firmly established his power at Thonburi, King Taksin set out to crush his rivals so as to effect the reunification of the Kingdom. After a temporary repulse by the Governor of Phitsanulok,<sup>[25]</sup> he concentrated on the defeat of the weakest one first. Prince Teppipit of Phimai was quelled and executed in 1768.<sup>[26]</sup> In dealing with the Prince of Nakhon Si Thammarat, who was taken prisoner by the loyal Governor of Pattani,<sup>[27]</sup> the King not only pardoned him but also favoured him with a residence at Thonburi. Chao Narasuriyawongse, one of Taksin's nephews, was substituted for him as Governor. King Taksin himself led an expedition against him and took it, but the Prince disappeared and could not be found again.<sup>[28]</sup>

## Wars and rebellions

Needless to say, Hsinbyushin of Burma never abandoned his plan to force Siam to its knees, and as soon as he had been informed of the foundation of Thonburi as King Taksin's capital, he commanded the Governor of Tavoy to subjugate him in 1767. The Burmese army advanced to the district of Bangkung in the province of Samut Songkram to the west of the new capital, but was routed by the Thai king himself.<sup>[29]</sup>

Peace having been concluded with China, the Burmese king sent another small army of 5,000 to attack Siam in 1774. But it was completely surrounded by the Thais at Bangkeo in Ratchaburi, and eventually starvation compelled the Burmese to capitulate to King Taksin. It would be no exaggeration to say that he could have massacred all of them if he wished to do so, but the fact that he took them alive was to promote the morale of the Thai people.<sup>[30]</sup> The Burmese reinforcements who had encamped themselves in the province of Kanchanaburi were then mopped up. Undaunted by this defeat, King Hsinbyushin tried again to conquer Siam, and in October 1775 the greatest Burmese invasion in the Thonburi period began under Maha Thiha Thura, known in Thai history as **Azaewunky**. He had distinguished himself as a first rate general in the wars with China and in the suppression of a recent Peguan rising.<sup>[31]</sup>

After crossing the Thai frontier at Melamao Pass, the Burmese marched towards Phitsanulok, capturing Phichai and Sukhothai on the way. In his interrogation of two Phichai officials, Azaewunky referred to Chao Phraya Surasih who was the Governor of Phisanulok as "Phraya Sua" or "The Tiger", thus testifying to his boldness and decisiveness. The Burmese then besieged Phitsanulok which was defended by the brother generals, Chao Phraya Chakri and Chao Phya Surasih, and as the result of the stubborn resistance on the part of Thai soldiers, they were checked outside the city ramparts for about 4 months.<sup>[32]</sup> Hearing about Chao Phraya Chakri's successful assaults which drove back the Burmese to their well fortified camp, Azaewunky arranged a meeting with him, in the course of which he extolled his generalship and advised him to take good care on himself. He prophesied that General Chakri would certainly become king. Was he really honest in his prediction? No definite answer has been found for it. Anyhow he was at that time seventy two years of age, while his opponent was only thirty nine. Any doubt about Azaewunky's stratagem to sow discord between King Taksin and Chao Phraya Chakri should be dismissed, since they collaborated closely in subsequent military expeditions.<sup>[31][33]</sup>



Battle of Bangkeo in Ratchaburi

In spite of King Taksin's endeavour to attack the Burmese from the rear, Chao Phraya Chakri and Chao Phraya Surasih could not hold Phitsanulok any longer, due to lack of provisions. Having collected most of the inhabitants, they successfully fought their way through enemy lines and made Phetchabun their headquarters. Azaewunky led his army into the deserted city at the end of March 1776, but was soon confronted with the same problem of the shortage of food. At this juncture he was instructed by the new Burmese King, Singun Min or Chingkuha (1776–1782) to evacuate Thai territory. So Azaewunky's army left Siam, but the remnants of the Burmese forces continued the war until they were pushed out of the country in September of that year.<sup>[31][33]</sup>

In King Taksin's opinion, so long as Chiang Mai was ruled by the Burmese, the north of Siam would be constantly subjected to their incursions. The prerequisite for the maintenance of peace in that region would therefore be the complete expulsion of the Burmese from Chiang Mai.<sup>[34]</sup> In 1771, the Burmese Governor of that city moved his army southwards and laid siege to Phichai, but he was driven out. Taksin followed the Burmese with a view to studying their strength, and his army was thus not prepared for a direct assault on their city fortress. After meeting



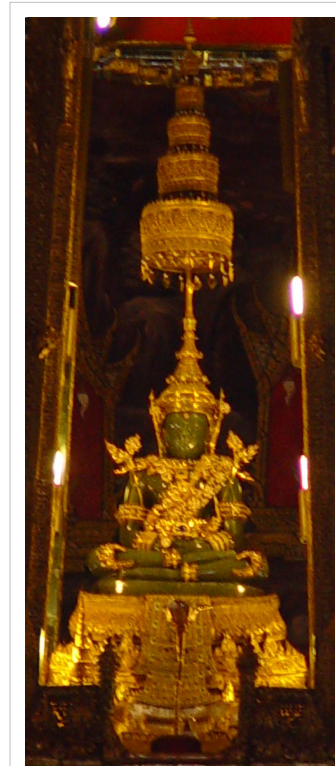
with stubborn resistance, he retired, presumably believing in an ancient prophesy to the effect that two attempts were required for the capture of Chiang Mai.<sup>[35]</sup> King Narairaja had tried twice to seize it before it fell into his hands.<sup>[36]</sup>

The Burmese failure to take Phichai formed a prelude to Taksin's second-expedition to Chaing Mai.<sup>[37]</sup> In 1773, a Burmese army which threatened Phichai was drawn into an ambush and was heavily routed. Phraya Phichai, the Phichai Governor, engaged the Burmese in a hand to hand fight until his two long swords were broken, and thus won the name of "Broken Sword."<sup>[38]</sup> When a Thai army under the command of Chao Phraya Chakri and Chao Phraya Surasih reached Lampang, Phraya Chaban and Phraya Kawila, the two leading officials who had deserted the Burmese joined him in laying siege to Chaing Mai and soon King Taksin arrived on the spot. The city fell to the Thai armies in January 1775, but the Burmese Governor and the commander managed to escape with their families. Before his departure for Thonburi, the King conferred honours and distinction on those who had contributed to success of his campaign. Phraya Chaban was made Governor of Chaing Mai with the title of Phraya Wichienprakarn, while Phraya Kawila and Phraya Waiwongsa governed Lampang and Lamphun respectively.<sup>[39]</sup> Chao Phraya Chakri was directed to prolong his stay in order to assist them in the pacification of the north, which included the Laotian states. However, the Burmese King considered that as the Laotian states constituted his base for the maintenance of Burmese power in the territory further east, namely, Luang Prabang and Vientiane, Chiang Mai must be taken back, and so a Burmese army of 6,000 men was sent there to carry out its mission in 1776. The Burmese entered the city, but were forced out by a Thai army under Chao Phraya Surasih which had marched to its relief. Chaing Mai had suffered from the recent campaigns so badly that its population was greatly reduced and impoverished, and in the event of a new Burmese attack, it could not defend itself. For these reasons, King Taksin abandoned the city and its remaining inhabitants were transplanted to Lampang. Chiang Mai thus became a deserted city and remained so for fifteen years.<sup>[40]</sup> Over the next few years, Taksin managed to gain control over Chiang Mai, and put Cambodia under the vassalage of Siam by 1779 after repeated military campaigns.<sup>[41]</sup>

### Expansion to the *Outer Zone*

The annexation of Champasak Province indirectly led King Taksin to send an expedition against Vientiane. In 1777, the ruler of Champasak, which was at that time an independent principality bordering on the Thai eastern frontier, supported the Governor of Nangrong, who had rebelled against the Thai king. A Thai army under Chao Phraya Chakri was ordered to move against the rebel, who was caught and executed, and having received reinforcements under Chao Phraya Surasih, he advanced to Champasak, where the ruler, Chao O and his deputy, were captured and were summarily beheaded. Champasak was added to the Kingdom of Siam, and King Taksin was so pleased with Chao Phraya Chakri's conduct of the campaign that he promoted him to be **Somdej Chao Phraya Mahakasatsuek Piluekmahima Tuknakara Ra-adet** (Thai:สมเด็จพระยามหากษัตริย์ศึก พิลิกมหิมาทูกนัคราอะเดช) (meaning the supreme Chao Phraya, Great Warrior-King who was so remarkably powerful that every city was afraid of his might)<sup>[42]</sup>—being the highest title of nobility that a commoner could reach. It would be equivalent to the rank of a Royal Duke.

In Vientiane, a Minister of State, Pra Woh, had rebelled against the ruling prince and fled to the Champasak territory, where he set himself up at Donmotdang near the present city of Ubon. He made formal submission to Siam, when he annexed Champasak, but after the withdrawal of the Thai army, he was attacked and killed by troops from Vientiane. This action was instantly regarded by King Taksin as a



Closeup of Emerald Buddha in summer season attire



great insult to him, and at his command, Somdej Chao Phya Mahakasatsuek invaded Vientiane with an army of 20,000 men in 1778. It would be useful here to briefly summarise the history of Laos which had been separated into two principalities of Luang Prabang and Vientiane since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Prince of Luang Prabang, who was in enmity with the Prince of Vientiane, submitted to Siam for his own safety, bringing his men to join Somdej Chao Phya Mahakasatsuek in besieging the city.<sup>[43]</sup> After a siege of Vientiane which took about four months, the Thais took Vientiane and carried off the image of the Emerald Buddha to Thonburi. The Prince of Vientiane managed to escape and went into exile. Thus Luang Prabang and Vientiane became Thai dependencies. Nothing definite is known about the origin of the celebrated Emerald Buddha. It is believed that this image was carved from green jasper by an artist or artists in northern India about two thousand years ago. It was taken to Ceylon and then to Chiang Rai, a town in the north of Siam where it was, in 1434, found intact in a chedi which had been struck by lightning. As an object of great veneration among Thai Buddhists, it has been deposited in monasteries in Lampang, Chiang Mai, Luang Prabang, Vientiane, Thonburi, and eventually in Bangkok.<sup>[44][45]</sup>

In 1770, King Taksin launched a war against the Nguyễn Lords over their control of Cambodia. After some initial defeats, the joint Siamese-Cambodian army defeated the Nguyễn army in 1771 and 1772. These defeats helped provoke an internal rebellion (the Tây Sơn rebellion) which would soon sweep the Nguyễn out of power. In 1773, the Nguyễn made peace with King Taksin, giving back some land they controlled in Cambodia.<sup>[46]</sup>

In 1769, Cambodia was in turmoil again, due to the rivalry for the throne by two royal brothers, the elder of who was King Ramraja (Non). Having suffered defeat at the hands of his brother (Ton) who was aided by Annamite troops, he sought shelter in Siam. Prince Ton proclaimed himself as King Narairaja. This struggle afforded an opportunity to King Taksin to resuscitate Thai suzerainty over Cambodia as in the days of Ayutthaya. An army was dispatched to assist the ex-King Ramraja to regain his power, but met with no success.<sup>[47][48]</sup>

In 1771, however, the Thai forces won back the Cambodia throne for him, but Narairaja retreated to the east of the country. In the end, Ramraja and Narairaja came to a compromise, whereby the former became the first King and the latter was the second King or Maha Uparayoj, and Prince Tam was Maha Uparat or Deputy to the first and the second King. This arrangement proved to be unsatisfactory. Prince Tam was murdered, while the second King died suddenly. Believing that King Ramraja was responsible for their deaths, many prominent officials under the leadership of Prince Talaha (Mu) revolted, caught him and drowned him in the river in 1780. Prince Talaha put Prince Ang Eng, the four year old son of the ex-King Narairaja, on the throne with himself acting as Regent, but he soon leaned too much Annam, thus coming into conflict with King Taksin's policy to support a pro-Thai prince on the Cambodian throne. The Thai King therefore decided on an invasion of Cambodia. A Thai army of 20,000 under Somdej Chao Phraya Mahakasatsuek moved into Cambodia, and in the event of his success in subduing the country, he was to assist in crowning Taksin's son, Prince Intarapitak, as King of Cambodia. With the aid of an Annamite army, Prince Talana was prepared to take his stand against the Thai forces at Phnom Penh, but before any fighting started, serious disturbances which had broken out in Siam made Somdej Chao Phraya Mahakasatsuek decide on a hasty return to Thonburi, after handing the command of the army to Chao Phraya Surasih.<sup>[39]</sup>

## Relation with Chinese Empire: 'Underlined'

When Ayutthaya fell to the Burmese in 1767, Thai and Chinese sources mentioned that Taksin, then the lord of Tak, broke the Burmese siege and led his troops to Chantaburi. During those years, Chinese Empire was into border conflicts with Konbaung Burma. The Burmese invasion into Siam became the warning for Chinese Empire. Taksin, then, sent tributary mission to require the royal seal, claiming that the throne of Ayutthaya Kingdom came to an end. Vietnamese and Chinese sources reported that the aim of Taksin in attacking Cambodia was to uproot the remnants of Ayutthaya royal 'remnants' taking refuge in that kingdom.

Chinese Court could not help but seized the chance by asking Taksin, as a 'new vassal', to be her ally in the war against the Burmese **barbarians**. Eventually Chinese Court approved the royal status of Taksin, as the new king of Siam.

## Territory

The kingdom under his rule was much bigger than it was in Ayutthaya times. It included the following provinces : Thon Buri, Ayutthaya, Ang Thong, Singburi, Lopburi, Uthai Thani, Nakhon Sawan, Chachoengsao, Prachinburi, Nakhon Nayok, Chonburi, Rayong, Chantaburi, Trat, Nakhon Chai Si, Nakhon Pathom, Suphanburi, Ratchaburi, Samut Sakhon, Samut Songkhram, Phetchaburi, Kanchanaburi, and Prachuap Khiri Khan.

Throughout his reign, King Taksin carried out his policy of expansion.

In the north, including the whole of Lanna. Burmese was driven out. Local allies became Thonburi's subjugation.

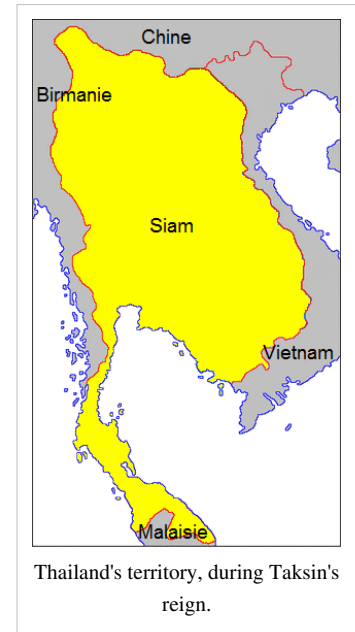
In the south, including Syburi (present-day Kedah) and Trengganu in Malaysia.

In the east, Cambodia was subjugated. His forces even attacked South Vietnam

In the northeast, including Vientiane, Phuan, Luang Phrabang, and Hua Phan Ha Thang Hok.

In the southeast, including Phutthaimat (Hà Tiên in Vietnam today).

In the west, as far as Mergui and Tenasserim in Myanmar today leading to the Indian Ocean.<sup>[7][49]</sup>



Thailand's territory, during Taksin's reign.

## Economy, culture and religion

After King Taksin established Thonburi as his capital, people were living in abject poverty, and food and clothing were scarce. The king was well aware of the plight of his subjects, so in order to legitimize his claim for the Kingdom, he considered solving economic problems as the main priority. He paid high prices for rice from his own money to induce foreign traders to bring in adequate amounts of basic necessities to satisfy the need of the people. He then distributed rice and clothing to all his starving subjects without exception. People who had been dispersed came back to their homes. Normalcy was restored. The economy of the country gradually recovered.<sup>[50]</sup> King Taksin sent three diplomatic envoys to China in 1767, which then was under the reign of Qianlong Emperor. Six years later, in 1772, China recognized Taksin as the legitimate ruler of Siam.<sup>[51]</sup>

The record dating from 1777 states: *"Important goods from Thailand are amber, gold, colored rocks, good nuggets, gold dust, semi-precious stones, and hard lead."* During this time the king actively encouraged the Chinese to settle in Siam, principally those from Chaozhou,<sup>[52]</sup> partly with the intention to revive the stagnating economy<sup>[53]</sup> and upgrading the local workforce at that time.<sup>[54]</sup> He had to fight almost constantly for most of his reign to maintain the independence of his country. As the economic influence of the immigrant Chinese community grew with time, many aristocrats, which he took in from the Ayutthaya nobility, began to turn against him for having allied with the Chinese merchants. According to a scholar, the opposition was led mainly by the Bunnags, a merchant-aristocrat family of Persian origins, successors of Ayutthaya's minister of Ports and Finance, or Phra Klang<sup>[55]</sup> Coupled with the tax revenues that these activities provided—helped restore the kingdom's devastated economy.

Thai galleons travelled to Portuguese colony of Surat, in Goa, India. However, formal diplomatic relations were not formed. In 1776, Francis Light sent 1,400 flintlocks along with other goods as gifts to King Taksin. Later, Thonburi ordered some guns from England. Royal letters were exchanged and in 1777, George Stratton, the Viceroy of Madras, sent a gold scabbard decorated with gems to King Taksin.<sup>[56]</sup>

In 1770, natives of Terengganu and Jakarta presented King Taksin with 2,200 shotguns. At that time, Holland controlled the Java Islands.<sup>[57]</sup>

Simultaneously King Taksin was deeply engaged in restoring law and order in the Kingdom and in administering a programme of public welfare to his people. Abuses in the Buddhist establishment, and among the public, were duly

rectified, and food and clothes as well as other necessities of life were hastily distributed to those who needed them, thus bringing respect and affection to him.<sup>[20]</sup>

King Taksin was also interested in other branches of art, including dance and drama. There is evidence that when he went to suppress the Chao Nakhon Si Thammarat faction in 1769, he brought back Chao Nakhon's female dancers. Together with dancers that he had assembled from other places, they trained and set up a royal troupe in Thonburi on the Ayutthaya model. The King wrote four episodes from the Ramakian for the royal troupe to rehearse and perform.<sup>[58][59]</sup>

When he went north to suppress the Phra Fang faction, he could see that monks in the north were lax and undisciplined. He invited ecclesiastical dignitaries from the capital to teach those monks and brought them back in line with the main teachings of Buddhism. Even though King Taksin had applied himself to reforming the Buddhist religion after its period of decline following the loss of Ayutthaya to Burma, gradually bringing it back to the normalcy it enjoyed during the Ayutthaya kingdom, since his reign was so brief he was not able to do very much.

The administration of the Sangha during the Thonburi period followed the model established in Ayutthaya,<sup>[60]</sup> and he allowed French missionaries to enter Thailand, and like a previous Thai king, helped them build a church in 1780.

## Final years and death

Thai historians indicate that the strain on him took its toll, and the king started to become a religious fanatic. In 1781 Taksin showed increasing signs of mental trouble. He believed himself to be a future Buddha, expecting to change the colour of his blood from red to white. As he started practising meditation, he even gave lecture to the monks. Sometimes he flogged monks who refused to worship him as such.<sup>[61]</sup>

Economic tension caused by war was serious. As famine spread, looting and crimes were widespread. Corrupt officials were reportedly abundant. Taksin himself executed several officials harshly. Discontent among officials could be expected.

Several historians have suggested that the tale of his 'insanity' may have been reconstructed as an excuse for his overthrow. However, the letters of a French priest who was in Thonburi at the time support the accounts of the monarch's peculiar behavior. Thus the terms 'insanity' or 'madness' possibly were the contemporary definition describing the monarch's actions. With the Burmese threat still prevalent, a strong ruler was needed on the throne. According to some sources, many oppressions and abuses made by officials were reported. King Taksin punished them harshly, torturing and executing high officials. Finally a faction led by Phraya San seized the capital and forced the king to step down.

According to the following Rattanakosin era accounts, King Taksin was described as 'insane.' The disturbance in Thonburi widely spread, with killing and looting prevalent. A coup d'état removing Taksin from the throne consequently took place,<sup>[62]</sup> although Taksin requested to be allowed to join the monkhood. When the coup occurred, General Chao Phraya Chakri was away fighting in Cambodia, but he quickly returned to the Thai capital following being informed of the coup. Upon having arrived at the capital, the General extinguished the coup through arrests, investigations and punishments. Peace was then restored in the capital.

According to the Royal Thai Chronicles, General Chao Phraya Chakri decided to put the deposed Taksin to death. The Chronicles stated that, while being taken to the executing venue, Taksin asked for an audience with General Chao Phraya Chakri but was turned down by the General. Taksin was beheaded in front of Wichai Prasit fortress on Wednesday, April 10, 1782, and his body was buried at Wat Bang Yi Ruea Tai. General Chao Phraya Chakri then seized control of the capital and declared himself king together with establishing the House of Chakri.<sup>[63]</sup>

The Official Annamese Chronicles states that Taksin was ordered to be executed by General Chao Phraya Chakri at Wat Chaeng by being sealed in a velvet sack and was beaten to death with a scented sandalwood club.<sup>[64]</sup> There was an account claiming that Taksin was secretly sent to a palace located in the remote mountains of Nakhon Si Thammarat where he lived until 1825, and that a substitute was beaten to death in his place.<sup>[65]</sup> King Taksin ashes

and that of his wife are located at Wat Intharam (located in Thonburi). They have been placed in two lotus bud shaped stupas which stand before the old hall.<sup>[66]</sup>

## Critics over the coup

Another contradicting view of the events is that General Chakri actually wanted to be King and had accused King Taksin of being Chinese. The late history was aimed at legitimizing the new monarch, Phraya Chakri or Rama I of Rattanakosin. According to Nidhi Eoseewong, a prominent Thai historian, writer, and political commentator, Taksin could be seen as the originator, new style of leader, promoting the 'decentralized' kingdom and new generation of the nobles, of Chinese merchants-origin, his major helpers in the wars.<sup>[67]</sup> On the other hand, Phraya Chakri and his supporters were of 'old' generation of the Ayutthaya nobles, discontent with the previously said changes.

However, this overlooks the fact that Chao Phraya Chakri was himself of partly Chinese origin as well as he himself being married to one of Taksin's daughters. No previous conflicts between them were mentioned in histories. Reports on the conflicts between the king and the Chinese merchants were seen caused by the control of the rice price in the time of famine.<sup>[68]</sup> However, prior to returning to Thonburi, Chao Phraya Chakri had Taksin's son summoned to Cambodia and executed.<sup>[69]</sup> All in all, Phraya Chakri was, in fact, the highest noble in the kingdom, charging the state affairs as the Chancellor. Therefore he was of the greatest potential to be the new leader.

Another view of the events is that Thailand owed China for millions of baht. In order to cancel the agreement between China and Thailand, King Taksin decided to ordain and pretend to die in an execution.<sup>[70]</sup>

## Legacy

King Taksin was seen by some radical historians as a King who differed from the Kings of Ayutthaya, in his origins, his policies, and his leadership style, as a representative of a new class. During the Bangkok Period right up till the Siamese Revolution of 1932 King Taksin was, said, not as highly honoured as other Siamese Kings because the leaders in the Chakri Dynasty were still concerned about their own political legitimacy. After 1932, when the absolute monarchy gave way to the democratic period, King Taksin become more honoured than ever before. Instead, King Taksin became one of the national heroes. This was because the leaders of that time such as Plaek Pibulsonggram and even later military junta, on the other hand, wanted to glorify and publicise the stories of certain historical figures in the past in order to support their own policy of nationalism, expansionism and patriotism.<sup>[7]</sup>

King Taksin statue was unveiled in the middle of Wongwian Yai (the Big Traffic Circle) in Thonburi, at the intersection of Prajadhipok/Inthara Phithak/Lat Ya/Somdet Phra Chao Taksin Roads. The king is portrayed with his right hand holding a sword, measuring approximately 9 metres in height from his horse's feet to the spire of his hat, rests on a reinforced concrete pedestal of 8.90 x 1.80 x 3.90 metres. There are four frames of stucco relief on the two sides of the pedestal. The opening ceremony of this



Statue of King Taksin the Great at Wongwian Yai.



The Entrance of King Taksin's tomb in Chenghai, Guangdong, China

monument was held on April 17, 1954 and the royal homage-paying fair takes place annually on 28 December. The king today officially comes to pay respect to king Taksin statue.<sup>[71]</sup>

The monument featuring King Taksin riding on a horseback surrounded by his four trusted soldiers; Pra Chiang-ngen (later Phraya Sukhothai), Luang Pichai-asa (later Phraya Phichai), Luang Prom-sena, Luang Raj-saneha. It is placed on the ground of Toong na-chee public park on Leab muang road, just opposite the City Hall, Chantaburi.

In 1981 the Thai cabinet passed a resolution to bestow on King Taksin the honorary title of *the Great*. The date of his coronation, December 28, is the official day of homage to King Taksin, although it is not designated as a public holiday. The Maw Sukha Association on January 31, 1999 cast the *King Taksin Savior of the Nation Amulet*, which sought to honour the contributions of King Taksin to Siam during his reign.<sup>[72]</sup>

The Na Nagara (also spelled Na Nakorn)<sup>[73]</sup> family is descended in the direct male line from King Taksin.<sup>[74]</sup>

A tomb containing King Taksin's clothes and a family shrine were found at Chenghai district in Guangdong province in China in 1921. It is believed that a descendant of King Taksin the Great must have sent his clothes to be buried there to conform to Chinese practice. This supports the claim that the place was his father's hometown.<sup>[75]</sup>

King Taksin the Great Shrine is located on Tha Luang Road in front of Camp Taksin. It is an important place of Chantaburi in order to demonstrate binding of People in Chanthaburi to King Taksin. It is a nine-sided building. The roof is a pointed helmet. Inside of this place enshrined the statue of King Taksin.<sup>[76]</sup>

- HTMS Taksin, Royal Thai Navy frigate.

## Issue

King Taksin had 21 sons and 9 daughters named<sup>[1]</sup>

- |  |                              |   |  |
|--|------------------------------|---|--|
| • HRH Front Palace<br>Krom Khun<br>Intarapitak | • HRH Prince<br>Onica        | • HRH Princess<br>Samleewan               | • HRH Prince Bua   |
| • HRH Prince Noi                               | • HRH Princess<br>Sumalee    | • HRH Prince<br>Narendhorn Raja<br>Kumarn | • HRH Princess Panjapapee  |
| • HRH Prince<br>Ampawan                        | • HRH Prince<br>Dhamrong     | • HRH Prince<br>Kandhawong                | • Chao Phraya Nakorn Noi - Ancestor of the Na Nagara (Na Nakorn), Yodcheewan Na Nagara (last living Empress) and Komarakul na Nagara families among others |
| • HRH Prince<br>Tassaphong                     | • HRH Prince<br>Lamang       | • HRH Prince Makin                        | • HRH Prince (name unknown)  |
| • HRH Princess<br>Komol                        | • HRH Prince Lek             | • HRH Prince Isindhorn                    | • HRH Prince Nudang  |
| • HRH Princess<br>Bubpha                       | • HRH Prince<br>Tassabhai    | • HRH Princess<br>Prapaipak               | • HRH Princess Sudchartree   |
| • HRH Prince<br>Singhara                       | • HRH Princess<br>Chamchulee | • HRH Prince<br>Subandhuwong              | • Chao Phraya Nakhonratchasima Thong In - Ancestor of the Indrakhamhaeng and na Rajasima families  |
| • HRH Prince Sila                              | • HRH Princess<br>Sangwal    |   |  |

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# Timur

Amir of the Timurid Empire	
	
Mughal miniature painting of <i>Emir Timur</i>	
Reign	1370-1405
Coronation	1370, Balkh
Born	April 8, 1336
Birthplace	Shahrisabz, Uzbekistan
Died	February 18, 1405 (aged 68)
Place of death	Otrar, Syr Darya
Buried	Gur-e Amir, Samarkand
Predecessor	Amir Husayn
Successor	Khalil Sultan
Royal House	Timurid
Father	Muhammad Taraghai
Mother	Tekina Mohbegim
Religious beliefs	Islam

**Timur** (Turkish: *Demir* "iron", Persian: تیمور *Timūr*, Chagatai: *Temür* "iron"; 8 April 1336 – 18 February 1405), historically known as **Tamerlane**<sup>[1]</sup> (from Persian: تیمور لنگ, *Timūr-e Lang*, Aksak Timur "Timur the Lamé" in Turkish), was a Turkic<sup>[2]</sup> conqueror of West, South and Central Asia, and the founder of the Timurid dynasty (1370–1405) in Central Asia, and great-great-grandfather of Babur, the founder of the Mughal Dynasty, which survived as the Mughal Empire in India until 1857.<sup>[3][4][5][6][7]</sup> Timurlane was also the grandfather of the "Great Ruler" of Central Asia, Ulugh Beg, who was an astronomy and mathematics genius, responsible for building one of the greatest observatories in the Islamic world, as well as building the Ulugh Beg Madrasah in Samarkand and Bukhara, transforming the cities into a world cultural center of learning in Central Asia.<sup>[8][9][10]</sup>

Timur was in his lifetime a controversial figure, and remains so today. He sought to restore the Mongol Empire,<sup>[11][12]</sup> yet his heaviest blow was against the Islamized Tatar Golden Horde. He was more at home in an urban environment than on the steppe. He styled himself a ghazi while conducting wars that severely affected some

Muslim states, in particular the Sultanate of Delhi. A great patron of the arts, his campaigns also caused vast destruction. His military campaign is believed to have caused the deaths of 17 million people.<sup>[13]</sup> His greatest military achievement is having defeated some of most powerful empires on the continents around the world such as the Golden Horde, the Delhi Sultanate of South Asia, the Ottoman Empire, and the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt. Tamerlane as a military conqueror is within the ranks with Genghis Khan and with Alexander the Great, making him one of the world's greatest conquerors. His armies were ferocious, feared throughout Asia, Africa, and Europe.<sup>[14]</sup>

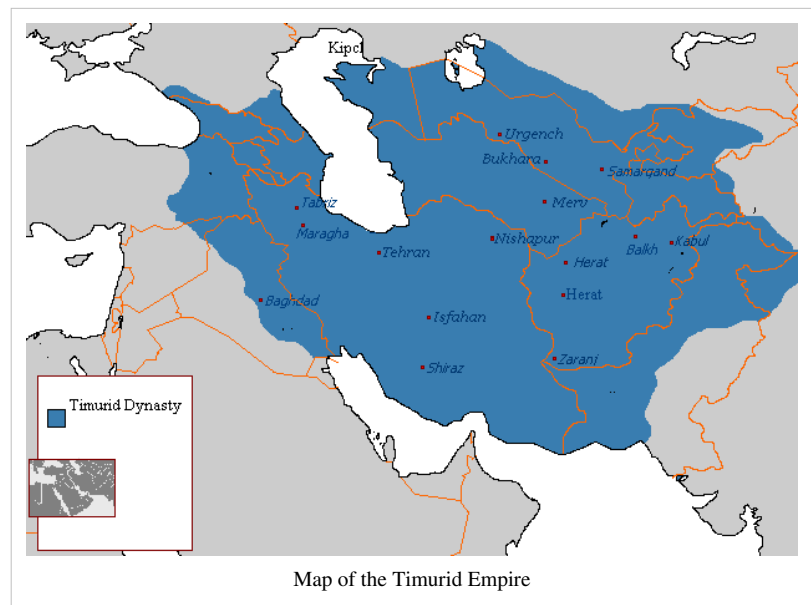
## Early history

Timur was born in Transoxiana, in the City of Kesh (an area now better known as Shahrisabz, "the green city"), some 50 miles south of Samarkand in modern Uzbekistan, then part of the Chagatai Khanate. His father, Taraqai, was a small-scale landowner and belonged to the Barlas tribe. The Barlas was a Turko-Mongol tribe<sup>[15]</sup> which was originally a Mongol tribe<sup>[16]</sup> and was Turkified<sup>[17]</sup> and/or became Turkic-speaking<sup>[18]</sup> or intermingling with the Turkic peoples.<sup>[19]</sup> According to Gérard Chaliand, Timur was a Muslim Turk<sup>[20]</sup> but he saw himself as Genghis Khan's heir.<sup>[20]</sup> Though not a Chinggisid, he clearly sought to evoke the legacy of Genghis Khan's conquests during his lifetime.<sup>[21]</sup>

Timur was a Muslim, but while his chief official religious counsellor and advisor was the Hanafite scholar 'Abdu 'l-Jabbar Khwarazmi, his particular persuasion is not known. In Tirmidh, he had come under the influence of his spiritual mentor Sayyid Barakah, a Shiite leader from Balkh who is buried alongside Timur in Gur-e Amir.<sup>[22][23][24]</sup> Despite his Hanafi background, Timur was known to hold Ali and the Shia Imams in high regard and has been noted by various scholars for his "pro-Alid" stance. Despite this, Timur was noted for attacking Shi'is on Sunni grounds and therefore his own religious inclinations remain unclear.<sup>[25]</sup>

## Military leader

In about 1360 Timur gained prominence as a military leader whose troops were mostly Turkic tribesmen of the region.<sup>[20][26]</sup> He took part in campaigns in Transoxiana with the Khan of Chagatai, a fellow descendant of Genghis Khan. His career for the next ten or eleven years may be thus briefly summarized from the *Memoirs*. Allying himself both in cause and by family connection with Kurgan, the dethroner and destroyer of Volga Bulgaria, he was to invade Khorasan at the head of a thousand horsemen. This was the second military expedition which he led, and its success led to further operations, among them the subjugation of Khorezm and Urganj.



After the murder of Kurgan the disputes which arose among the many claimants to sovereign power were halted by the invasion of the energetic Jagataite Tughlugh Temur of Kashgar, another descendant of Genghis Khan. Timur was dispatched on a mission to the invader's camp, the result of which was his own appointment to the head of his own tribe, the Barlas, in place of its former leader, Hajji Beg.

The exigencies of Timur's quasi-sovereign position compelled him to have recourse to his formidable patron, whose reappearance on the banks of the Syr Darya created a consternation not easily allayed. The Barlas were taken from Timur and entrusted to a son of Tughluk, along with the rest of Mawarannahr (Transoxiana); but he was defeated in battle by the bold warrior he had replaced at the head of a numerically far inferior force.

## Rise to power

Tughlugh's death facilitated the work of reconquest, and a few years of perseverance and energy sufficed for its accomplishment, as well as for the addition of a vast extent of territory. It was in this period that Timur reduced the Chagatai khans to the position of figureheads, who were deferred to in theory but in reality ignored, while Timur ruled in their name. During this period Timur and his brother-in-law Husayn, at first fellow fugitives and wanderers in joint adventures full of interest and romance, became rivals and antagonists. At the close of 1369 Husayn was assassinated and Timur, having been formally proclaimed sovereign at Balkh, mounted the throne at Samarkand, the capital of his dominions. This event was recorded by Marlowe in his famous play *Tamburlaine the Great*.<sup>[27]</sup>

Then shall my native city, Samarqand...  
Be famous through the furthest continents,  
For there my palace-royal shall be placed,  
Whose shining turrets shall dismay the heavens,  
And cast the fame of lion's tower to hell.



Timur commanding the Siege of Balkh.

A legendary account of Timur's rise to leadership, recorded among the Tatar descendants of the Qipchaq Khanate in Tobol, goes as follows:

One day Aksak Temür<sup>[28]</sup> spoke thusly:

"Khan Züdei (in China) rules over the city. We now number fifty to sixty men, so let us elect a leader." So they drove a stake into the ground and said: "We shall run thither and he who among us is the first to reach the stake, may he become our leader". So they ran and Aksak Timur (since he was lame) lagged behind, but before the others reached the stake he threw his cap onto it. Those who arrived first said: "We are the leaders". (But) Aksak Timur said: "My head came in first, I am the leader". In the meanwhile an old man arrived and said: "The leadership should belong to Aksak Timur; your feet have arrived but, before then, his head reached the goal". So they made Aksak Timur their prince.<sup>[29][30]</sup>

It is notable that Timur never claimed for himself the title of khan, styling himself amir and acting in the name of the Chagatai ruler of Transoxania. Timur was a military genius, but was sometimes lacking in political sense. He tended not to leave a government apparatus behind in lands he conquered and was often faced with the need to reconquer such lands after inevitable rebellions had taken place.



## Period of expansion

Timur spent the next 35 years in various wars and expeditions. He not only consolidated his rule at home by the subjugation of his foes, but sought extension of territory by encroachments upon the lands of foreign potentates. His conquests to the west and northwest led him to the lands near the Caspian Sea and to the banks of the Ural and the Volga. Conquests in the south and south-West encompassed almost every province in Persia, including Baghdad, Karbala and Northern Iraq.

One of the most formidable of Timur's opponents was another Mongol ruler, a descendant of Genghis Khan named Tokhtamysh. After having been a refugee in Timur's court, Tokhtamysh became ruler both of the eastern Kipchak and the Golden Horde. After his accession, he then quarrelled with Timur over the possession of Khwarizm and Azerbaijan. However, Timur still supported him against the Russians and in 1382 Tokhtamysh invaded the Muscovite dominion and burned Moscow.<sup>[31]</sup>

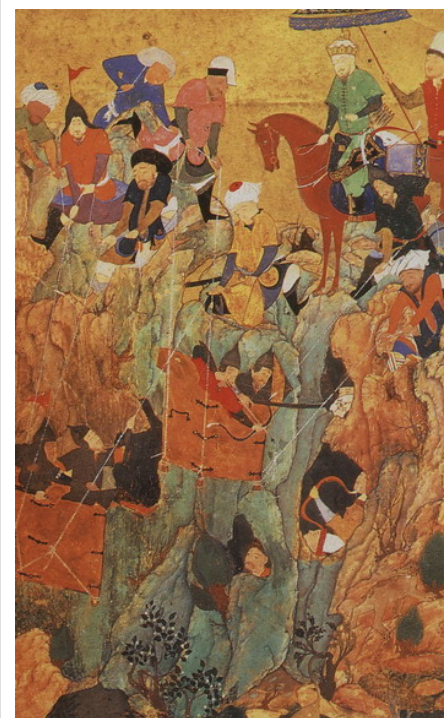
After the death of Abu Sa'id, ruler of the Ilkhanid Dynasty, in 1335, there was a power vacuum in Persia. In 1383 Timur started the military conquest of Persia. He captured Herat, Khorasan and all eastern Persia by 1385 and captured almost all of Persia by 1387. These conquests were characterised by exceptional brutality. For example, when Isfahan surrendered to Timur in 1387, he initially treated it with relative mercy as he commonly did with cities that surrendered without resistance. However, after the city revolted against Timur's punitive taxes by killing the tax collectors and some of Timur's soldiers, Timur ordered the complete massacre of the city, killing a reported 70,000 citizens. An eye-witness counted more than 28 towers, each constructed of about 1,500 heads.<sup>[32]</sup>

In the meantime, Tokhtamysh, now khan of the Golden Horde, turned against his patron and invaded Azerbaijan in 1385. This action would cause a counter by Timur that would become the Tokhtamysh–Timur war. In the initial stage of the war, Timur won a victory at the Battle of the Kondurcha River, however Tokhtamysh and some of his army were allowed to escape. After Tokhtamysh's initial defeat, Timur then invaded Muscovy to the north of Tokhtamysh's holdings. Timur's army burned Raizan and advanced upon Moscow, only to be pulled away before reaching the Oka River by Tokhtamysh's renewed campaign in the south.<sup>[33]</sup>

In the first phase of the conflict with Tokhtamysh, Timur led an army of over 100,000 men north for more than 700 miles into the uninhabited steppe, then west about 1,000 miles, advancing in a front more than 10 miles wide. The Timurid army almost starved, and Timur organized a great hunt where the army encircled vast areas of steppe to get food. It was then that Tokhtamysh's army was boxed in against the east bank of the Volga River in the Orenburg region and destroyed at the previously mentioned Battle of the Kondurcha River. During this march, Timur's army got far enough north to be in a region of very long summer days, causing complaints by his Muslim soldiers about



Timur orders campaign against Georgia.



Emir Timur's army attacks the survivors of the town of Nerges, in Georgia, in the spring of 1396.



keeping a long schedule of prayers in such northern regions.

It was in the second phase of the conflict that Timur took an easier route against the enemy, invading the realm of Tokhtamysh via the Caucasus region. The year 1395, saw the Battle of the Terek River, when Tokhtamysh's power was finally broken, concluding the titanic struggle between the two monarchs.

Tokhtamysh was not able to restore his power or prestige. He was killed about a decade after the Terek River battle in the area of present day Tyumen, by agents of an emir named Edigu.

Timur during the course of his campaigns destroyed Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, and Astrakhan, subsequently wrecking the Golden Horde's economy based on Silk Road trade. The Golden Horde saw political disintegration after such losses, with Mongol unity in the region shattered permanently.

In May 1393 Timur invaded the Anjudan, crippling the Ismaili village only one year after his assault on the Ismailis in Mazandaran. The village appears to have been prepared for attack, as it contained a fortress and an intricate system of underground tunnels. These devices were, however, unsuccessful in thwarting Timur's soldiers, who flooded the tunnels by cutting into a channel overhead. Timur's reasons for attacking this village are not yet well-understood, however it has been suggested that his religious persuasions and view of himself as an executor of divine will may have contributed to his motivations.<sup>[34]</sup> The Persian historian Khwandamir explains that an Ismaili presence was growing more politically powerful in Persian Iraq. A group among the locals in this region was dissatisfied with this. Khwandamir writes that some of these locals assembled and brought up their complaint with Timur, possibly provoking his attack on the Ismailis there.<sup>[34]</sup>

## Indian campaign

In 1398 Timur invaded northern India, attacking the Delhi Sultanate ruled by Sultan Nasir-u Din Mehmud of the Tughlaq Dynasty.<sup>[35]</sup> The Cambridge History says that he was opposed by Ahirs and Jats but Delhi Government did nothing to stop him.<sup>[36]</sup> After crossing the Indus river on September 30, 1398, he sacked Tulamba and massacred its inhabitants.<sup>[37]</sup> Then he advanced and captured Multan by October.<sup>[38]</sup>

His campaign was officially justified by claims that the Muslim Delhi Sultanate was too tolerant toward its Hindu subjects, but was motivated greatly by the considerable wealth to be gained. By all accounts, Timur's campaigns in India were marked by systematic slaughter and other atrocities on a truly massive scale inflicted mainly on the subcontinent's Hindu population.<sup>[39]</sup>

Timur crossed the Indus River at Attock (now Pakistan) on September 24, 1398, but Timur's invasion did not go unopposed and he did meet some resistance during his march to Delhi, by the Governor of Meerut. Timur was able to continue his relentless approach to Delhi, arriving in 1398 to combat the armies of Sultan Mehmud, already weakened by a succession struggle within the royal family.

The Sultan's army was easily defeated on December 17, 1398. On this day the army of Sultan Mahmud Khan had prepared 120 war elephants armored with chain mail. He had put poison on the tusks, which put fright into the Tatar lines. Timur took action and the Tatars dug out a trench in front of their positions. Timur then took his camels and placed all the wood and hay he could on their backs. When the war elephants charged he lit the



Timur defeats the Sultan of Delhi, Nasir Al-Din Mahmud Tughluq, in the winter of 1397-1398, painting dated 1595-1600.

camels on fire and then prodded them with iron sticks. They charged at the elephants howling in pain: Timur had understood that elephants were easily panicked. Faced with the strange spectacle of the burning camels flying straight at them with flames leaping from their backs, the elephants turned around and stampeded back toward their own lines. Timur entered Delhi and the city was sacked, destroyed, and left in ruins. Before the battle for Delhi, Timur executed 100,000 captives.<sup>[6][35]</sup>

"At this Court Amír Jahán Sháh and Amír Sulaimán Sháh, and other amírs of experience, brought to my notice that, from the time of entering Hindustán up to the present time, we had taken more than 100,000 infidels and prisoners, and that they were all in my camp. On the previous day, when the enemy's forces made the attack upon us, the prisoners made signs of rejoicing, uttered imprecations against us, and were ready, as soon as they heard of the enemy's success, to form themselves into a body, break their bonds, plunder our tents, and then to go and join the enemy, and so increase his numbers and strength. I asked their advice about the prisoners, and they said that on the great day of battle these 100,000 prisoners could not be left with the baggage, and that it would be entirely opposed to the rules of war to set these idolaters and foes of Islám at liberty. In fact, no other course remained but that of making them all food for the sword. When I heard these words I found them in accordance with the rules of

war, and I directly gave my command for the Tawáchís to proclaim throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners was to put them to death, and whoever neglected to do so should himself be executed and his property given to the informer. When this order became known to the gházís of Islám, they drew their swords and put their prisoners to death. 100,000 infidels, impious idolaters, were on that day slain. Mauláná Násiru-d dín 'Umar, a counsellor and man of learning, who, in all his life, had never killed a sparrow, now, in execution of my order, slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus, who were his captives."

The alleged "Memoirs" of Timur, or Tuzk-e-Taimuri, relate the sack of Delhi:<sup>[6][35][40][41]</sup>

"On the 16th of the month some incidents occurred which led to the sack of the city of Delhí, and to the slaughter of many of the infidel inhabitants. One was this. A party of fierce Turk soldiers had assembled at one of the gates of the city to look about them and enjoy themselves, and some of them laid violent hands upon the goods of the inhabitants. When I heard of this violence, I sent some amírs, who were present in the city, to restrain the Turks. A party of soldiers accompanied these amírs into the city. Another reason was that some of the ladies of my harem expressed a wish to go into the city and see the palace of Hazár-sutún (thousand columns) which Malik Jauná built in the fort called Jahán-panáh. I granted this request, and I sent a party of soldiers to escort the litters of the ladies. Another reason was that Jalál Islám and other díránís had gone into the city with a party of soldiers to collect the contribution laid upon the city. Another reason was that some thousand troopers with orders for grain, oil, sugar, and flour, had gone into the city to collect these supplies. Another reason was that it had come to my knowledge that great numbers of gabrs, with their wives and children, and goods, and valuables, had come into the city from all the country round, and consequently I had sent some amírs with their regiments (kushún) into the city and directed them to pay no attention to the remonstrances of the inhabitants, but to seize and bring out these fugitives. For these several reasons a great number of fierce Turkí soldiers were in the city. When the soldiers proceeded to apprehend the Hindus and gabrs who had



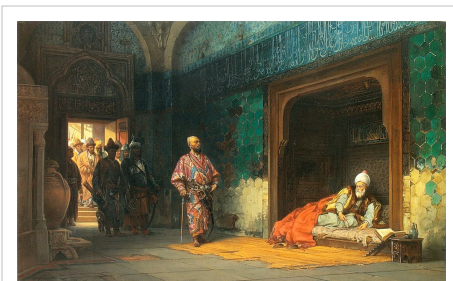
Timur defeating the Mamluk Sultan Nasir-ad-Din Faraj of Egypt.

fled to the city, many of them drew their swords and offered resistance. The flames of strife were thus lighted and spread through the whole city from Jahán-panáh and Sírí to Old Dehlí, burning up all it reached. The savage Turks fell to killing and plundering. The amírs who were in charge of the gates prevented any more soldiers from going into the place, but the flames of war had risen too high for this precaution to be of any avail in extinguishing them. On that day, Thursday, and all the night of Friday, nearly 15,000 Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering, and destroying. When morning broke on the Friday, all my army, no longer under control, went off to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering, and making prisoners. All that day the sack was general. The following day, Saturday, the 17th, all passed in the same way, and the spoil was so great that each man secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, men, women, and children. There was no man who took less than twenty. The other booty was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets, pearls, and other gems; jewels of gold and silver; ashrafís, tankas of gold and silver of the celebrated 'Aláí coinage; vessels of gold and silver; and brocades and silks of great value. Gold and silver ornaments of the Hindu women were obtained in such quantities as to exceed all account. Excepting the quarter of the saiýids, the 'ulamá, and the other Musulmán's, the whole city was sacked. The pen of fate had written down this destiny for the people of this city. Although I was desirous of sparing them I could not succeed, for it was the will of Allah that this calamity should fall upon the city."

Timur left Delhi in December 1398 and marched on Meerut. Then he rode up to Haridwar and sacked the holy city on January 23, 1399. Before he crossed the Ganges, he faced stiff resistance from natives at Bhokarhedi. In April he had returned to his own capital beyond the Oxus (Amu Darya). Immense quantities of spoils and slaves were taken from India. According to Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, 90 captured elephants were employed merely to carry precious stones looted from his conquest, so as to erect a mosque at Samarkand – what historians today believe is the enormous Bibi-Khanym Mosque.

## Last campaigns and death

Before the end of 1399, Timur started a war with Bayezid I, sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and the Mamluk sultan of Egypt *Nasir-ad-Din Faraj*. Bayezid began annexing the territory of Turkmen and Muslim rulers in Anatolia. As Timur claimed sovereignty over the Turkmen rulers, they took refuge behind him. Timur invaded Syria, sacked Aleppo and captured Damascus after defeating the Mamluk army. The city's inhabitants were massacred, except for the artisans, who were deported to Samarkand. This led to Timur's being publicly declared an enemy of Islam, as he was no longer killing only non-Muslims. However, Ibn Khaldun praises Timur for having unified much of the Muslim world when other conquerors of the time could not.<sup>[42]</sup>



Painting by Stanisław Chlebowski, *Sultan Bayezid imprisoned by Timur*, 1878.

In a form of rectification, in 1400 Timur invaded Christian Armenia and Georgia. Of the surviving population, more than 60,000 of the local people were captured as slaves, and many districts were depopulated.<sup>[43]</sup>

He invaded Baghdad in June 1401. After the capture of the city, 20,000 of its citizens were massacred. Timur ordered that every soldier should return with at least two severed human heads to show him. (Many warriors were so scared they killed prisoners captured earlier in the campaign just to ensure they had heads to present to Timur.)

In the meantime, years of insulting letters had passed between Timur and Bayezid. Finally, Timur invaded Anatolia and defeated Bayezid in the Battle of Ankara on July 20, 1402. Bayezid was captured in battle and subsequently died in captivity, initiating the 12-year Ottoman Interregnum period. Timur's stated motivation for attacking Bayezid and the Ottoman Empire was the restoration of Seljuq authority. Timur saw the Seljuks as the rightful rulers of Anatolia

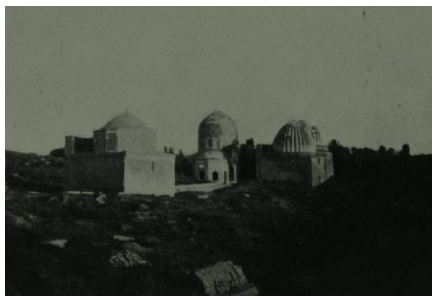


as they had been granted rule by Mongol conquerors, illustrating again Timur's interest with Genghizid legitimacy.

After the Ankara victory, Timur's army ravaged Western Anatolia, with Muslim writers complaining that the Timurid army acted more like a horde of savages than that of a civilized conqueror. But Timur did take the city of Smyrna, a stronghold of the Christian Knights Hospitalers, thus he referred to himself as *ghazi* or "Warrior of Islam".

Timur was furious at the Genoese and Venetians whose ships ferried the Ottoman army to safety in Thrace. As Lord Kinross reported in *The Ottoman Centuries*, the Italians preferred the enemy they could handle to the one they could not.

While Timur invaded Anatolia, Qara Yusuf assaulted Baghdad and captured it in 1402. Timur returned to Persia from Anatolia and sent his grandson Abu Bakr ibn Mirah Shah to reconquer Baghdad, which he proceeded to do. Timur then spent some time in Ardabil, where he gave Ali Safavi, leader of the Safaviyya, a number of captives. Subsequently, he marched to Khorasan and then to Samarkhand, where he spent nine months celebrating and preparing to invade Mongolia and China.<sup>[44]</sup>



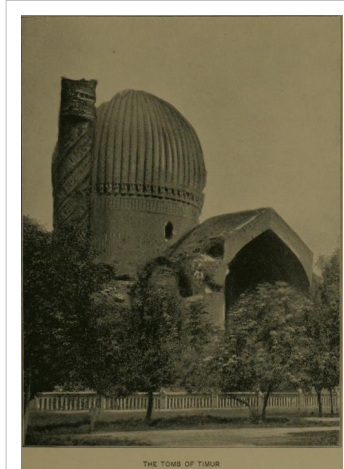
Tamerlane's tomb seen from a distance

By 1368, the new Chinese Ming Dynasty had driven the Mongols out of China. The first Ming Emperor Hongwu, and his successor Yongle demanded, and received, homage from many Central Asian states as the political heirs to the former House of Kublai. The Ming emperor's attempts to treat Timur as a vassal did not go well: when in 1394 Hongwu's ambassadors presented Timur with a letter addressing him in this way, he had the ambassadors Fu An, Guo Ji, and Liu Wei detained, and their 1,500 guards executed.<sup>[45]</sup> Neither Hongwu's next ambassador, Chen Dewen (1397) nor the delegation announcing the accession of the Yongle Emperor fared any better.<sup>[45]</sup>

Timur eventually planned to conquer China. To this end, Timur made an alliance with the Mongols of the Northern Yuan Dynasty and prepared all the way to Bukhara. The Mongol leader Enkhe Khan sent his grandson Öljei Temür, also known as Buyanshir Khan. In December 1404, Timur started military campaigns against the Ming Dynasty and detained the Ming envoy, but he was attacked by fever and plague when encamped on the farther side of the Sihon (Syr-Daria) and died at Atrar (Otrar) on February 17, 1405,<sup>[46]</sup> without ever reaching the Chinese border.<sup>[47]</sup> Only after that were the Ming envoys released.<sup>[45]</sup>

Timur's scouts explored Mongolia before his death, and the writing they carved on trees in Mongolia's mountains could still be seen even in the twentieth century.

Although he preferred to fight his battles in the spring, Timur died enroute during an uncharacteristic winter campaign against the ruling Chinese Ming Dynasty. It was one of the bitterest winters on record; his troops are recorded as having to dig through five feet of ice to reach drinking water. Records indicate though, that for part of his life at least, he was a surreptitious Ming vassal and that his son Shah Rukh visited China in 1420.<sup>[48]</sup> He ruled over an empire that, in modern times, extends from southeastern Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, through Central Asia encompassing part of Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, and even approaches Kashgar in China. The conquests of Timur are claimed to have caused the deaths of up to 17 million people; an assertion impossible to verify.<sup>[49]</sup> Timur's campaigns sometimes caused large and permanent demographic changes, northern Iraq remained predominantly Assyrian Christian until attacked, looted, plundered and destroyed by Timur leaving its population decimated by systematic mass slaughter.<sup>[50]</sup>



Gur-e Amir, the tomb of Timur.

Of Timur's four sons, two (Jahangir and Umar Shaykh) predeceased him. His third son, Miran Shah, died soon after Timur, leaving the youngest son, Shah Rukh. Although his designated successor was his grandson Pir Muhammad b. Jahangir, Timur was ultimately succeeded in power by his son Shah Rukh. His most illustrious descendant Babur founded the Islamic Mughal Empire and ruled over most of Afghanistan and North India. Babur's descendants Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, expanded the Mughal Empire to most of the Indian subcontinent.

Markham, in his introduction to the narrative of Clavijo's embassy, states that his body "was embalmed with musk and rose water, wrapped in linen, laid in an ebony coffin and sent to Samarkand, where it was buried." His tomb, the Gur-e Amir, still stands in Samarkand, though it has been heavily restored in recent years.

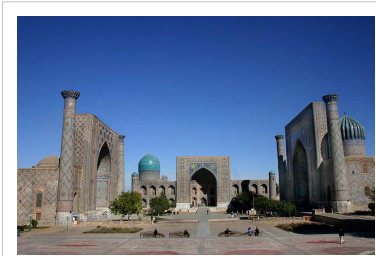
## Contributions to the arts

Timur became widely known as a patron to the arts. Much of the architecture he commissioned still stands in Samarkand, now in present-day Uzbekistan. He was known to bring the most talented artisans from the lands he conquered back to Samarkand, and is credited with often giving them a wide latitude of artistic freedom to express themselves. He also constructed one of his finest buildings at the tomb of Ahmed Yesevi, an influential Turkic Sufi saint who spread Sufi Islam among the nomads.

According to legend, Omar Aqta, Timur's court calligrapher, transcribed the Qur'an using letters so small that the entire text of the book fit on a signet ring. Omar also is said to have created a Qur'an so large that a wheelbarrow was required to transport it. Folios of what is probably this larger Qur'an have been found, written in gold lettering on huge pages.

Timur was also said to have created Tamerlane Chess, a variant of shatranj (also known as medieval chess) played on a larger board with several additional pieces and an original method of pawn promotion. These pieces included the camel, siege-weapon, giraffe, and several others as well as boasting a complicated system involving the ability to exchange pawns for certain pieces should they reach the other side of the board.

Timur's mandating of Kurash wrestling for his soldiers ensured for it a lasting and legendary legacy. Kurash is now a popular international sport and part of the Asian Games.



View of the Registan



View of the Registan at night



Statue of Timur in Samarkand

## Exchanges with Europe

Timur had numerous epistolary and diplomatic exchanges with Western, especially Spanish and French, rulers. There was the possibility of an alliance between Timur and the European states, against the Ottoman Turks that were attacking Europe. Therefore, there was a clear motive for Timur, who wanted to surround his Ottoman and Mamluk enemies in this offensive alliance.

The relations between the courts of Henry III of Castile and that of Timur constituted the most important episode of the medieval Spanish Castilian diplomacy. In 1402, the time of the Battle of Ankara, two Spanish ambassadors were already with Timur: Pelayo de Sotomayor and Fernando de Palazuelos. Later, Timur sent to the court of Castile and León a Chagatay ambassador named Hajji Muhammad al-Qazi with letters and gifts.

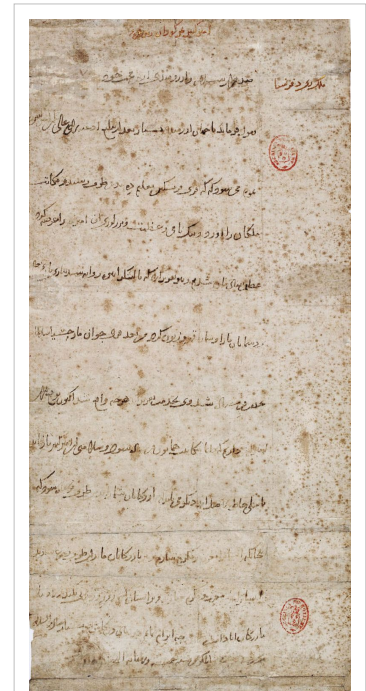
In return, the King Henry III of Castile sent a famous embassy to Timur's court in Samarkand in 1403-06, led by Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, with two other ambassadors, Alfonso Paez and Gomez de Salazar. On their return, Timur affirmed that he regarded the king of Castile "as his very own son".

According to Clavijo, Timur's good treatment of the Spanish delegation contrasted with the disdain shown by his host toward the envoys of the "lord of Cathay" (i.e., the Ming Dynasty Yongle Emperor), the Chinese ruler. Clavijo's visit to Samarkand allowed him to report to the European audience on the news from Cathay (China), which few Europeans had been able to visit directly in the century that had passed since the travels of Marco Polo.

The French archives preserve:

- A July 30, 1402, letter from Timur to Charles VI, king of France, suggesting that he send traders to the Orient. It was written in Persian.<sup>[51]</sup>
- A May 1403 letter. This is a Latin transcription of a letter from Timur to Charles VI, and another from Amiza Miranchah, his son, to the Christian princes, announcing their victory over Bayezid, in Smyrna.<sup>[52]</sup>

A copy has been kept of the answer of Charles VI to Timur, dated June 15, 1403.<sup>[53]</sup>



Letter of Timur to Charles VI of France, 1402, a witness to Timurid relations with Europe.



## Legacy

I am not a man of blood; and God is my witness that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor, and that my enemies have always been the authors of their own calamity.

—Timur, after the conquest of Aleppo<sup>[54]</sup>

Timur's legacy is a mixed one. While Central Asia blossomed under his reign, other places such as Baghdad, Damascus, Delhi and other Arab, Georgian, Persian and Indian cities were sacked and destroyed and their populations massacred. He was responsible for the effective destruction of the Christian Church in much of Asia. Thus, while Timur still retains a positive image in Muslim Central Asia, Persia, and Arab countries, he is vilified by many in India, where some of his greatest atrocities were carried out. In the Islamic world at the time, he was variously considered both as a ghazi (or "Warrior for Islam") by some, and as an enemy of Islam by others.

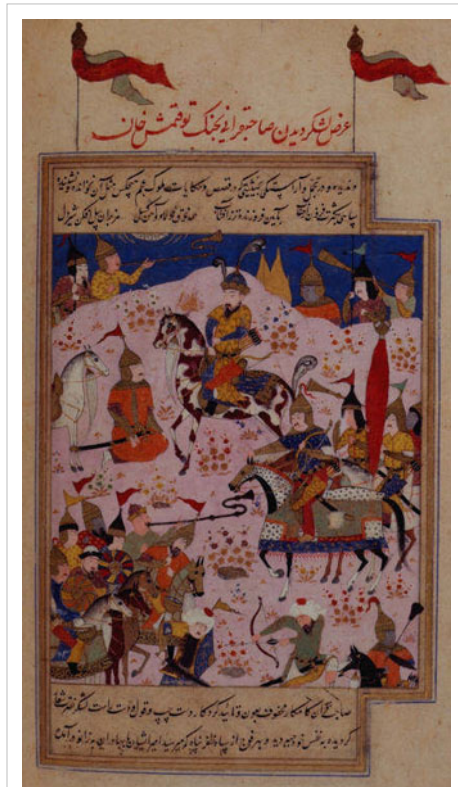
Timur's military talents were unique. He planned all his campaigns years in advance, even planting barley for horse feed two-years ahead of his campaigns. He used propaganda, in what is now called information warfare, as part of his tactics. His campaigns were preceded by the deployment of spies whose tasks included collecting information and spreading horrifying reports about the cruelty, size, and might of Timur's armies. Such psychological warfare eventually weakened the morale of threatened populations and caused panic in the regions that he intended to invade.

Although Timur's uncharacteristic (for the time) concern for his troops inspired fierce loyalty, he did not pay them. Their only incentives were from looting captured territory — a bounty that included horses, women, precious metals and stones; in other words whatever they, or their newly captured slaves, could carry away from the conquered lands.

Timur's short-lived empire also melded the Turko-Persian tradition in Transoxiana, and in most of the territories which he incorporated into his fiefdom, Persian became the primary language of administration and literary culture (*diwan*), regardless of ethnicity.<sup>[55]</sup> In addition, during his reign, some contributions to Turkic literature were penned, with Turkic cultural influence expanding and flourishing as a result. A literary form of Chagatai Turkic came into use alongside Persian as both a cultural and an official language.<sup>[56]</sup>

Timur became a relatively popular figure in Europe for centuries after his death, mainly because of his victory over the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid. The Ottoman armies were at the time invading Eastern Europe and Timur was ironically seen as a sort of ally.

Timur has now been officially recognized as a national hero of newly independent Uzbekistan. His monument in Tashkent now occupies the place where Marx's statue once stood.<sup>[57]</sup>



Emir Timur and his forces advance against the Golden Horde, Khan, Tokhtamysh.

## Biographies

Timur's generally recognized biographers are Ali Yazdi, commonly called Sharaf ud-Din, author of the *Zafarnāmeḥ* (Persian: ظفرنامه), translated by Petis de la Croix in 1722, and from French into English by J. Darby in the following year; and Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abdallah, al-Dimashiqi, al-Ajami (commonly called Ahmad Ibn Arabshah) translated by the Dutch Orientalist Colitis in 1636. In the work of the former, as Sir William Jones remarks, "the Tatarian conqueror is represented as a liberal, benevolent and illustrious prince", in that of the latter he is "deformed and impious, of a low birth and detestable principles." But the favourable account was written under the personal supervision of Timur's grandson, Ibrahim, while the other was the production of his direst enemy.

Among less reputed biographies or materials for biography may be mentioned a second *Zafarnāmeḥ*, by Nizam al-Din Shami, stated to be the earliest known history of Timur, and the only one written in his lifetime. Timur's purported autobiography, the *Tuzk-e-Taimuri* ("Memoirs of Temur") is a later fabrication, although most of the historical facts are accurate.<sup>[6]</sup>

More recent biographies include Justin Marozzi's *Tamerlane: Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World* (2006)<sup>[58]</sup> and Roy Stier's *Tamerlane: The Ultimate Warrior* (1998).<sup>[59]</sup>

## Exhumation

Timurlane's body was exhumed from his tomb in 1941 by the Soviet anthropologist Mikhail M. Gerasimov. From his bones it was clear that Timur was a tall and broad chested man with strong cheek bones. Gerasimov reconstructed the likeness of Timur from his skull. His height was 5 feet 8 inches (1.73 meters), very tall for his era. He also confirmed Timur's lameness due to a hip injury. Gerasimov also found that Timur's facial characteristics conformed to general Mongoloid features.<sup>[60]</sup> In the study of "Anthropological composition of the population of Central Asia" shows the cranium of Timur predominate the characters of the South Siberian Mongoloid type.<sup>[61]</sup> Timurlane is classified as being closer to the Mongoloid race with some admixture.

It is alleged that Timur's tomb was inscribed with the words, "When I rise from the dead, the world shall tremble." It is also said that when Gerasimov exhumed the body, an additional inscription inside the casket was found reading, "Who ever opens my tomb, shall unleash an invader more terrible than I."<sup>[62]</sup> In any case, two days after Gerasimov had begun the exhumation, Nazi Germany launched Operation Barbarossa, its invasion of the U.S.S.R.<sup>[63]</sup> Timur was re-buried with full Islamic ritual in November 1942 just before the Soviet victory at the Battle of Stalingrad (ref Marozzi 2004).



Statue of Timur in Tashkent.

## In the arts

- *Tamburlaine the Great, Parts I and II* (English, 1563–1594) - play by Christopher Marlowe
- *Tamerlano* (1724) - opera by George Frideric Handel, in Italian, based on the 1675 play *Tamerlan ou la mort de Bajazet* by Jacques Pradon.
- *Bajazet* (1735) - opera by Antonio Vivaldi, portrays the capture of Bayezid I by Timur
- *Il gran Tamerlano* (1772) - opera by Josef Mysliveček that also portrays the capture of Bayezid I by Timur
- *Tamerlane* - first published poem of Edgar Allan Poe (American, 1809–1849).
- Timur is the deposed, blind former King of Tartary and father of the protagonist Calaf in the opera *Turandot* (1924) by Giacomo Puccini, libretto by Giuseppe Adami and Renato Simoni.
- Timour appears in the story *Lord of Samarkand* by Robert E. Howard.
- *Tamerlan* - novel by Colombian writer Enrique Serrano (ISBN 978-958-42-0540-7) in Spanish [64]
- Timur Lang is also the name of the warlord that shall be defeated in the game *Might and Magic IX*, a sort of joke using the names of Timur Leng and this game's designer's one, Timothy Lang.
- Tamerlan appears in the Russian movie *Dnevnoy Dozor (Day Watch)*, in which he steals the chalk of fate.
- Tamerlane is the name of the corporation which is taking over Central Asia in the 2008 satire *War, Inc.*.
- Tamburlaine: Shadow of God by John Fletcher, BBC Radio 3 play broadcast 2008, a fictitious account of an encounter between Tamburlaine, Ibn Khaldun and Hafez.



*Gür-e Amīr complex with its Azure dome.*

## Family of Timur

### Sons of Timur

- Jahangir Mirza ibn Timur
- Umar Shaikh Mirza ibn Timur
- Miran Shah ibn Timur
- Shahrukh Mirza ibn Timur

### Sons of Jahangir

- Pir Muhammad ibn Jahangir

### Sons of Umar Shaikh Mirza I

- Pir Muhammad ibn Umar Shaikh Mirza I
- Iskandar ibn Umar Shaikh Mirza I
- Rustam ibn Umar Shaikh Mirza I
- Bayqarah ibn Umar Shaikh Mirza I
  - Mansur ibn Bayqarah
    - Husayn ibn Mansur bin Bayqarah

## Sons of Miran Shah

- Khalil Sultan ibn Miran Shah
- Abu Bakr ibn Miran Shah
- Muhammad ibn Miran Shah
  - Abu Sa'id Mirza
    - Umar Shaikh Mirza II
      - Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur
      - Jahangir Mirza II ibn Umar Shaikh Mirza II

## Sons of Shahrukh Mirza

- Mirza Muhammad Taraghay - better known as *Ulugh Beg*
  - Abdul-Latif
- Ghiyath-al-Din Baysonqor
  - Ala-ud-Daulah Mirza ibn Baysonqor
    - Ibrahim Mirza
  - Sultan Muhammad ibn Baysonqor
    - Yadigar Muhammad
  - Mirza Abul-Qasim Babur ibn Baysonqor
- Sultan Ibrahim Mirza
  - Abdullah Mirza

## Notes

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- [5] History of Central Asia (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/102315/history-of-Central-Asia>), Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 13 December 2008.
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- [7] "Timur (<http://www.bartleby.com/65/ti/Timur.html>)" The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, 2001-05. Quotation: *Tamerlane, c.1336–1405, b. Kesh, near Samarkand. He is also called Timur Leng (Timur the lame). He was the son of a tribal leader. Some historians claim that he was the descendant of Genghis Khan. He was from a Mongol tribe, Barlos. There were mongol tribes used to live in the area where his father was a leader. Timur spent his early military career in subduing his rivals in what is now Turkistan; by 1369 he firmly controlled the entire area from his capital at Samarkand.*
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- [11] Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Temür and the Problem of a Conqueror's Legacy*, **Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society**, Third Series, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Apr., 1998), 25; "*In his formal correspondance Temur continued throughout his life as the restorer of Chinggisid rights. He even justified his Iranian, Mamluk and Ottoman campaigns as a reimposition of legitimate Mongol control over lands taken by usurpers...*".
- [12] Michal Biran, *The Chaghadaids and Islam: The Conversion of Tarmashirin Khan (1331-34)*, **Journal of American Oriental Society**, Vol. 122, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 2002), 751; "*Temur, a non-Chinggisid, tried to build a double legitimacy based on his role as both guardian and restorer of the Mongol Empire.*".

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- [17] Carter V. Findley, *The Turks in World History*, Oxford University Press, 2005, Oxford University Press, 2005, ISBN 9780195177268, p. 101.
- [18] G. R. Garthwaite, *"The Persians"*, Malden, ISBN 978-1-55786-860-2, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2007. ( p.148 (<http://books.google.de/books?id=RpiywbMvG5gC&pg=RA1-PA148&dq=Timur+Turkic+speaking&hl=tr&sig=9tWp001dj7GoDBdAjveeJclsQD8>)) Quotation: "...*Timur's tribe, the Barlas, had Mongol origins but had become Turkic-speaking ... However, the Barlus tribe is considered one of the original Mongol tribes and there are "Barlus Ovogton" people who belong to Barlus tribe in modern Mongolia.*
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- [20] Gérard Chaliand, *Nomadic Empires: From Mongolia to the Danube* translated by A.M. Berrett, Transaction Publishers, 2004. translated by A.M. Berrett. Transaction Publishers, p.75. ISBN 0-7658-0204-X. *Limited preview* (<http://books.google.com/books?id=xKVAbb6Tc4wC>) at Google Books. p. 75. (<http://books.google.de/books?id=xKVAbb6Tc4wC&pg=PA75&dq=Timur+Turkic+speaking&hl=tr&sig=9Dx13dFIql2fIK7XMXoIvswcg5o>), ISBN 0-7658-0204-X, , "*Timur Leng (Tamerlane) Timur, known as the lame (1336-1405) was a Muslim Turk. He aspired to recreate the empire of his ancestors. He was a military genius who loved to play chess in his spare time to improve his military tactics and skill. And although he wielded absolute power, he never called himself more than an emir.*", "*Timur Leng (Tamerlane) Timur, known as the lame (1336-1405) was a Muslim Turk from the Umus of Chagatai who saw himself as Genghis Khan's heir.*"
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- [32] Fisher, W.B.; Jackson, P.; Lockhart, L.; Boyle, J.A. : *The Cambridge History of Iran*, p55.
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- Tamburlaine the Great Part One ([http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk\\_files=37621&pageno=5](http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=37621&pageno=5))
- *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez De Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D.1403-6 - Full text* (<http://books.google.com/books?id=ZVkMAAAIAAA>) at Google Books.
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# Theobald II, Count of Champagne

Theobald II, Count of Champagne



Theobald II, Count of Champagne

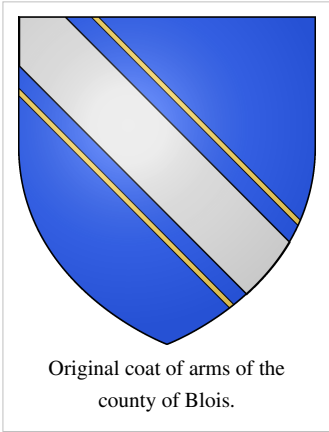
Spouse(s)	Matilda of Carinthia
Father	Stephen II, Count of Blois
Mother	Adela of Normandy
Born	1090
Died	10 January 1152

**Theobald the Great** (French: Thibaut de Blois) (1090–1152) was Count of Blois and of Chartres as **Theobald IV** from 1102 and was Count of Champagne and of Brie as **Theobald II** from 1125.

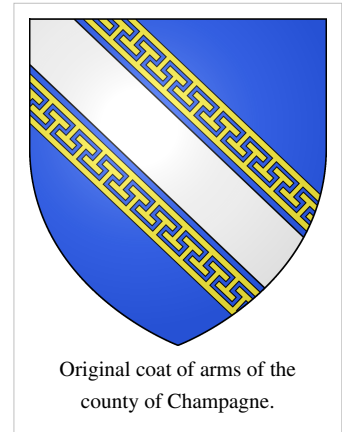
He held Auxerre, Maligny, Ervy, Troyes, and Châteauvillain as fiefs from Eudes II, Duke of Burgundy. He was the son of Stephen II, Count of Blois and Adela of Normandy, and the elder brother of King Stephen of England. Although he was the second son, Theobald was appointed above his older brother William. Several historians have painted William as mentally deficient, but this has never been substantiated. That said, we know that his mother found him stubbornly resistant to control and unfit for wide ranging comital duties. Theobald had no such problems.

Theobald accompanied his mother throughout their realm on hundreds of occasions and, after her retirement to Marcigny in 1125, he administered the family properties with great skill. Adela died in her beloved convent in 1136, the year after her son Stephen was crowned king of England.<sup>[1]</sup>

King Louis VII of France became involved in a war with Theobald by permitting Count Raoul I of Vermandois and seneschal of France, to repudiate his wife Eléonore of Blois, Theobald's sister, and to marry Petronilla of Aquitaine, sister of the queen of France. The war, which lasted two years (1142–1144), was marked by the occupation of Champagne by the royal army and the capture of Vitry-le-François, where many persons perished in the deliberate burning of the



church by Louis. French teacher Pierre Abélard, who became famous for his love affair with and subsequent marriage to his student Héloïse, sought asylum in Champagne during Theobald II's reign. Abelard died at Cluny Abbey in Burgundy, a monastery supported by the Thebaudians for many centuries.



In 1123 he married Matilda of Carinthia, daughter of Engelbert, Duke of Carinthia.

Their children were:

- Henry I of Champagne
- Theobald V of Blois
- Adèle of Champagne, married King Louis VII of France
- Isabelle of Champagne, married 1. Roger of Apulia d. 1148 & 2. William Gouet IV d. 1170
- Marie of Champagne, married Eudes II, Duke of Burgundy, became Abbess of Fontevrault later in life.
- William White Hands, 1135–1202, Archbishop of Reims 1176–1202, Cardinal 1179
- Stephen I of Sancerre 1133–1191, Count of Sancerre and Crusader, died at the Siege of Acre
- Agnes of Champagne (d. 1207), Dame de Ligny married Renaut II of Bar (d. 1170).
- Margaret of Champagne nun at Fontevrault


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# Theodoric the Great

Theodoric

King of Ostrogoths



Theodoric shown in a small painting from the 7th century

Born	454
Died	526 (aged 71–72)
Consort to	Audofleda
Offspring	Amalasuntha
Father	Theodemir
Mother	Ereleuva
Religious beliefs	Arianism

**Theodoric the Great** (Gothic: *Piudareiks*; Latin: *Flāvius Theodericus*; Greek: Θεωδέρικος, *Theuderikhos*; Old English: *Þeodric*; Old Norse: *Þjóðrēkr*, *Þīðrēkr*; 454 – August 30, 526) was king of the Ostrogoths (471–526),<sup>[1]</sup> ruler of Italy (493–526), regent of the Visigoths (511–526), and a viceroy of the Eastern Roman Empire. His Gothic name *Piudareiks* translates into "people-king" or "ruler of the people".<sup>[2]</sup>

A son of King Theodemir, an Amali nobleman, Theodoric was born in Pannonia, after his people had defeated the Huns at the Battle of Nedao. Growing up as a hostage in Constantinople, Theodoric received a privileged education, and succeeded his father as leader of the Pannonian Ostrogoths in 471 AD. Settling his people in lower Moesia, Theodoric came in conflict with Thracian Ostrogoths led by Theodoric Strabo, whom he eventually supplanted, uniting the peoples in 484.

Subsequently, Byzantine Emperor Zeno gave him the title of Patrician and the office of Magister militum (master of the soldiers), and even appointed him as Roman Consul. Trying to achieve further aims, Theodoric frequently ravaged the provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire, eventually threatening Constantinople itself. In 488, Emperor Zeno ordered Theodoric to overthrow the German usurper Odoacer, who had established himself as King of Italy. After a victorious three-year long war, Theodoric killed Odoacer with his own hands, settled his 100,000 to 200,000 people in Italy, and founded a Kingdom based in Ravenna. Although promoting separation between the Arian Ostrogoths and the Roman population, Theodoric stressed the importance of racial harmony. Seeking to restore the glory of Ancient Rome, he ruled Italy in its most peaceful and prosperous period since Valentinian, until his death in

526. Memories of his reign made him a hero of Germanic legend as Dietrich von Bern.

## Youth

The man who would later rule under the name of Theodoric was born in 454 AD, on the banks of the Neusiedler See near Carnuntum. This was just a year after the Ostrogoths had thrown off nearly a century of domination by the Huns. The son of the King Theodemir and Ereleuva, Theodoric went to Constantinople as a young boy, as a hostage to secure the Ostrogoths' compliance with a treaty Theodemir had concluded with the Byzantine Emperor Leo (ruled 457–474).

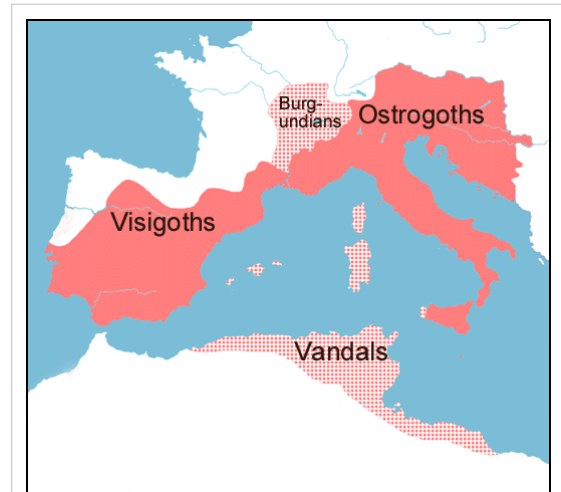
He lived at the court of Constantinople for many years and learned a great deal about Roman government and military tactics, which served him well when he became the Gothic ruler of a mixed but largely Romanized "barbarian people". Treated with favor by the Emperors Leo I and Zeno (ruled 474–475 and 476–491), he became *magister militum* (Master of Soldiers) in 483, and one year later he became consul. Afterwards, he returned to live among the Ostrogoths when he was 31 years old and became their king in 488.

## Reign

Further information: Ostrogothic Kingdom

At the time, the Ostrogoths were settled in Byzantine territory as *foederati* (allies) of the Romans, but were becoming restless and increasingly difficult for Zeno to manage. Not long after Theodoric became king, the two men worked out an arrangement beneficial to both sides. The Ostrogoths needed a place to live, and Zeno was having serious problems with Odoacer, the King of Italy who had overthrown the Western Roman Empire in 476. Ostensibly a viceroy for Zeno, Odoacer was menacing Byzantine territory and not respecting the rights of Roman citizens in Italy. At Zeno's encouragement, Theodoric invaded Odoacer's kingdom.

Theodoric came with his army to Italy in 488, where he won the battles of Isonzo and Verona in 489 and at the Adda in 490. In 493 he took Ravenna. On February 2, 493, Theodoric and Odoacer signed a treaty that assured both parties would rule over Italy. A banquet was organised in order to celebrate this treaty. It was at this banquet that Theodoric, after making a toast, killed Odoacer with his own hands.



Maximum extent of territories ruled by Theodoric, in 523.



Brick with the emblem of Theodoric, found in the temple of Vesta, Rome. It reads "+REG(nante) D(omino) N(ostro) THEODE/RICO [b]O[n]O ROM(a)E", which translates as *With our master Theodoric the Good reigning in Rome [this brick was made]*.

Like Odoacer, Theodoric was ostensibly only a viceroy for the emperor in Constantinople. In reality, he was able to avoid imperial supervision, and dealings between the emperor and Theodoric were as equals. Unlike Odoacer, however, Theodoric respected the agreement he had made and allowed Roman citizens within his kingdom to be subject to Roman law and the Roman judicial system. The Goths, meanwhile, lived under their own laws and customs. In 519, when a mob had burned down the synagogues of Ravenna,

Theodoric ordered the town to rebuild them at its own expense.

Theodoric the Great sought alliances with, or hegemony over, the other Germanic kingdoms in the west. He allied with the Franks by his marriage to Audofleda, sister of Clovis I, and married his own female relatives to princes or

kings of the Visigoths, Vandals and Burgundian. He stopped the Vandals from raiding his territories by threatening the weak Vandal king Thrasamund with invasion, and sent a guard of 5,000 troops with his sister Amalafrida when she married Thrasamund in 500. For much of his reign, Theodoric was the *de facto* king of the Visigoths as well, becoming regent for the infant Visigothic king, his grandson Amalric, following the defeat of Alaric II by the Franks under Clovis in 507. The Franks were able to wrest control of Aquitaine from the Visigoths, but otherwise Theodoric was able to defeat their incursions.

Theodoric's achievements began to unravel even before his death. He had married off his daughter Amalasuntha to the Visigoth Eutharic, but Eutharic died in 522 or 523, so no lasting dynastic connection of Ostrogoths and Visigoths was established. In 522, the Catholic Burgundian king Sigismund killed his own son, Theodoric's grandson, Sergeric. Theodoric retaliated by invading the Burgundian kingdom and then annexing its southern part, probably in 523. The rest was ruled by Sigismund's Arian brother Godomar, under Gothic protection against the Franks who had captured Sigismund. This brought the territory ruled by Theodoric to its height (see map), but in 523 or 524 the new Catholic Vandal king Hilderic imprisoned Amalafrida and killed her Gothic guard. Theodoric was planning an expedition to restore his power over the Vandal kingdom when he died in 526.

## Family and progeny

Theodoric was married once.

He had a concubine in Moesia, name unknown, and had two daughters:

- Theodegotha (ca. 473 – ?). In 494, she was married to Alaric II as a part of her father's alliance with the Visigoths.
- Ostrogotha or Arevagni (ca. 475 – ?). In 494 or 496, she was married to the king Sigismund of Burgundy as a part of her father's alliance with the Burgundians.

Married to Audofleda in 493 and had one daughter:

- Amalasuntha, Queen of the Goths. She was married to Eutharic and had two children: Athalaric and Matasuntha (the latter being married to Witiges first, then, after Witiges' death, married to Germanus Justinus, neither had children). Any hope for a reconciliation between the Goths and the Romans in the person of a Gotho-Roman Emperor from this family lineage was shattered.

After his death in Ravenna in 526, Theodoric was succeeded by his grandson Athalaric. Athalaric was at first represented by his mother Amalasuntha, who was a regent queen from 526 until 534. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths, however, began to wane and was conquered by Justinian I starting after the rebellion of 535 and finally ending in 553 with the Battle of Mons Lactarius.

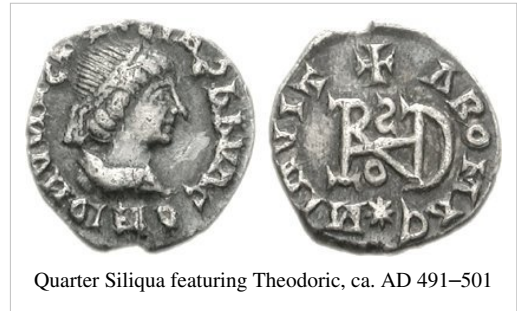
## Religion



Bronze weight, inlaid with silver, with the name of Theodoric, issued by prefect Catulinus in Rome, 493–526.



In about 520 the philosopher Boethius became his *magister officiorum*, (head of all the government and court services). Boethius was a man of science, a dedicated Hellenist bent on translating all the works of Aristotle into Latin and harmonizing them with the works of Plato. Eventually Boethius fell out of favor with Theodoric, perhaps out of a suspicion that he was in sympathy with Justinian, emperor of the East, for Arian Theodoric was always somewhat of an outsider among Nicaean Christians. Theodoric ordered Boethius executed in 525.



Quarter Siliqua featuring Theodoric, ca. AD 491–501



The Mausoleum of Theodoric in Ravenna.

In the meantime Cassiodorus had succeeded Boethius as *magister* in 523. The pliant historian and courtier could be counted on to provide refined touches to official correspondence. "To the monarch you [Cassiodorus] were a friendly judge and an honored intimate. For when he got free of his official cares he looked to your conversation for the precepts of the sages, that he might make himself a worthy equal to the great men of old. Ever curious, he wanted to hear about the courses of the stars, the tides of the sea, and legendary fountains, that his earnest study of natural science might make him seem to be a veritable philosopher in the purple" (Cassiodorus' letterbook, *Variae* 9.24.8). The gulf was widening between the ancient senatorial aristocracy whose center was Rome and the adherents of Gothic rule at Ravenna: other distinguished public figures followed Boethius to the block.

Theodoric in his final years was no longer the disengaged Arian patron of religious toleration that he had seemed earlier in his reign. "Indeed, his death cut short what could well have developed into a major persecution of Catholic churches in retaliation for measures taken by Justinian in Constantinople against Arians there"<sup>[3]</sup>

Theodoric was of Arian faith. At the end of his reign quarrels arose with his Roman subjects and the Byzantine emperor Justin I over the Arianism issue. Relations between the two nations deteriorated, although Theodoric's ability dissuaded the Byzantines from waging war against him. After his death, that reluctance faded quickly.

## Legacy

### Mausoleum

Theodoric the Great was interred in Ravenna, but his bones were scattered and his mausoleum was converted to a church after Belisarius conquered the city in 540.<sup>[4]</sup> His mausoleum is one of the finest monuments in Ravenna, but his equestrian statue, the *Regisole*, which also once graced the city was later removed and ultimately destroyed during the French Revolution.

### Medieval reception

Theoderich as *Dietrich von Bern* is an important figure in Middle High German literature, and as Þiðrekr in Old Icelandic.

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Bronze statue of Theodoric the Great (Peter Vischer, 1512–13), from the monument of Emperor Maximilian I in the Court Church at Innsbruck.

# Theodosius I

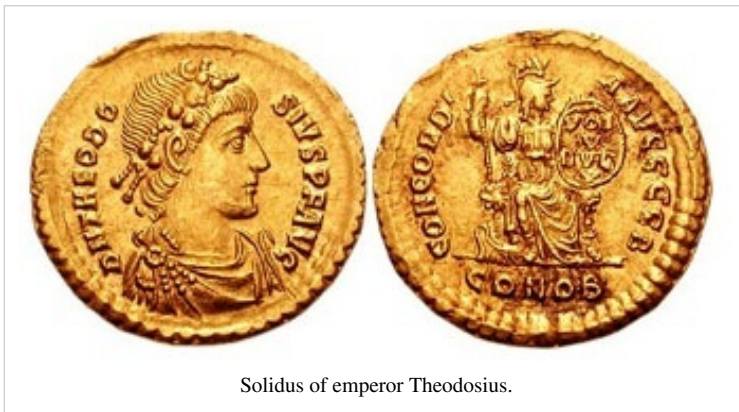
Theodosius I	
67th Emperor of the Roman Empire	
<div></div>	
Theodosius	
Reign	19 January 379 – 15 May 392 (emperor in the East; 15 May 392 – 17 January 395 (whole empire)
Full name	Flavius Theodosius (from birth to accession); Flavius Theodosius Augustus (as emperor)
Born	11 January 347
Birthplace	Cauca, or Italica, near Seville, modern Spain
Died	17 January 395 (aged 48)
Place of death	Milan
Buried	Constantinople, Modern Day Istanbul
Predecessor	Valens in the East Gratian in the West Valentinian II in the West
Successor	Arcadius in the East; Honorius in the West
Consort to	1) Aelia Flaccilla (?-385) 2) Galla (?-394)
Offspring	Arcadius Honorius Pulcheria Galla Placidia
Dynasty	Theodosian
Father	Theodosius the Elder
Mother	Thermantia



**Theodosius I** (Latin: *Flavius Theodosius Augustus*;<sup>[1]</sup> 11 January 347 – 17 January 395), also known as **Theodosius the Great**, was Roman Emperor from 379 to 395. Theodosius was the last emperor to rule over both the eastern and the western halves of the Roman Empire. During his reign, the Goths secured control of Illyricum after the Gothic War, establishing their homeland south of the Danube within the empire's borders. He also issued decrees that effectively made Christianity the official state religion of the Roman Empire.<sup>[2][3]</sup>

He is recognized by the Eastern Orthodox Church as **Saint Theodosius**. He defeated the usurpers Magnus Maximus and Eugenius and fostered the destruction of some prominent pagan temples: the Serapeum in Alexandria, the Temple of Apollo in Delphi, and the Vestal Virgins in Rome. After his death, Theodosius' sons Arcadius and Honorius inherited the East and West halves respectively, and the Roman Empire was never again re-united.

## Career



Solidus of emperor Theodosius.

Theodosius was born in Cauca or Italica, Hispania,<sup>[4]</sup> to senior military officer Theodosius the Elder.<sup>[5]</sup> He accompanied his father to Britannia to help quell the Great Conspiracy in 368. He was military commander (*dux*) of Moesia, a Roman province on the lower Danube, in 374. However, shortly thereafter, and at about the same time as the sudden disgrace and execution of his father, Theodosius retired to Spain. The reason for his retirement, and the relationship (if any) between it and his father's death is unclear. It is possible that he was dismissed from his command by the emperor Valentinian I after the loss of two of Theodosius' legions to the Sarmatians in late 374.

The death of Valentinian I in 375 created political pandemonium. Fearing further persecution on account of his family ties, Theodosius abruptly retired to his family estates in the province of Gallaecia (present day Galicia, Spain) where he adapted to the life of a provincial aristocrat.

From 364 to 375, the Roman Empire was governed by two co-emperors, the brothers Valentinian I and Valens; when Valentinian died in 375, his sons, Valentinian II and Gratian, succeeded him as rulers of the Western Roman Empire. In 378, after Valens was killed in the Battle of



Missorium of Theodosius I, flanked by Valentinian II and Arcadius, 388

Adrianople, Gratian invited Theodosius to take command of the Illyrian army. As Valens had no successor, Gratian's appointment of Theodosius amounted to a *de facto* invitation for Theodosius to become *co-Augustus* for the East. Gratian was killed in a rebellion in 383, Theodosius then appointed his elder son, Arcadius, his co-ruler for the East.

After the death in 392 of Valentinian II, whom Theodosius had supported against a variety of usurpations, Theodosius ruled as sole Emperor, appointing his younger son Honorius Augustus as his co-ruler for the West (Milan, on 23 January 393) and by defeating the usurper Eugenius on 6 September 394, at the Battle of the Frigidus (Vipava river, modern Slovenia) he restored peace.

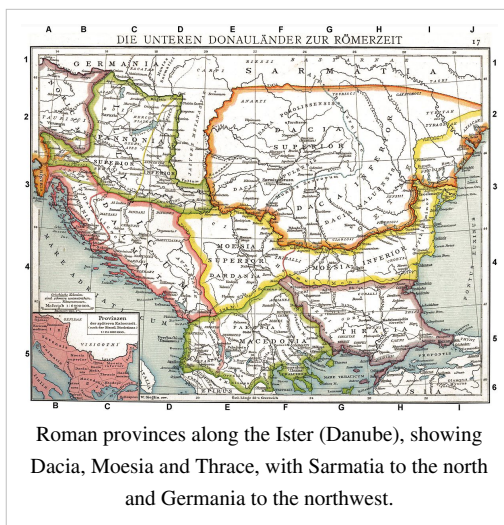
## Family

By his first wife, the probably Spanish Aelia Flaccilla Augustus, he had two sons, Arcadius and Honorius and a daughter, Aelia Pulcheria; Arcadius was his heir in the East and Honorius in the West. Both Aelia Flaccilla and Pulcheria died in 385.

His second wife (but never declared *Augusta*) was Galla, daughter of the emperor Valentinian I and his second wife Justina. Theodosius and Galla had a son Gratian, born in 388 who died young and a daughter Aelia Galla Placidia (392–450). Placidia was the only child who survived to adulthood and later became an Empress.

## Diplomatic policy with the Goths

The Goths and their allies (Vandali, Taifalae, Bastarnae and the native Carpi) entrenched in the provinces of Dacia and eastern Pannonia Inferior consumed Theodosius' attention. The Gothic crisis was so dire that his co-Emperor Gratian relinquished control of the Illyrian provinces and retired to Trier in Gaul to let Theodosius operate without hindrance. A major weakness in the Roman position after the defeat at Adrianople was the recruiting of barbarians to fight against other barbarians. In order to reconstruct the Roman Army of the West, Theodosius needed to find able bodied soldiers and so he turned to the most capable men readily at hand: the barbarians recently settled in the Empire. This caused many difficulties in the battle against barbarians since the newly recruited fighters had little or no loyalty to Theodosius.



Theodosius was reduced to the costly expedient of shipping his recruits to Egypt and replacing them with more seasoned Romans, but there were still switches of allegiance that resulted in military setbacks. Gratian sent generals to clear the dioceses of Illyria (Pannonia and Dalmatia) of Goths, and Theodosius was able finally to enter Constantinople on 24 November 380, after two seasons in the field. The final treaties with the remaining Gothic forces, signed 3 October 382, permitted large contingents of primarily Thervingian Goths to settle along the southern Danube frontier in the province of Thrace and largely govern themselves.

The Goths now settled within the Empire had, as a result of the treaties, military obligations to fight for the Romans as a national contingent, as opposed to being fully integrated into the Roman forces.<sup>[6]</sup> However, many Goths would serve in Roman legions

and others, as *foederati*, for a single campaign, while bands of Goths switching loyalties became a destabilizing factor in the internal struggles for control of the Empire.

In 390 the population of Thessalonica rioted in complaint against the presence of the local Gothic garrison. The garrison commander was killed in the violence, so Theodosius ordered the Goths to kill all the spectators in the circus as retaliation; Theodoret, a contemporary witness to these events, reports:

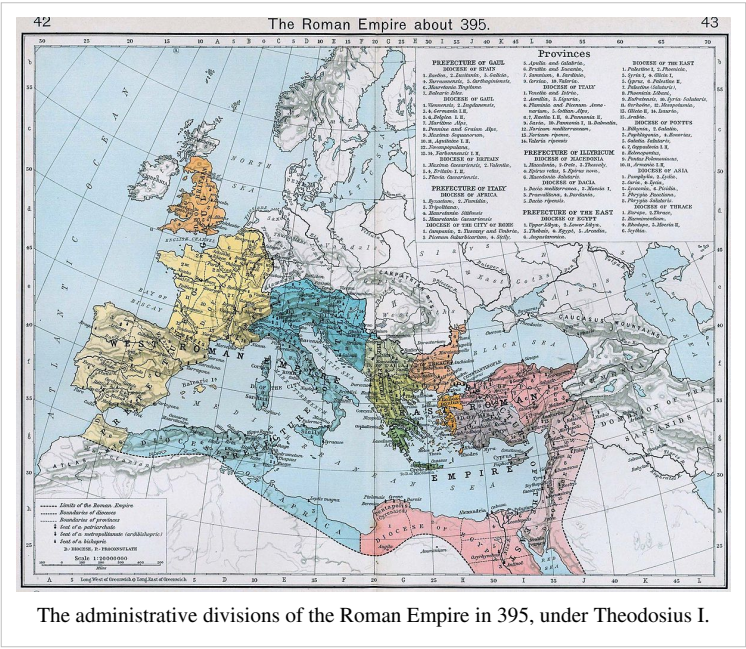
"...the anger of the Emperor rose to the highest pitch, and he gratified his vindictive desire for vengeance by unsheathing the sword most unjustly and tyrannically against all, slaying the innocent and guilty alike. It is said seven thousand perished without any forms of law, and without even having judicial sentence passed upon them; but that, like ears of wheat in the time of harvest, they were alike cut down."<sup>[7]</sup>



Theodosius was threatened with excommunication by the bishop of Milan, Saint Ambrose for the massacre.<sup>[8]</sup> Ambrose told Theodosius to imitate David in his repentance as he had imitated him in guilt — Ambrose readmitted the emperor to the Eucharist only after several months of penance.

In the last years of Theodosius' reign, one of the emerging leaders of the Goths, named Alaric, participated in Theodosius' campaign against Eugenius in 394, only to resume his rebellious behavior against Theodosius' son and eastern successor, Arcadius, shortly after Theodosius' death.

Civil wars in the Empire



After the death of Gratian in 383, Theodosius' interests turned to the Western Roman Empire, for the usurper Magnus Maximus had taken all the provinces of the West except for Italy. This self-proclaimed threat was hostile to Theodosius' interests, since the reigning emperor Valentinian II, Maximus' enemy, was his ally. Theodosius, however, was unable to do much about Maximus due to his still inadequate military capability and he was forced to keep his attention on local matters. However when Maximus began an invasion of Italy in 387, Theodosius was forced to take action.

The armies of Theodosius and Maximus fought at the Battle of the Save in 388, which saw Maximus defeated. On 28

August 388 Maximus was executed.<sup>[9]</sup> Trouble arose again, after Valentinian was found hanging in his room. It was claimed to be a suicide by the *magister militum*, Arbogast.

Arbogast, unable to assume the role of Emperor because of his non-Roman background, elected Eugenius, a former teacher of rhetoric. Eugenius started a program of restoration of the Pagan faith, and sought, in vain, Theodosius' recognition. In January 393, Theodosius gave his son Honorius the full rank of "Augustus" in the West, citing Eugenius' illegitimacy.<sup>[10]</sup>

Theodosius campaigned against Eugenius. The two armies faced at the Battle of Frigidus in September 394.<sup>[11]</sup> The battle began on 5 September 394, with Theodosius' full frontal assault on Eugenius' forces. Theodosius was repulsed on the first day, and Eugenius thought the battle to be all but over. However, in Theodosius' camp, the loss of the day decreased morale. It is said that Theodosius was visited by two "heavenly riders all in white" who gave him courage. The next day, the battle began again and Theodosius' forces were aided by a natural phenomenon known as the Bora, which produces cyclonic winds. The Bora blew directly against the forces of Eugenius and disrupted the line.

Eugenius' camp was stormed, and Eugenius was captured and soon after executed. Thus Theodosius became the only emperor.



## Art patronage

Theodosius oversaw the removal in 390 of an Egyptian obelisk from Alexandria to Constantinople. It is now known as the obelisk of Theodosius and still stands in the Hippodrome, the long racetrack that was the center of Constantinople's public life and scene of political turmoil. Re-erecting the monolith was a challenge for the technology that had been honed in the construction of siege engines. The obelisk, still recognizably a solar symbol, had been moved from Karnak to Alexandria with what is now the Lateran obelisk by Constantius II).

The Lateran obelisk was shipped to Rome soon afterwards, but the other one then spent a generation lying at the docks due to the difficulty involved in attempting to ship it to Constantinople. Eventually, the obelisk was cracked in transit. The white marble base is entirely covered with bas-reliefs documenting the Imperial household and the engineering feat of removing it to Constantinople. Theodosius and the Imperial family are separated from the nobles among the spectators in the Imperial box, with a cover over them as a mark of their status. The naturalism of traditional Roman art in such scenes gave way in these reliefs to conceptual art: the *idea* of order, decorum and respective ranking, expressed in serried ranks of faces. This is seen as evidence of formal themes beginning to oust the transitory details of mundane life, celebrated in Pagan portraiture. Christianity had only just been adopted as the new state religion.

The *Forum Tauri* in Constantinople was renamed and redecorated as the Forum of Theodosius, including a column and a triumphal arch in his honour.



Theodosius offers a laurel wreath to the victor, on the marble base of the Obelisk of Thutmose III at the Hippodrome of Constantinople.

## Nicene Christianity becomes the state religion

Theodosius promoted Nicene Trinitarian Christianity within the Empire. On 27 February 380, he declared "Catholic Church" the only legitimate Imperial religion, ending official state support for the traditional religion.<sup>[12]</sup>

### Nicene Creed

In 325, Constantine I facilitated the Church's bishops to convene the Council of Nicea, which affirmed the prevailing view that Jesus, the Son, was equal to the Father, one with the Father, and of the same substance (*homoousios* in Greek). The council condemned the teachings of the heterodox theologian Arius: that the Son was a created being and inferior to God the Father, and that the Father and Son were of a *similar* substance (*homoiousios* in Greek—a difference of one iota) but not *identical* (see Nontrinitarian). Despite the council's ruling, controversy continued. By the time of Theodosius' accession, there were still several different Church factions that promoted alternative Christology.

### Arians

While no mainstream churchmen within the Empire explicitly adhered to Arius (a presbyter from Alexandria, Egypt) or his teachings, there were those who still used the *homoiousios* formula, as well as those who attempted to bypass the debate by merely saying that Jesus was like (*homoios* in Greek) God the Father, without speaking of substance (*ousia*). All these non-Nicenes were frequently labeled as Arians (i.e., followers of Arius) by their opponents, though they would not have identified themselves as such.<sup>[13]</sup>

The Emperor Valens had favored the group who used the *homoios* formula; this theology was prominent in much of the East and had under the sons of Constantine the Great gained a foothold in the West. Theodosius, on the other hand, cleaved closely to the Nicene Creed which was the interpretation that predominated in the West and was held by the important Alexandrian church.



Solidus of emperor Theodosius. The reverse depicts Theodosius and Valentinian II seated, both holding a globe.

## Establishment of Nicene Orthodoxy

On 27 February 380 he, together with Gratian and Valentinian II published the so called "Edict of Thessalonica" (decree "*Cunctos populos*", Codex Theodosianus xvi.1.2) in order that all their subjects should profess the faith of the bishops of Rome and Alexandria (i.e., the Nicene faith). The move was mainly a thrust at the various beliefs that had arisen out of Arianism, but smaller dissident sects, such as the Macedonians, were also prohibited.

On 26 November 380, two days after he had arrived in Constantinople, Theodosius expelled the non-Nicene bishop, Demophilus of Constantinople, and appointed Meletius patriarch of Antioch, and Gregory of Nazianzus, one of the Cappadocian Fathers from Antioch (today in Turkey), patriarch of Constantinople. Theodosius had just been baptized, by bishop Acholius of Thessalonica, during a severe illness, as was common in the early Christian world.

In May 381, Theodosius summoned a new ecumenical council at Constantinople (see First Council of Constantinople) to repair the schism between East and West on the basis of Nicean orthodoxy.<sup>[14]</sup> "The council went on to define orthodoxy, including the mysterious Third Person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, who, though equal to the Father, 'proceeded' from Him, whereas the Son was 'begotten' of Him."<sup>[15]</sup> The council also "condemned the Apollonarian and Macedonian heresies, clarified jurisdictions of the state church of the Roman Empire according to the civil boundaries of dioceses and ruled that Constantinople was second in precedence to Rome."<sup>[15]</sup>

The death of Valens, the Arians' protector, probably damaged the standing of the Homoian faction.

## Conflicts with Pagans

### Death of Western Roman Emperor Valentinian II

On 16 May 392, Valentinian II was found hanged in his residence in the town of Vienne in Gaul. The Frankish soldier and Pagan Arbogast, Valentinian's protector and *magister militum*, maintained that it was suicide. Arbogast and Valentinian had frequently disputed rulership over the Western Roman Empire, and Valentinian was also noted to have complained of Arbogast's control over him to Theodosius. Thus when word of his death reached Constantinople, Theodosius believed, or at least suspected, that Arbogast was lying and had engineered Valentinian's demise. These suspicions were further fueled by Arbogast's elevation of Eugenius, from pagan official, to the position of Western Emperor. Plus, Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, spoke some veiled accusations against Arbogast, in his funeral oration for Valentinian II.

Valentinian II's death sparked a civil war between Eugenius and Theodosius, over the rulership of the west, resulting in the Battle of the Frigidus. The resultant eastern victory there led to the final brief unification of the Roman Empire under Theodosius, and the ultimate irreparable division of the empire after his death.

## Proscription of Paganism



*Saint Ambrose and Emperor Theodosius,*  
Anthony van Dyck.

The Christian persecution of paganism under Theodosius I began in 381, after the first couple of years his reign in the Eastern Roman Empire. In the 380s, Theodosius I reiterated Constantine's ban on Pagan sacrifice, prohibited haruspicy on pain of death, pioneered the criminalization of Magistrates who did not enforce anti-Pagan laws, broke up some pagan associations and destroyed Pagan temples.

Between 389–391 he promulgated the "Theodosian decrees," which established a practical ban on paganism;<sup>[16]</sup> visits to the temples were forbidden,<sup>[17][18]</sup> remaining Pagan holidays abolished, the eternal fire in the Temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum extinguished, the Vestal Virgins disbanded, auspices and witchcrafting punished. Theodosius refused to restore the Altar of Victory in the Senate House, as asked by pagan Senators.

In 392 he became Emperor of the whole Empire (the last one to do so). From this moment till the end of his reign in 395, while Pagans remained outspoken in their demands for toleration,<sup>[19][20]</sup> he authorized or participated in the destruction of many temples, holy

sites, images and objects of piety throughout the Empire,<sup>[21][22][23][24][25]</sup> and participated in actions by Christians against major Pagan sites.<sup>[26]</sup>

He issued a comprehensive law that prohibited any Pagan ritual even within the privacy of one's home,<sup>[27]</sup> and was particularly oppressive of Manicheans.<sup>[28]</sup> Paganism was now proscribed, a "religio illicita".<sup>[29]</sup> He is likely to have suppressed the Ancient Olympic Games, whose last record of celebration is from 393.<sup>[30]</sup>

## Death

Theodosius died, after suffering from a disease involving severe edema, in Milan on 17 January 395. Ambrose organized and managed Theodosius's lying in state in Milan. Ambrose delivered a panegyric titled *De Obitu Theodosii*<sup>[31]</sup> before Stilicho and Honorius in which Ambrose detailed the suppression of heresy and paganism by Theodosius. Theodosius was finally buried in Constantinople on 8 November 395.<sup>[32]</sup>

## References

- [1] In Classical Latin, Theodosius' name would be inscribed as FLAVIVS THEODOSIVS AVGVSTVS.
- [2] *Cf. decree, infra.*
- [3] "Edict of Thessalonica": See Codex Theodosianus XVI.1.2
- [4] See the Hydatius and Zosimus's critics and other arguments by Alicia M. Canto, «Sobre el origen bético de Teodosio I el Grande, y su improbable nacimiento en Cauca de Gallaecia», *Latomus* (Brussels) 65.2, 2006, págs. 388–421, cf. (<http://users.belgacom.net/latomus/revue.html>)
- [5] Zos. *Historia Nova* 4.24.4 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=FSMAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=zosimus&ei=xzm1R-euDJ6SQT309jGBQ#PPA200,M1>).
- [6] Williams and Friell, p34.
- [7] Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*
- [8] Attwater, Donald and Catherine Rachel John. *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*. 3rd edition. New York: Penguin Books, 1993. ISBN 0-14-051312-4.
- [9] Williams and Friell, p 64.
- [10] Williams and Friell, p129.
- [11] Williams and Friell, p 134.
- [12] Theodosian Code XVI.i.2, Medieval Sourcebook: Banning of Other Religions (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/theodcodeXVI.html>)

- [13] Lenski, Noel, *Failure of Empire*, University of California Press, 2002, ISBN 0-520-23332-8, pp235–237.
- [14] Williams and Friell, p54.
- [15] William and Friell, p55.
- [16] Theodosian Code 16.10.11
- [17] Routery, Michael (1997) *The First Missionary War. The Church take over of the Roman Empire*, Ch. 4, *The Serapeum of Alexandria* (<http://www.vinland.org/scamp/grove/kreich/chapter4.html>)
- [18] Theodosian Code 16.10.10
- [19] Zosimus 4.59
- [20] Symmachus Relatio 3.
- [21] Grindle, Gilbert (1892) *The Destruction of Paganism in the Roman Empire*, pp.29–30. Quote summary: For example, Theodosius ordered Cynegius (Zosimus 4.37), the praetorian prefect of the East, to permanently close down the temples and forbade the worship of the deities throughout Egypt and the East. Most of the destruction was perpetrated by Christian monks and bishops,
- [22] Life of St. Martin (<http://www.users.csbsju.edu/~eknuth/npnf2-11/sulpitui/lifeofst.html#14>)
- [23] Gibbon, Edward *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch28
- [24] R. MacMullen, "Christianizing The Roman Empire A.D.100–400, Yale University Press, 1984, ISBN 0-300-03642-6
- [25] Catholic Encyclopedia (1912) article on *Theophilus*, New Advent Web Site.
- [26] Ramsay McMullan (1984) *Christianizing the Roman Empire A.D. 100–400*, Yale University Press, p.90.
- [27] "A History of the Church", Philip Hughes, Sheed & Ward, rev ed 1949 (<http://www.ewtn.com/library/CHISTORY/HUGHHIST.TXT>), vol I chapter 6.
- [28] "The First Christian Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Church", Edited by Gillian Rosemary Evans, contributor Clarence Gallagher SJ, "The Imperial Ecclesiastical Lawgivers", p68, Blackwell Publishing, 2004, ISBN 0-631-23187-0
- [29] Hughes, Philip *Studies in Comparative Religion, The Conversion of the Roman Empire*, Vol 3, CTS.
- [30] Kotynski, p.3. For more information about the question of this date, see Kotynski.
- [31] Williams and Friell, p.139.
- [32] Williams and Friell, p. 140.

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## External links

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- This list of Roman laws of the fourth century (<http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/imperial-laws-364/>) shows laws passed by Theodosius I relating to Christianity.

# Tigranes the Great

Tigranes II

King of Armenia



Coin with the image of Tigranes

Reign	95–55 BC
Predecessor	Tigranes I
Successor	Artavasdes II
Royal House	Artaxiad
Father	Artavasdes I or Tigranes I
Children	three sons: Zariadres, Artavasdes II and Tigranes & a daughter with Cleopatra

**Tigranes the Great** (Armenian: Տիգրան Մեծ; EA: *Tigran Mets*, WA: *Tigran Medz*, Greek: Τιγράνης ὁ Μέγας) (140–55 BC; also called **Tigranes II** and sometimes **Tigranes I**) was emperor of Armenia under whom the country became, for a short time, the strongest state east of the Roman Republic.<sup>[1]</sup> He was a member of the Artaxiad Royal House. Under his reign, the Armenian kingdom expanded beyond its traditional boundaries, allowing Tigranes to claim the title Great King, and involving Armenia in many battles against opponents such as the Parthian and Seleucid empires, and the Roman Republic.

## Early years

Tigranes had been a hostage until the age of 40 at the court of King Mithradates II of Parthia who defeated the Armenians in 105 BCE. Other sources give the date as much earlier, at around 112–111 BCE.<sup>[2]</sup> After the death of King Tigranes I in 95 BCE, Tigranes bought his freedom, according to Strabo, by handing over "seventy valleys" in Atropatene to the Parthians.<sup>[3]</sup>

When he came to power, the foundation upon which Tigranes was to build his Empire was already in place, a legacy of the founder of the Artaxiad Dynasty, Artaxias I, and subsequent kings. The mountains of Armenia, however, formed natural borders between the different regions of the country and as a result, the feudalistic *nakharars* had significant influence over the regions or provinces in which they were based. This did not suit Tigranes, who wanted to create a centralist empire. He thus proceeded by consolidating his power within Armenia before embarking on his campaign.<sup>[4]</sup>

He deposed Artanes, the last king of Armenian Sophene and a descendant of Zariadres.<sup>[3]</sup>



## Alliance with Pontus

During the First Mithridatic War (90–85 BCE), Tigranes supported Mithridates VI of Pontus but was careful not to become directly involved in the war.

He rapidly built up his power, allying with Mithridates VI of Pontus and marrying his daughter Cleopatra. Tigranes had agreed that he was to extend his influence in the East, while Mithridates was to conquer Roman land in Anatolia and in Europe. By creating a stronger Hellenistic state, Mithridates was to contend with the well-established Roman foothold in Europe.<sup>[4]</sup> Mithridates then put into effect a planned general attack on Roman and Italians in Anatolia, tapping into local discontent with the Romans and their taxes and urging the peoples of Anatolia against all foreign influence. 80,000 people were slaughtered in the province of Asia Minor, known as the Asiatic Vespers. The two kings' attempts to control Cappadocia and then the massacres resulted in guaranteed Roman intervention. The senate decided on Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who was then one of the current consuls, to be commander of the army against Mithridates.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Wars against the Parthians and Seleucids

After the death of Mithridates II of Parthia in 88 BCE, Tigranes took advantage of the fact that the Parthian Empire had been weakened by Scythian invasions and internal squabbling:

When he acquired power, he recovered these (seventy) valleys, and devastated the country of the Parthians, the territory about Ninus (Nineveh), and that about Arbela. He subjected to his authority the Atropatenians, and the Goryaeans (on the Upper Tigris); by force of arms he obtained possession also of the rest of Mesopotamia and, after crossing the Euphrates, of Syria and Phoenicea. (*Strabo*)<sup>[6]</sup>

In 83 BC, after a bloody strife for the throne of Syria, governed by the Seleucids, the Syrians decided to choose Tigranes as the protector of their kingdom and offered him the crown of Syria.<sup>[2]</sup> Magadates was appointed as his governor in Antioch.<sup>[7]</sup> He then conquered Phoenicia and Cilicia, effectively putting an end to the last remnants of the Seleucid Empire, though a few holdout cities appear to have recognized the shadowy boy-king Seleucus VII Philometor as the legitimate king during his reign. The southern border of his domain reached as far as Ptolemais (modern Akko). Many of the inhabitants of conquered cities were sent to his new metropolis of Tigranakert (Latin name, Tigranocerta).



At its height, his empire extended from the Pontic Alps (in modern north-eastern Turkey) to Mesopotamia, and from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean. Tigranes apparently invaded territories as far away as Ecbatana and took the title king of kings which, at the time, according to their coins, even the Parthian kings did not



assume. He was called "Tigranes the Great" by many Western historians and writers, such as Plutarch. The "King of Kings" never appeared in public without having four kings attending him. Cicero, referring to his success in the east, said that he "made the Republic of Rome tremble before the prowess of his arms." [8]

Tigranes' coin consist of tetradrachms and copper coins having on the obverse his portrait wearing a decorated Armenian tiara with ear-flaps. The reverse has a completely original design. There are the seated Tyche of Antioch and the river god Orontes at her feet.



## Wars against Rome



Tigranes the Great with four Kings surrounding him

Mithridates had found refuge in Armenian land after confronting Rome, considering the fact that Tigranes was his ally and relative. The "King of Kings" eventually came into direct contact with Rome. The Roman commander, Lucullus, demanded the expulsion of Mithridates from Armenia – to comply with such a demand would be, in effect, to accept the status of vassal to Rome and this Tigranes refused.<sup>[9]</sup> Charles Rollins, in his *Ancient History*, says:

Tigranes, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed "King of Kings." After having

overthrown and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of the great Seleucus; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians called Scenites, he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honors after the manners of the East, even to adoration.<sup>[10]</sup>

Lucullus' reaction was an attack that was so precipitate that he took Tigranes by surprise. According to Roman historians, the messenger who first brought news of the unexpected Roman attack was executed.<sup>[11]</sup> Eventually Mithrobazanes, one of Tigranes generals, told Tigranes of the Roman approach. Tigranes was, according to Keaveney, so impressed by Mithrobazanes' courage that he appointed Mithrobazanes to command an army against Lucullus – Mithrobazanes was however defeated and killed.<sup>[12]</sup> After this defeat Tigranes withdrew north to Armenia to regroup which left Tigranocerta under siege.<sup>[13]</sup> When Tigranes had gathered a large army he returned to confront Lucullus. On October 6, 69 BCE, Tigranes' much larger force was decisively defeated by the Roman army under Lucullus in the Battle of Tigranocerta. Tigranes' treatment of the inhabitants (the majority of the population had been forced to move to the city) led disgruntled city guards to open the gates of the city to the

Romans. Learning of this, Tigranes hurriedly sent 6000 cavalymen to the city in order to rescue his wives and some of his assets.<sup>[4]</sup> Tigranes escaped capture with a small escort.

On the 6 October 68 BCE, the Romans approached the old capital of Artaxata. Tigranes' and Mithridates' combined Armeno-Pontian army of 70,000 men formed up to face them but were resoundingly defeated. Once again, both Mithridates and Tigranes evaded capture by the victorious Romans. However, the Armenian historians claim, that Romans lost the battle of Artaxata and Lucullus' following withdrawal from the Kingdom of Armenia in reality was an escape due to above-mentioned defeat. The Armenian-Roman wars are depicted in Alexandre Dumas "Caucasus" book.

The long campaigning and hardships that Lucullus' troops had endured for years, combined with a perceived lack of reward in the form of plunder,<sup>[4]</sup> led to successive mutinies among the legions in 68–67. Frustrated by the rough terrain of Northern Armenia and seeing the worsening moral of his troops, Lucullus moved back south and put Nisibis under siege. Tigranes concluded (wrongly) that Nisibis would hold out and sought to regain those parts of Armenia that the Romans had captured.<sup>[14]</sup> Despite his continuous success in battle, Lucullus could still not capture either one of the monarchs. With Lucullus' troops now refusing to obey his commands, but agreeing to defend positions from attack, the senate sent Gnaeus Pompey to recall Lucullus to Rome and take over his command.

## Pompey and the reconciliation with Rome

In 67 BCE<sup>[15]</sup> Pompey was given the task of defeating Mithradates and Tigranes.<sup>[16]</sup> Pompey first concentrated on attacking Mithradates while distracting Tigranes by engineering a Parthian attack on Gordyeyne.<sup>[17]</sup> Phraates III, the Parthian king was soon persuaded to take things a little further than an annexation of Gordyeyne when a son of Tigranes (also named Tigranes) went to join the Parthians and persuaded Phraates to invade Armenia in an attempt to replace the elder Tigranes with the younger.<sup>[18]</sup> Tigranes decided not to meet the invasion in the field but instead ensured that his capital, Artaxata, was well defended and withdrew to the hill country. Phraates soon realized that Artaxata would not fall without a protracted siege, the time for which he could not spare due his fear of plots at home. Once Phraates left Tigranes came back down from the hills and drove his son from Armenia. The son then fled to Pompey.<sup>[19]</sup>

In 66 BCE, Pompey advanced into Armenia with the younger Tigranes, and Tigranes the Great, now almost 75 years old, surrendered. Pompey treated him generously and allowed him to retain his kingdom shorn of his conquests<sup>[20]</sup> in return for 6,000 talents of silver. His unfaithful son was sent back to Rome as a prisoner.

Tigranes continued to rule Armenia as an ally of Rome until his death in 55/54.<sup>[21]</sup>



Illustration of Tigranes the Great.

## Halley's comet

A recent ABC News article on May 19, 2004 noted that according to the Armenian and Italian researchers the "symbol on his crown that features a star with a curved tail may represent the passage of Halley's Comet in 87 BC."<sup>[22][23]</sup> Tigranes could have seen Halley's comet when it passed closest to the Sun on August 6 in 87, according to the researchers, who said the comet would have been a 'most recordable event'— heralding the New Era of the King of Kings. Hayk Khachatryan, an Armenian novelist, wrote a book called Tigran the Great.

## Notes

- [1] See **(Armenian)** Ruben Manaseryan. *Տիգրան Մեծ՝ Հայկական Պայքարը Հռոմի և Պարթևաստանի դեմ, մ.թ.ա. 94–64 թթ.* (*Tigran the Great: The Armenian Struggle Against Rome and Parthia, 94–64 B.C.*). Yerevan: Lusakan Publishing, 2007.
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- [15] The Encyclopaedia of Military History, R E Dupuy and T N Dupuy
- [16] Pompey, the Roman Alexander,P Greenhalg p105
- [17] Pompey, the Roman Alexander,P Greenhalg p105,114
- [18] Pompey, the Roman Alexander,P Greenhalg p114
- [19] Pompey, the Roman Alexander,P Greenhalg p115
- [20] Scullard, H.H (1959). *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to A.D. 68*. New York: F.A. Praeger. p. 106.
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# Tiridates III of Armenia

Tiridates III the Great	
King of Armenia	
Reign	287–circa 330
Born	250s
Died	circa 330
Buried	Kemah
Predecessor	Khosrov II of Armenia
Successor	Khosrov III the Small
Consort	Ashkhen
Royal House	Arsacid dynasty of Armenia
Father	Khosrov II of Armenia

**Tiridates III** (spelled Trdat; Armenian: Տրդատ Գ; 250-330) was the king of Arsacid Armenia (287-330), and is also known as **Tiridates the Great** Տրդատ Մեծ; some scholars incorrectly refer to him as Tiridates IV as a result of the fact that Tiridates I of Armenia reigned twice). In 301, Tiridates proclaimed Christianity as the state religion of Armenia, making the Armenian kingdom the first state to embrace Christianity officially.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Early Childhood

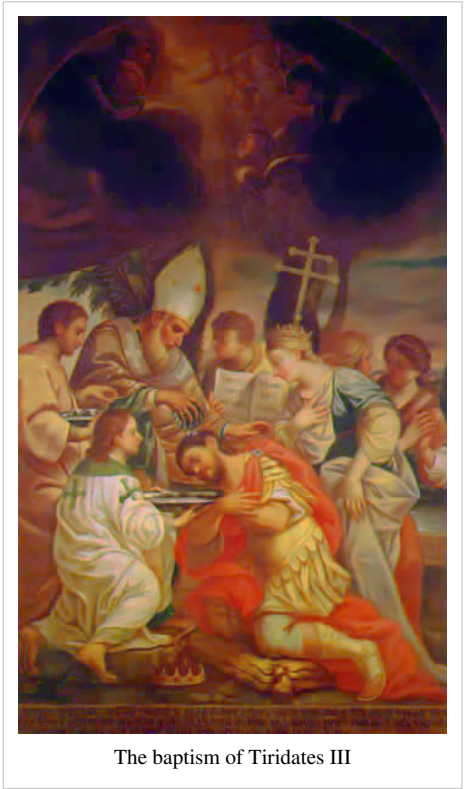
Tiridates III was the son of Khosrov II of Armenia by an unnamed mother, the latter being assassinated in 252 by a Parthian agent named Anak under orders from Ardashir I. Tiridates had one known sibling, a sister called Khosrovidukht. Anak was captured and executed along with most of his family, while two of his sons, one of whom was Gregory the Illuminator, were sheltered in Caesaria, in Cappadocia. Being the only surviving heir to the throne, Tiridates was quickly taken away to Rome soon after his father's assassination while still an infant. He was educated in Rome and was skilled in languages and military tactics<sup>[2][3]</sup>; in addition he firmly understood and appreciated Roman law. The Armenian historian Movses Khorenatsi described him as a brave and strong warrior who participated in the battles against enemies. He personally led his army to victories in many battles.

## Kingship

In 270 the Roman Emperor Aurelian engaged the Sassanids, who had now replaced the Parthians, on the eastern front and he was able to drive them back. Tiridates, as the true heir to the now Persian-occupied Armenian throne, came to Armenia and quickly raised an army and drove the enemy out in 287. The Roman-Armenian alliance grew stronger, especially while Diocletian ruled the empire. This can be attributed to the upbringing of Tiridates, the consistent Persian aggressions and the murder of his father by Anak. With Diocletian's help, Tiridates pushed the Persians out of Armenia.<sup>[2]</sup> In 299, Diocletian left the Armenian state in a quasi-independent and protectorate status possibly to use it as a buffer in case of a Persian attack.<sup>[4]</sup> Tiridates married an Alani Princess called Ashkhen in 297 by whom he had two children: a son called Khosrov III and a daughter called Salome.<sup>[5]</sup> Possibly, Tiridates and Ashkhen may had another unnamed daughter who married St. Husik I, one of the earlier Catholicos of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Conversion

St. Tiridates Սբ. Տրդատ Մեծ Թագավոր	
Honored in	Armenian Apostolic Church
Patronage	Armenia



The baptism of Tiridates III

The traditional story of the conversion of the king and the nation tells of how Gregory the Illuminator the son of Anak, was a Christian convert who, feeling guilt for his own father’s sin, joined the Armenian army and worked as a secretary to the king. Christianity in Armenia had a strong footing by the end of the 3rd century but the nation by and large still followed pagan polytheism. Tiridates was no exception as he too worshiped various ancient gods. During a pagan religious ceremony Tiridates ordered Gregory to place a flower wreath at the foot of the statue of the goddess Anahit in Eriza. Gregory refused, proclaiming his Christian faith. This act infuriated the king. His fury was only exacerbated when several individuals declared that Gregory was in fact, the son of Anak, the traitor who had killed Tiridates’s father. Gregory was tortured and finally thrown in Khor Virap, a deep underground dungeon.

During the years of Gregory’s imprisonment, a group of virgin nuns, led by Gayane, came to Armenia as they fled the Roman persecution of their Christian faith. Tiridates heard about the group and the legendary beauty of one of its members, Rhipsime. He brought them to the palace and demanded to marry the beautiful virgin; she refused. The king had the whole group tortured and killed. After this event, he fell ill and

according to legend, adopted the behavior of a wild boar, aimlessly wandering around in the forest. Khosrovidukht, had a dream wherein Gregory was still alive in the dungeon and he was the only one able to cure the king. At this point it had been 13 years since his imprisonment, and the odds of him being alive were slim. They retrieved him and despite being incredibly malnourished he was still alive. He was kept alive by a kind-hearted woman that threw a loaf of bread down in Khor Virap[6] every day for him.

Tiridates was brought to Gregory, and was miraculously cured of his illness in 301.<sup>[7]</sup> Persuaded by the power of the cure, the king immediately proclaimed Christianity the official state religion. And so, Armenia became the first nation to officially adopt Christianity. Tiridates appointed Gregory as Catholicos of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Rest of reign

The switch from the traditional pagan Armenian religion to Christianity was not an easy one. Tiridates often used force to impose this new faith upon the people and many armed conflicts ensued, because polytheism was deeply rooted in the Armenian people. An actual battle took place between the king's forces and the pagan camp, resulting in the weakening of polytheistic military strength. Tiridates thus spent the rest of his life trying to eliminate all ancient beliefs and in doing so destroyed countless statues, temples and written documents. As a result, little is known from local sources about ancient Armenian history and culture. The king worked feverishly to spread the faith and died in 330. Movses Khorenatsi states that several members of the nakharar families conspired against Tiridates and eventually poisoned him.<sup>[8]</sup>



Tiridates III, Ashkhen and Khosrovidukht are Saints in the Armenian Apostolic Church and their feast day is on the Saturday after the fifth Sunday after Pentecost.<sup>[9]</sup> On this feast day *To the Kings* is sung.<sup>[10]</sup> Their feast day is usually around June 30.

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## Additional reading

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Grigor Illuminator baptizes Tiridates III of Armenia



## Gallery



Tiridates III with his wife Ashkhen and sister Khosrovidukht by Naghash Hovnatan.

## See Also

- [Armenian Apostolic Church](#)
- [Arsacid dynasty of Armenia](#)
- [Saint Gregory the Illuminator Cathedral, Yerevan](#)

# Umar

'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb	
Al-Farooq	
Reign	23 August 634–7 November 644
Born	581 a.d Mecca, Arabia
Died	7 November 644 Medina, Arabia
Predecessor	Abu Bakr
Successor	Uthman
Other titles	Al-Farooq

'**Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb** (Arabic عمر بن الخطاب<sup>[1]</sup>), c. 581 – 644<sup>[1]</sup> c. 2 November (Dhu al-Hijjah 26, 23 Hijri<sup>[2]</sup>), was a leading companion and adviser to the Islamic prophet Muhammad who later became the second Muslim Caliph after Muhammad's death.<sup>[3]</sup>

After converting to Islam in the 6th year after Muhammad's first revelation, he spent 17 years as a companion of Muhammad. He succeeded Caliph Abu Bakr on 23 August 634, and played a significant role in Islamic history. Under his rule the Islamic empire expanded at an unprecedented rate, conquering the whole territory of the former Sassanid Empire and more than two thirds of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>[4]</sup> His legislative abilities, his firm political and administrative control over a rapidly expanding empire and his brilliantly coordinated attacks against the Sassanid Persian Empire that resulted in the conquest of the Persian empire in less than two years, marked his reputation as a great political and military leader.<sup>[5]</sup> He was assassinated by a Persian captive.

Sunni Muslims view him as the Second Rightly-Guided Caliph and know him as al-Farooq (he who knows truth from falsehood).<sup>[6]</sup>

## Early life

Umar was born in Mecca to the Banu Adi clan in 581 A.D, which was responsible for arbitrations among the tribes. His father was Khattab ibn Nufayl and his mother was Hantammah daughter of Hashaam. He was the cousin of Khalid ibn al-Walid, a general who would play an important role later in his life, and during a wrestling match between the two, Umar had his leg broken.<sup>[7]</sup> He is said to have belonged to a middle class family. In his youth he used to tend to his father's camels in the plains near Mecca. His father was famed for his intelligence among his tribe, and is believed to have been a ruthless man and emotional polytheist who often treated Umar badly. As obvious from Umar's own statement regarding his father during his later political rule, Umar said, "My father Al-Khittab was a ruthless man. He used to make me work hard; if I didn't work he used to beat me and he used to work me to exhaustion."<sup>[8]</sup>

Despite literacy being uncommon in pre-Islamic Arabia, Umar learned to read and write in his youth. Although not a poet himself, he developed a love for poetry and literature.<sup>[9]</sup> According to the tradition of Quraish, while still in his teenage years, Umar learned martial arts, horse riding and wrestling. He was blond white skinned with redness in his face, tall and physically powerful and soon became a renowned wrestler.<sup>[9][10]</sup> Umar was also a gifted orator, and due to his intelligence and overwhelming personality, he succeeded his father as an arbitrator of conflicts among the tribes.<sup>[11]</sup>

In addition, Umar followed the traditional profession of the Quraish. He became a merchant and had several journeys to Rome and Persia, where he is said to have met various scholars and analyzed the Roman and Persian societies

closely. However, as a merchant he is believed to have never been successful.<sup>[12][13]</sup>

## Appearance

Umar was blessed with a strong physique. He could undergo great rigours. He could travel on foot for miles. He was an athlete and a wrestler. He participated in the wrestling matches on the occasion of the annual **fair of Ukaz**. From the accounts that have come down to us it appears that Umar had attained perfection in the art of wrestling.<sup>[14]</sup>

Some first hand description of the physical appearance of Umar have come down to us. **Ibn Saad** and **Al-Hakim** have recorded a description of Umar as **Abu Miriam Zir**, a native of Kufa described him. Zir said:

I went forth with the people of Medina on a festival day, and I saw Umar walking barefoot. He was advanced in years, bald, of a tawny colour, a left handed man, tall and towering above the people.
--

[15]

**Ibn Umar** described the physical appearance of Umar as follows:

He was a man of fair complexion, a ruddy tint prevailing, tall, bald and grey.
--

**Ubayd bin Umayr** described Umar as follows:

Umar used to overtop the people in height.
--

**Salima bin al-Akwa'a** said about him:

Umar was ambidexter, he could use both his hands equally well.
--

**Ibn Asakir** records on the authority of **Abu Raja al-U'taridi** that:

Umar was a man tall, stout, very bald, very ruddy with scanty hair on the cheeks, his moustaches large, and the ends thereof reddish.
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[16]

## During the era of Muhammad

### Umar's hostility to Islam

In 610 Muhammed started delivering the message of Islam. Umar, alongside others in Makkah, opposed Islam and threatened to kill Muhammad. He resolved to defend the traditional, polytheistic religion of the Arabia. He was most adamant and cruel in opposing Muhammad and very prominent in persecuting the Muslims.<sup>[17]</sup> Umar was the first man who resolved that Muhammad had to be murdered in order to finish Islam.<sup>[18]</sup> Umar firmly believed in the unity of the Quraish and saw the new faith of Islam as a cause of division and discord among the Quraish.<sup>[17]</sup>

Due to the persecution at the hands of the Quraish, Muhammad ordered his followers to migrate to Abyssinia. As a small group of Muslims migrated Umar felt worried about the future unity of the Quraish and decided to have Muhammad assassinated.<sup>[19]</sup>

## Conversion

Umar converted to Islam in 616, one year after the Migration to Abyssinia. The story was recounted in Ibn Ishaq's *Sīrah*: On the way to murder Muhammad, Umar met his best friend Nu'aim ibn Abdullah who had secretly embraced Islam but he did not tell Umar anything about it. When Umar told him that he was going to kill Muhammad, he was afraid. He knew that Umar would attempt what he said. So just to divert his attention he told him to set his own house in order first, as his sister and her husband had converted to Islam. Umar was taken aback to learn this. Upon arriving at her house, Umar found his sister and brother-in-law Saeed bin Zaid (Umar's cousin), reciting the verses of the Qur'an (Surah *Ta Ha*).<sup>[20]</sup> He started quarreling with his brother-in-law. When his sister came to rescue her husband, he also started quarreling with her. Yet still they kept on saying "you may kill us but we will not give up Islam". Upon hearing these words, Umar slapped his sister so hard that she fell to the ground bleeding from her mouth. When he saw what he had done to his sister, out of guilt he calmed down and asked his sister to give him what she was reciting. She gave him the paper on which was written the verses of the chapter *Ta-Ha*. He was so struck by the beauty of the verses that he became a Muslim that day. He then went to Muhammad with the same sword he intended to kill him with and converted in front of him and his companions. Umar was 27 when he became Muslim.<sup>[21]</sup> Following his conversion, Umar went to inform the chief of Quraish, Amr ibn Hishām, about his new faith. According to one account, Umar thereafter openly prayed at the Kaaba as the Quraish chiefs, Amr ibn Hishām and Abu Sufyan ibn Harb, reportedly watched in anger.<sup>[22]</sup> This further helped the Muslims to gain confidence in practicing Islam openly. At this stage Umar even challenged anyone who dared to stop the Muslims from praying, although no one dared to interfere with Umar when he was openly praying.

Umar's conversion to Islam gave power to the Muslims and the faith in Mecca. It was after this that Muslims offered prayers openly in *Masjid al-Haram* for the first time. Abdullah bin Masoud said:

Umar's embracing Islam was our victory, his migration to Medina was our success and his reign a blessing from Allah, we didn't offer prayers in Al-Haram Mosque until Umar accepted Islam, when he accepted Islam Quraish were compelled to let us pray in the Mosque.<sup>[23]</sup>

All these things earned Umar the title of Farooq, meaning he who knows/tells truth from falsehood.

## Umar's Title of Al Farooq

Mujahid, on the authority of Ibn Abbas related that he had asked 'Umar bin Al-Khattab why he had been given the epithet of Al-Farooq, he replied: After I had embraced Islam, I asked Mohammad: 'Aren't we on the right path here and Hereafter?' He answered: 'Of course you are! I swear by Allah in Whose Hand my soul is, that you are right in this world and in the hereafter.' I, therefore, asked Mohammad 'Why we then had to conduct clandestine activism. I swear by Allah Who has sent you with the Truth, that we will leave our concealment and proclaim our noble cause publicly.' We then went out in two groups, Hamzah leading one and I the other. We headed for the *Masjid Al Haram* in broad daylight. When the polytheists of Quraish saw us, their faces went pale and got incredibly depressed and resentful. On that very occasion, Mohammad attached to me the epithet of *Al-Farooq*.

## Migration to Medina

In 622 due to the growing popularity of Islam in the city of Yathrib (later renamed Al-Madīnah Al-Munawwarah, the enlightened city, or simply Medina) Muhammad ordered his followers to migrate to Medina. Muslims usually migrated at night due to fear of Quraish's resistance to that migration, but Umar is reported to have migrated openly during the day time. Ibn Asakir narrated that Ali said: I don't know of anyone who didn't emigrate in secret except for Umar ibn al-Khattab; because when he wanted to emigrate he strapped on his sword, put his bow over his shoulder, carried his arrows in his hand, and came to the Ka'bah where the nobles of Quraysh were in the courtyard. He performed seven circuits, and then prayed two raka'at at the Station (of Ibrahim). Then he approached their circle one step at a time and said, "Whoever wishes to bereave his mother, orphan his children and widow his wife then let him meet me behind this valley." Not one of them followed him.<sup>[24][25][26]</sup> Umar migrated to Medina accompanied

by his cousin and brother-in-law Saeed ibn Zaid.<sup>[21]</sup>

## Life in Medina

Medina became the new center of Islam and the religion spread rapidly across Arabia. When Muhammad arrived in Medina, he paired off each immigrant (*Muhajir*) with one of the residents of the city (*Ansari*), joining Muhammad ibn Maslamah with Umar(R.A) making them brothers in faith. Later in Umar's reign as caliph Muhammad ibn Muslamah would be assigned the office of chief inspector of Accountability. Muslims remained in peace in Medina for approximately a year before the Quraish raised an army to attack them. In 624 Umar participated in the first Battle between Muslims and Quraish of Mecca i.e. Battle of Badr. In 625 he participated in the Battle of Uhud. In the second phase of Battle when Khalid ibn Walid's cavalry attacked Muslims at the rear changing the victory of Muslims to defeat, rumors of Muhammad's death were spread. Many Muslim warriors were routed from the battle field, Umar too was initially routed but hearing that Muhammad was still alive he went to Muhammad at the mountain of Uhud and prepared for the defence of the hill to keep the Quraishi army away.<sup>[27]</sup> Later in the year Umar was a part of campaign against the Jewish tribe of Banu Nadir. In 625 Umar's(R.A) daughter Hafsa was married to Muhammad.<sup>[28]</sup> Later in 627 he participated in the Battle of the Trench and also in the Battle of Banu Qurayza campaign.<sup>[29]</sup> In 628 Umar participated in the Treaty of Hudaibiyyah and was made one of the witness over the pact.<sup>[29]</sup> In 628 he was a part of Muslims' campaign to Khaybar. In 629 Muhammad sent Amr ibn al-A'as to Zaat-ul-Sallasal from where he called for reinforcement and Muhammad sent Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah with reinforcement, serving under him were Abu Bakr and Umar, they attacked and defeated the enemy.<sup>[30]</sup> In 630 when Muslim armies rushed for the Conquest of Mecca he was part of that army. Later in 630 he was part of Battle of Hunayn and Siege of Ta'if. He was part of Muslim's army that went for the campaign of Tabuk under Muhammad's command and he was reported to have given half of his wealth for the preparation of this expedition. He also participated in the farewell Hajj of Muhammad in 631.<sup>[31]</sup>

## Military expeditions led by Umar

During the time of Muhammad, Umar led 1 military expedition called the Expedition of Umar ibn al-Khatib, which took place in Turbah, around February 628 or the 3rd Month 7AH of the Islamic calendar.<sup>[32][33]</sup>

Umar's troop travelled by night and hid by day. By the time the Muslim army arrived at the habitation, Banu Hawazin already got news of the impending Muslim attack and they fled for their lives, according to the Muslim scholar "Saifur Rahman al Mubarakpuri", author of the Sealed Nectar (a famous award winning biography of Muhammad<sup>[34]</sup>).<sup>[33]</sup>

## Death of Muhammad

Muhammad died on 8 June 632. Umar was full of grief upon hearing the news of demise of Muhammad. Umar, the devoted disciple, could not accept the reality that the "Messenger of God" had died.<sup>[35]</sup> It is said that Umar promised to strike the head of any man who would say that Muhammad died. At this point Abu Bakr is reported to have come out to the Muslim community and gave his famous speech which included:

Whoever worshipped Muhammad, let them know that Muhammad is dead, and whoever worshipped God, let them know that God is alive and never dies.

Abū Bakr then recited these verses from the Qur'an:

Muhammad is but a messenger; messengers (the like of whom) have passed away before him. If, then, he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heel?

Hearing this from Abu Bakr, the most senior disciple of Muhammad, Umar then fell down on his knees in great sense of sorrow and acceptance of the reality. *Sunni* Muslims say that this denial of Muhammad's death was occasioned by his deep love for him.<sup>[35]</sup>

## Caliph Abu Bakr's era

During Abu Bakr's reign as caliph, during which he was active in the Ridda wars, Umar was one of his chief advisers and secretary. Umar along with Khalid ibn Walid, probably was the architect and main strategist behind the collapse of rebellion in Arabia. Though at the beginning Umar was opposing the military operations against the rebel tribes (due to the apprehensive situation in Arabia and possibly to enjoy their support in case of any possible foreign invasion by the Romans or the Persians) he later seemed to agree with Abu Bakr's strategy to crush rebellion. Khalid ibn Walid by late 632 had successfully united Arabia after consecutive victories against the rebels. Later during his own reign, Umar would mostly adopt the policy of avoiding wars and consolidating his power in the conquered land rather than expanding Islamic empire through continuous warfare.<sup>[36]</sup> Prior to the Battle of Yamamah, Umar pressured Abu Bakr to call back Khalid, who had killed Malik ibn Nuwayrah, a rebel chief who was a state criminal. Umar was reportedly misguided by Malik's brother that Malik was a Muslim and Khalid killed him because he wanted to marry his wife Layla bint al-Minhal, a renowned beauty in Arabia. While Abu Bakr refused to accept Umar's opinion and Umar continued insisting for Khalid's disposal even after Khalid's conquest of Iraq. It was Umar who advised Abu Bakr to compile Quran in the form of a book, after the death of 300 memorizers of Quran in Battle of Yamamah. Abu Bakr appointed Umar as his successor prior to his death in 634. He was confirmed in the office thereafter.

## Appointment as a Caliph

Due to his strict and autocratic nature, Umar was not a very popular figure among the notables of Madinah and members of the Majlis al Shura, accordingly succession of Umar was initially discouraged by high ranking companions of Abu Bakr.<sup>[37][38]</sup> When Abu Bakr was close to death, he nominated Umar to succeed him as the next Caliph.<sup>[39]</sup>

Umar was still well known for his extraordinary will power, intelligence, political astuteness, impartiality, justice and care for poor and underprivileged people.<sup>[40]</sup> Abu Bakr is reported to have said to the high-ranking advisers:

His [Umar's] strictness was there because of my softness when the weight of Caliphate will be over his shoulders he will remain no longer strict. If I will be asked by the God to whom I have appointed my successor, I will tell him that I have appointed the best man among your men.<sup>[41]</sup>

Abu Bakr was fully aware of Umar's power and ability to succeed him. Succession of Umar was thus not as troublesome as any of the others. His was perhaps one of the smoothest transitions to power from one authority to another in the Muslim lands.<sup>[42]</sup> Abu Bakr before his death called Uthman to write his will in which he declared Umar his successor. In his will he instructed Umar to continue the conquests on Iraq and Syrian fronts. Abu Bakr's decision proved to be crucial in the strengthening of the nascent Islamic empire.



## Reign as Caliph

On 22 August Caliph Abu Bakr died. The same day Umar assumed the office of Caliphate. After the assumption of office as the Caliph, Umar addressed the Muslims in his Inaugural address as:

O ye faithful! Abu Bakr is no more amongst us. He has the satisfaction that he has successfully piloted the ship of the Muslim state to safety after negotiating the stormy sea. He successfully waged the apostasy wars, and thanks to him, Islam is now supreme in Arabia. After Abu Bakr, the mantle of Caliphate has fallen on my shoulders. I swear it before God that I never coveted this office. I wished that it would have devolved on some other person more worthy than me. But now that in national interest, the responsibility for leading the Muslims has come to vest in me, I assure you that I will not run away from my post, and will make an earnest effort to discharge the onerous duties of the office to the best of my capacity in accordance with the injunctions of Islam. Allah has examined me from you and you from me, In the performance of my duties, I will seek guidance from the Holy Book, and will follow the examples set by the Holy Prophet and Abu Bakr. In this task I seek your assistance. If I follow the right path, follow me. If I deviate from the right path, correct me so that we are not led astray.



Sword of Caliph Umar, with later hilt

## Initial challenges

Umar was already not an endearing figure in Medina. Although almost all of the Muslims had given pledge of loyalty to him, nevertheless he was rather more feared than loved. The first challenge for Umar was to win out his subjects and members of Majlis al Shura.<sup>[43]</sup> Umar was a gifted orator, and he would use his ability to get a soft corner in the hearts of people.<sup>[44]</sup> On Friday prayers Umar addressed the people as follows:

Brethren, it has come to my notice that the people are afraid of me ... they say that he (*Umar*) has become the Caliph now, God knows how hard he will be. Whoever has said this is not wrong in his assessment ,, know ye brethren that you will feel a change in me.<sup>[45]</sup> For those who practise tyranny and deprive others of their rights, I will be harsh and stern, but for those who follow the law, I will be most soft and tender.

Umar's addresses greatly moved the people. Next time he addressed the people as:

I will be harsh and stern against the aggressor,<sup>[46]</sup> but I will be a pillar of strength for the weak.

I will not calm down until I will put one cheek of a tyrant on the ground and the other under my feet, and for the poor and weak, I will put my cheek on the ground.

The following are the historic words of Umar,<sup>[47]</sup> over which he laid foundation of his rule:

By God, he that is weakest among you shall be in my eye the strongest,<sup>[48]</sup> until I have vindicated for him his rights; he that is strongest I will treat as the weakest, until he complies with the law.

Umar's stress was on the well being of poor and underprivileged people. As this class made a bulk of any community, the people were soundly moved by Umar's speeches and his popularity grew rapidly and continuously over the period of his reign.<sup>[49]</sup> In addition to this Umar, in order to improve his reputation and relation with Banu Hashim, the tribe of Prophet Muhammad and Ali, delivered to him his disputed estates in Khayber. Though he followed Abu Bakr's decision over the dispute of land of Fidak, continued its status as a state property. In the Ridda

wars, thousands of prisoners from rebel and apostate tribes were taken away as slaves during the expeditions. Umar ordered the general amnesty for the prisoners, and their immediate emancipation.<sup>[50]</sup> This made Umar quite a popular leader among the budoiene tribes. With necessary public support with him, Umar took a bold decision of retrieving Khalid ibn Walid from supreme command on Roman front.<sup>[51]</sup>

## Political and civil administration

The government of Umar was more or less a unitary government, where the sovereign political authority was the Caliph. The empire of Umar was divided into provinces and some autonomous territories such as Azerbaijan and Armenia which had accepted suzerainty to the Caliphate. The provinces were administered by the provincial governors or *Wali*. The selection of which was made personally by Umar, who was very fastidious in it. Provinces were further divided into districts, there were about 100 districts in the empire. Each district or main city was under the charge of a junior governor or *Wali*, usually appointed by Umar himself, but occasionally they were also appointed by the provincial governor. Other officers at the provincial level were:

1. *Katib*, the Chief Secretary.
2. *Katib-ud-Diwan*, the Military Secretary.
3. *Sahib-ul-Kharaj*, the Revenue Collector.
4. *Sahib-ul-Ahdath*, the Police chief.
5. *Sahib-Bait-ul-Mal*, the Treasury Officer.
6. *Qadi*, the Chief Judge.

In some districts there were separate military officers, though the Governor (*Wali*) was in most cases the Commander-in-chief of the army quartered in the province. Every appointment was made in writing. At the time of appointment an instrument of instructions was issued with a view to regulating the conduct of Governors. On assuming office, the Governor was required to assemble the people in the main mosque, and read the instrument of instructions before them.<sup>[52]</sup>

Umar's general instructions to his officers were:

Remember, I have not appointed you as commanders and tyrants over the people. I have sent you as leaders instead, so that the people may follow your example. Give the Muslims their rights and do not beat them lest they become abused. Do not praise them unduly, lest they fall into the error of conceit. Do not keep your doors shut in their faces, lest the more powerful of them eat up the weaker ones. And do not behave as if you were superior to them, for that is tyranny over them.

Various other strict code of conducts were to be obeyed by the governors and state officials. The principal officers were required to come to Mecca on the occasion of the Hajj, during which people were free to present any complaint against them. In order to minimize the chances of corruption, Umar made it a point to pay high salaries to the staff. Provincial governor received as much as five to seven thousand dirham annually besides their shares of the spoils of war (*if they were also the commander in chief of the army of their sector*). Under Umar the empire was divided into the following provinces.

1. Arabia was divided into two provinces, Mecca and Medina;
2. Iraq was divided into two provinces, Basra and Kufa;
3. In the upper reaches of the Tigris and the Euphrates, Jazira was a province;
4. Syria was a province;
5. Umar divided Palestine in two provinces Elya (Jerusalem) and Ramla;
6. Egypt was divided into two provinces, Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt;
7. Persia was divided into three provinces, Khorasan; Azarbaijan and Fars.

Umar was first to established a special department for the investigation of complaints against the officers of the State. This department acted as Administrative court, where the legal proceedings were personally led by Umar.<sup>[53]</sup>

The Department was under the charge of Muhammad ibn Maslamah, one of Umar's most trusted men. In important cases Muhammad ibn Maslamah was deputed by Umar to proceed to the spot, investigate the charge and take action. Sometimes an Inquiry Commission was constituted to investigate the charge. On occasions the officers against whom complaints were received were summoned to Medina, and charged in Umar's administrative court.

Umar was a pioneer in some affairs:

1. Umar was the first to introduce the public ministry system, where the records of officials and soldiers were kept. He also kept a record system that had the messages he sent to Governors and heads of states.
2. He was the first to appoint police forces to keep civil order.
3. He was the first to discipline the people when they became disordered.<sup>[54]</sup>

## Reforms

Umar is regarded as one of the greatest political geniuses in history.<sup>[5]</sup>

While under his leadership, the empire was expanding at a unprecedented rate, he also began to build the political structure that would hold together the vast empire that was being built. He undertook many administrative reforms and closely oversaw public policy. He established an advanced administration for the newly conquered lands, including several new ministries and bureaucracies, and ordered a census of all the Muslim territories. During his rule, the garrison cities (amsar) of Basra and Kufa were founded or expanded. In 638, he extended and renovated the Masjid al-Haram (Grand Mosque) in Mecca and the Al-Masjid al-Nabawi (Mosque of the Prophet) in Medina.<sup>[55]</sup> Umar also ordered the expulsion of the Christian and Jewish communities of Najran and Khaybar allowing them to reside in Syria or Iraq. He issued orders that these Christians and Jews should be

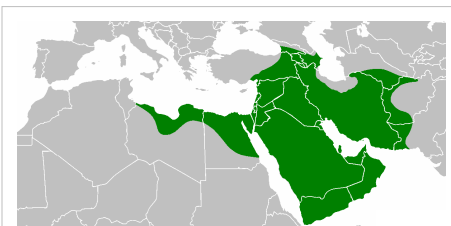
treated well and allotted them the equivalent land in their new settlements. Umar also forbade non-Muslims to reside in the Hejaz for longer than three days.<sup>[56]</sup> He was first to establish the army as a state department. Umar was the founder of Fiqh, the Islamic jurisprudence.<sup>[57]</sup> He is regarded by Sunni Muslims to be one of the greatest Faqih. Umar as a jurist started the process of codifying Islamic Law. In 641, he established Bayt al-mal, a financial institution and started annual state sponsored allowances for the poor Muslims in Makkah and Al Madinah. A year later he also started allowances for the poor, underprivileged and old non-Muslim citizens of the empire. As a leader, 'Umar was known for his simple, austere lifestyle. Rather than adopt the pomp and display affected by the rulers of the time, he continued to live much as he had when Muslims were poor and persecuted. In 639, his fourth year as caliph and the seventeenth year since the Hijra, he decreed that the Islamic calendar should be counted from the year of the Hijra of Muhammad from Mecca to Madinah.



The Umar's Mosque in Bethlehem. Umar had traveled to Bethlehem in 637 CE to issue a law that would guarantee respect for the shrine and safety for Christians and clergy.

## Military expansion

It is widely believed that Umar stressed more on consolidating his power and political influence in the conquered land, rather than pursuing conquests. Nevertheless under Umar, The Islamic empire grew at an unprecedented rate. In 638, after the conquest of Syria, Umar dismissed Khalid, his most successful general due to his ever growing fame and influence. Later however Umar regretted this



Caliph Umar's empire at its peak, 644

decision. The military conquest were partially terminated between 638–639 during the years of great famine and plague in Arabia and Levant respectively. During his reign the Levant, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Fezzan, Eastern Anatolia, almost the whole of the Sassanid Persian Empire including Bactria, Persia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Caucasus and Makran were annexed to the Islamic Empire. According to one estimate more than 4050 cities were captured during these military conquest.<sup>[58]</sup> Prior to his death in 644, Umar had ceased all military expeditions apparently to consolidate his rule in Egypt and the newly conquered Sassanid Empire (642–644). At his death in November 644, the domain of his rule extended from present day Libya in west to the Indus river in east and the Oxus river in north.

## The great famine

In the year 638, Arabia fell into severe drought followed by a famine. Bedouin people began to die because of hunger and epidemic disease. Hundreds of thousands of people from all over Arabia gathered at Madinah where food was rationed. Soon the reserves of food at Madinah began to decline, and Umar wrote to the provincial governors of Syria, Palestine and Iraq for aid. A state of emergency was declared in Madinah and Arabia. The timely aid of Umar's governors saved the lives of thousands of people throughout Arabia. The first governor to respond was Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah, the governor of Syria and supreme commander of Rashidun army. He sent a historic letter to Umar saying

I am sending you the Caravans whose one end will be here at Syria and the other will be at Madinah.

Later, Abu Ubaidah paid a personal visit to Madinah and acted as an officer of Disaster management cell, which was headed personally by Umar. Once an adequate supply of rations reached Madinah, Umar dispatched his men to the routes of Iraq, Palestine and Syria to take the supply caravans to the desert settlements deeper into Arabia, which in turn saved millions from starvation. For internally displaced people, Umar hosted a dinner every night at Madinah, which according to one estimate had attendance of more than hundred thousand people.<sup>[59]</sup> By early 639 conditions began to improve. Arabia received precipitation and as soon as the famine ended, Umar personally supervised the rehabilitation of the displaced people. They were given adequate amounts of rations and were exempted from payment of zakat for that year and the next year.

## The great plague

While famine was ending in Arabia, many districts in Syria and Palestine were devastated by plague. While Umar was on his way to visit Syria, at Elat, he was received by Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah, governor of Syria, who informed him about plague and its intensity and he was suggested to go back to Madinah. Umar tried to persuade Abu Ubaidah to come with him to Madinah but he declined to leave his troops in that critical situation. Abu Ubaidah died in 639 due to plague, which also cost the life of 25,000 Muslims in Syria. After the plague had weakened in late 639 Umar visited Syria for political and administrative re-organization, as most of the veteran commanders and governors had died of plague.<sup>[60]</sup>

## Family

Umar married a total of nine women in his lifetime and had fourteen children, ten sons and four daughters. The details are as follow:

Wife: Zaynab bint Mazh'un (at the time of *Jahiliyyah* [Days of Ignorance])

Son: Abdullah ibn Umar

Son: Abdulrahman ibn 'Umar (The Older)

Son: Abdulrahman ibn 'Umar

Daughter: Hafsa bint Umar

Son: Zayd ibn 'Umar<sup>[61]</sup>

Wife: Quraybah bint Abi Umayyah al-Makhzumi divorced, married by (Abdulrehman ibn Abu Bakr)

Wife: Umm Hakim bint al-Harith ibn Hisham (after her husband, a former ally of 'Umar and a companion Ikrimah ibn Abi-Jahl was killed in Battle of Yarmouk, later divorced but al-Madaini says he did not divorce her)<sup>[62]</sup>

Daughter: Fatima bint 'Umar

Wife: Jamilah bint Ashim ibn Thabit ibn Abi al-Aqlah (from the tribe of Aws)<sup>[61][63]</sup>

Son: Asim ibn Umar

Wife: Atikah bint Zayd ibn Amr ibn Nifayl (cousin of Umar and former wife of Abdullah ibn Abu Bakr<sup>[63][64]</sup> married 'Umar in the year twelve AH and after 'Umar was murdered, she married az-Zubayr ibn al-Awwam)

Son: Iyaad ibn 'Umar

Wife: Luhyah {a woman from Yemen (Yaman)} who's marital status with 'Umar is disputed, al-Waqidi said that she was Umm Walad, meaning a slave woman)<sup>[61]</sup>

Son: Abdulrahman ibn 'Umar (the youngest Abdulrehman while some say the middle Abdulrehman from Luhyah)

Wife: Fukayhah (as Umm Walad)<sup>[65]</sup>

Daughter: Zaynab bint 'Umar (the smallest child of 'Umar from Fukayhah)

Wife: Umm Kulthum bint Ali

Son: Zayd ibn Umar

Daughter: Roqayya bint Umar

Another son is, az-Zubayr ibn Bakkar, called *Abu Shahmah*, though from which wife is unknown.<sup>[61]</sup>

## Marriage to Ali bin Abu Talib's daughter Umm Kulthum

It is accepted by Sunni sources as well as from Shia sources that Umar bin Khattab married Ali bin Abu Talib's daughter Umm Kulthum. In Sunni sources it is mentioned that Umar asked for her hand because of a hadith he heard from Muhammad, "Every lineage and means will be severed on the Day of Judgment except my lineage and my means." Umar wanted to be closely related to Muhammad, therefore he requested for Ali's daughter, which Ali accepted. This claim is rejected by Shia's scholars.

## Taraweeh

Taraweeh, the night prayers during Ramadan, were institutionalized during Umar's reign as Caliph. Once when visiting the mosque, he saw different groups of people performing prayers, and suggested to them to join together in performing the prayers. A majority of Sunni Muslims have followed the same practice since then. The Shia do not give credence to the institutionalization of this prayer during Umar's caliphate.

## Assassination

In 644, at zenith of his power, Umar was assassinated. His assassination was carried out by a Persian, in response to the Muslim conquest of Persia.<sup>[66]</sup> The assassination was planned several months earlier. In October 644 Umar went for Hajj in Mecca, the assassins started the hoopla of Umar's possible death that year, and the massive crowd of the congregation was used by the conspirators as a veil to hide themselves. It is related that when Umar stood at Mount Arafat he heard a voice saying:

"O Caliph, never again will you stand on the Mount of Arafat".

A companion of Umar, Jabir bin Mutaam is reported to have said:

We saw a man standing at the top of the hill and crying 'Verily that is the last Hajj of Umar. He will never come here again.'

During one of rituals of Hajj, the Ramy al-Jamarat (*stoning of the Devil*), some one threw a stone on Umar that wounded his head, a voice was heard that Umar will not attend the Hajj ever again. Amongst the conspirators was:

1. Hormuzan, the alleged mastermind of the plot. He was Persian Commander in Chief and was captured and brought to Umar at Madinah where to save his life he apparently converted to Islam.
2. One of Umar's advisors, Ka'ab al-Ahbar, a former Jewish Rabbi, who apparently had converted to Islam, but his conversion is generally doubted by the Shi'ite scholars.<sup>[67][68]</sup>
3. *Jafinah*, the Christian Arab from Iraq, who was also a foster brother of Saad ibn Abi Waqqas, former governors of Busra.
4. Piruzan, popularly known as *Abu Lulu*, he was slave of Mughira ibn Shu'ba the then governor of Busra.

It was Abu Lulu who was assigned the mission of assassinating Umar. According to the plan, before the Fajrprayers (*the morning prayers before the dawn*) Abu Lulu will enter Al-Masjid al-Nabawi, the main mosque of Madinah where Umar led the prayers and will attack Umar during the prayers, and will flee or will mix with the congregation at mosque.

Abu Lulu brought a conjectural complaint to Umar about the high tax charged from him by his master Mughirah. Umar wrote to Mughirah and inquired about the tax. Mughirah's reply was satisfactory. Umar held that the tax charged from Abu Lulu was reasonable, owing to his daily income. Umar then is reported to have asked Abu Lulu:

I heard that you make windmills; make one for me as well. In a sullen mood, Firoz said, "Verily I will make such a mill for you, that whole world would remember it".

On 3 November 644, Umar was attacked, while leading the morning prayers, Abu Lulu stabbed him six times in the back and last in the chest, that proved fatal. Umar was left profusely bleeding while Abu Lulu tried to flee but people from all sides rushed to capture him, he in his efforts to escape is reported to have wounded twelve other people, six



Tombstone of Caliph Umar, in Al-Masjid al-Nabawi, Medina. The first window from the right gives a view of Umar's grave.



or nine of them later died. At last he was captured but committed suicide from the same dagger. Umar died of the wounds four days later on Sunday, 7 November 644.<sup>[69]</sup> Umar is reported to have left the following testament:

*Be kind and generous to the Muhajirun and the Ansar. Those out of them who are good, be good to them; those who are bad overlook their lapses. Be good to the people of the conquered lands. They are the outer line of our defense; they are the target of the anger and distress of our enemies. They contribute to our revenues. They should be taxed only on their surplus wealth. Be gracious to the Bedouins as they are the backbone of the Arab nation. I instruct you to be good to the Dhimmis for they are your responsibility. Do not tax them beyond their capacity. Ensure that they pay the Jizya without undue inconvenience. Fear God, and in all that you do keep His pleasure in view. In the matter of people fear God, and in the matter of Allah do not be afraid of the people. With regard to the people, I enjoin upon you to administer justice with an even hand. See that all the legitimate requirements of the people are met. Be concerned for their welfare. Ensure the safety of their person and property. See that the frontiers of our domains are not violated. Take strong steps to guard the frontiers. In the matter of administration do not prefer the rich to the poor. Be hard against those who violate the law. Show them no mercy. Do not rest content until you have brought the miscreants to book. Treat all the people as equal. Be a pillar of strength for those who are weak and oppressed. Those who are strong but do wrong, make them pay for their wrong-doings. In the distribution of booty and other matters be above nepotism. Let no consideration of relationship or selfish interest weigh with you. The Satan is at large; it may tempt you. Rise above all temptations and perform your duties in accordance with the injunctions of Islam. Get guidance from the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Freely consult the wise men around you. Apply your own mind in difficult cases, and seek light from God. Be simple in your living and your habits. Let there be no show or ostentation about you. Lead life as a model Muslim. As you are the leader of the Muslims, justify your leadership by being the best among them all. May God bless you.*

As per Umar's will, he was buried next to Al-Masjid al-Nabawi alongside Muhammad and Caliph Abu Bakr by the permission of Aisha.

## Aftermaths

On his death bed Umar vacillated to appoint his successor, however it has been reported that he said that if Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah, Khalid ibn Walid or Salim, the mawali and freed Persian slave, were alive he would have appointed one of them his successor. Umar finally appointed a committee of six persons comprising,

1. Ali ibn Abi Taleb
2. Saad ibn Abi Waqqas
3. Talha ibn Ubaidullah
4. Uthman ibn Affan
5. Abd-al-Rahman ibn Awf
6. Zubayr ibn al-Awwam

Their task was to choose a caliph from amongst them. Umar appointed a band of fifty armed soldiers to protect the house where the meeting was proceeding. Until the appointment of the next caliph Umar appointed a notable Sahabi, a mawali, Suhayb ar-Rumi (*Suhayb the Roman*) as a caretaker Caliph. While the historic meeting for selection of caliph was preceding, Abdulrehman ibn Abu Bakr and Abdur Rahman bin Awf revealed that they saw the dagger used by Abu Lulu, the assassin of Umar. A night before Umar's assassination, reported Abdur Rahman bin Awf, he saw Hormuzan, Jafina and Abu Lulu, while they were suspiciously discussing some thing, bewildered by his presence, the dagger fell, it was the same two sided dagger used in the assassination. Abudulrehman ibn Abu Bakr, son of late caliph Abu Bakr also confirmed that a few days before Umar's assassination, he once saw this dagger with Hurmazan. After the mystery of assassination got uncovered by the two of the most notable governmental figures, it seemed clear that the assassination was planned by the Persians residing in Medina. Infuriated by this Umar's younger son Ubaidullah ibn Umar sought to kill all the Persians in Madinah. He killed Hormuzan, Jafinah, and

daughter of Umar's assassin Abu Lulu, who is believed to be a Muslim. Ubaidullah was intercepted by the people of Madinah and withholding him from the massacre. Amr ibn al-Aas is said to have intercepted him, convinced him to hand over his sword. The murder of Jafinah, enraged Saad ibn Abi Waqqas, his foster brother, and he assaulted Ubaidullah ibn Umar and again the companions intervened. It is also believed that Umar's daughter Hafsa bint Umar provoked Ubaidullah to take the punitive action. When Umar was informed about the incident, he ordered that Ubaidullah should be imprisoned and the next Caliph should decide his fate.<sup>[70]</sup> Umar died on 7 November 644; on 11 November Uthman succeeded him as the Caliph. After prolonged negotiations the tribunal decided to give blood money to the victims and released Umar's son Ubaidullah, on the ground that after the tragic incident of Umar's assassination people will be further infuriated by execution of his son the very next day.

## Legacy

Umar the Great	
Rightly-Guided Caliph, <i>Al-Farooq</i> , Martyr, Disciple of Muhammad	
<b>Born</b>	c. 586 C.E. Mecca
<b>Died</b>	c. 644 C.E. Medina
<b>Honored in</b>	Islam
<b>Major shrine</b>	<i>Tomb of Umar</i> in Mosque of the Prophet, Medina, Arabia
<b>Influences</b>	Muhammad
<b>Influenced</b>	Muslims

Umar is regarded as one of the most influential figures in Islamic history. He was in a true sense the architect of the Islamic Empire. As a leader, 'Umar was known for his simple, austere lifestyle. Rather than adopt the pomp and display affected by the rulers of the time, he continued to live much as he had when Muslims were poor and persecuted. 'Umar was vigorous, robust and a very tall man, in markets he would tower above the people. The front part of his head was bald, always *A'sara Yusran* (working with two hands),<sup>[71]</sup> both his eyes are black, with yellow skin, however, ibn Sa'ad in his book *The Book of the Major Classes (Tabaqat al-Kubra)* stated that he never knew that 'Umar had yellow skin, except if the people took into criterion a certain part of his life where his color changed because he always ate oil at that part of his life,<sup>[72]</sup> Others say he has reddish-white skin. His teeth were *ashnabul asnan* (very white shining). He would always color his beard and take care of his hair using a type of plant.<sup>[72][73]</sup>

## Humility

In his book *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Mufti Muhammad Mukarram Ahmed describes his journey to Jerusalem to take control of the city from the Byzantine Patriarch of Jerusalem Sophronius:

Hadrat Umar appointed Hadrat Ali as his deputy and went to Jerusalem with his slave. They were having one camel on which each of them rode by turn. When Hadrat Umar was entering Jerusalem it happened to be the slave's turn to ride on the camel. Though the slave offered his turn to the "Khalifah" but Hadrat Umar refused and remarked: "The honour of Islam (i.e., being Muslim) is enough for all of us." He entered Jerusalem holding the rope of the camel on which was riding his slave. His clothes were dirty and there were several patches on them.

—*Encyclopaedia of Islam*<sup>[74]</sup>

In *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Gibbon refers to Umar in the following terms:

*Yet the abstinence and humility of Umar were not inferior to the virtues of Abu Bakr: his food consisted of barley bread or dates; his drink was water; he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places; and a Persian satrap, who paid his homage as to the conqueror, found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the mosque of Muslims*

—Gibbon

## Political legacy

Umar is considered as a political genius, as an architect of the Islamic Empire he is regarded as the 52nd most influential figure in history.<sup>[75]</sup> Umar remained politically stagnant during Mohammad's era, however after his death, it was Umar's political brilliance that Abu Bakr was elected Caliph, despite of massive initial confrontations at Saqifah, Umar successfully broke the alliance of the tribes of Madinah who claim Caliphate to be their right, paving the way for the succession of Abu Bakr. During Abu Bakr's era, he actively participated as his secretary and main adviser. After succeeding Abu Bakr as caliph, Umar won over the hearts of the Bedouin tribes by emancipating all their prisoners and slaves taken during the Ridda wars, his excellent oratory skills helped him gain broader support among the poor and the underprivileged. He proved himself as a excellent manager during the year of the great Famine when his dynamic abilities saved millions from starvation. He is best known to build up an efficient administrative structure of the empire, that held together his vast realm. He organized an effective network of intelligence, partly a reason for his strong grip on his bureaucracy.<sup>[76]</sup> His judicial reforms were fairly modern and advance in nature when compared to contemporary systems of his era. He opposed the construction of present day Suez Canal, as it posed threat to the security of Madinah. Twelve hundred years later Great Britain opposed the construction of the canal for the same reason as it then posed threat to its colonies in Indian Subcontinent. One of the reason of the compactness of his political rule in the conquered lands is reputed to his policy of tolerance to their religious beliefs and imposition of far lower taxes on them as compared to the Sassanid Persian empire and the Byzantine empire. Their local administration was kept un-touched and several of the former Byzantine and Persian officials were retained in their posts under Umar's governors. Umar was very painstaking in every matter. His meticulousness was evident from his appointment of governors and judges that never let him lose his grip on the government. He never appointed governors for more than two years, for they might get influence in their county. He dismissed his most successful general Khalid ibn Walid, due to his immense popularity and growing influence he feared that the Muslims might think it was Khalid who gave them victory not God. Rather than tenacious conquest he stressed more on consolidating his rule in the conquered land, a fact that saved Byzantine empire from complete disappearance. Umar is reported to have wished an official tour across his domain to personally examine the condition of his subjects. In 641, before the conquest of the Persian empire, Umar is reported to have said:

If I would live few more years, I wish to visit Syria next year, then next Iraq and then the next year Egypt to personally check the conditions of the subjects and inquire whether my mandate is followed or not.

At the time, Umar made this statement, Persia was not yet conquered (*conquest of Persia begun in 642*). He would walk the streets of Medina with a whip in his hand, and it is said that Umar's whip was feared more than the sword of another man. He is famous for covert night tours of the city to know the secret life of his domain, a tradition that was later followed by some of the Abbasid Caliphs and even Mughul rulers of Indian Subcontinent.

### Social justice and accountability

Saeed M Mohtsham cites from Caliph Umar's rule in his research paper *Vision and Visionary Leadership – An Islamic Perspective*:

"He used to monitor very closely the public policy and had kept the needs of the public central to his leadership approach. As second caliph of Islam, he refused to chop off the hands of the thieves because he felt he had fallen short of his responsibility to provide meaningful employment to all his subjects. As a ruler of a vast kingdom, His vision was to ensure that every one in his kingdom should sleep on a full stomach.

If a dog dies hungry on the banks of the River Euphrates, Umar will be responsible for dereliction of duty.

—(Umar)

He also knew that just having a vision is not enough unless it is supported by effective strategies. He didn't only have a vision; he truly transformed his vision into actions. For example, to ensure that nobody sleeps hungry in his empire, he used to walk through the streets almost every night to see if there is any one needy or ill."<sup>[77]</sup>

It has been recorded in the annals of Muslim chronicles, that at the time of the Zuhr prayers, Sophronius invited Umar to pray in the rebuilt Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Umar declined, fearing that accepting the invitation might endanger the church's status as a Christian temple, and that Muslims might break the treaty and turn the temple into a mosque.<sup>[78]</sup>

### Military legacy

It has been reported that Umar was a champion wrestler of his time, and though not distinguished as a swordsman, he would later attain prominence as a master strategist. Along with Khalid, he is said to be one of the key figures in the collapse of the Arabian rebellion, the greatest triumph of Abu Bakr. One of his greatest strategic marvels was his brilliant fission of Persio-Roman alliance in 636, when Emperor Heraclius and Emperor Yazdegerd III allied against their common enemy Umar. He was lucky in that the Persian Emperor Yazdegerd III couldn't synchronize with Heraclius as planned. Umar fully availed the opportunity and successfully tackled the minefield by straining the Byzantines to jump in the battle. This was contrary to the orders of Emperor Heraclius, who presumably wanted a coordinated attack along with the Persians. Umar did this by sending reinforcements to the Roman front with instructions that they should appear in the form of small bands, one after the other, giving the impression of a continuous stream of reinforcements that finally lured the Byzantines to an untimely battle. On the other hand Yazdegerd III of Persia was engaged in negotiations that further gave Umar time to transfer his troops from Syria to Iraq. These troops proved decisive in the Battle of Qadisiyyah. Both the battles thus fought proved decisive and are noted as two of the most decisive battles in history.

His strategic dimensions were the prime reason of Muslim victory at the 2nd Battle of Emesa in 638. Where the pro-Byzantine Christian Arabs of Jazira, aided by Byzantine Emperor, making an unexpected flanking movement and laid siege to Emesa (Homs). Umar's brilliance was behind this Muslim victory and was achieved without firing a single shot.

Umar's orders to invade the very homeland of the Christian Arab forces besieging Emesa, the Jazirah. A three prong attack against Jazirah was launched from Iraq. To further pressurize the Christian Arab armies, Umar instructed Saad ibn Abi Waqqas, commander of Muslim forces in Iraq, to sent reinforcement to Emesa, Umar himself led a reinforcement from Madinah and marched towards Emesa. Under this unprecedented press-gang, Christian Arabs retreated from Emesa before Muslims reinforcement could reach their. This incursion from Byzantines however resulted in Muslim annex Mesopotamia and parts of Byzantine Armenia.

Nonetheless the greatest triumph of Umar remained the Conquest of Persian empire. After years of non-offensive policy according to which Umar wished the Zagros Mountains to be the frontiers between Muslims and Persians, after the Battle of Nahavand Umar launched a whole scale invasion of Sassanid Persian Empire. The invasion was a

series of well coordinated multi-prong attacks that was based on the principle of isolating and then destroying the target. Umar launched the invasion by attacking the very heart of Persia aiming to isolate Azerbaijan and eastern Persia. It was immediately followed by simultaneous attacks on Azerbaijan and Fars. In the final secession, he captured Sistan and Kirman thus isolating the Persian stronghold of Khurasan. The final expedition was launched against Khurasan where after the Battle of Oxus river, Persian empire ceased to exist, and emperor Yazdegerd III fled to Central Asia. He founded the city of Cairo, conquered 36,000 cities or castles, and built 1400 mosques.<sup>[79]</sup>

## Religious legacy

### Sunni views

Sunnis Muslims view him as the Second Rashidun and know him as Farooq the great.<sup>[6]</sup> Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is the founder of Ijtihad,<sup>[80]</sup> which later benefited Islam in interpretation of Quran and Hadith. Allama Shibli Nomani writes in his book 'Al-Farooq' that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb saved Islam by opening the Door of Ijtihad.<sup>[81]</sup> Sunni remember Umar as a Strong Muslim of a sound and just disposition in matters of the religion of Allah, a man they title *Farooq*, meaning "leader, jurist and statesman", and the second of the rightly-guided Caliphs. He patched his clothes with skin, took buckets on his two shoulders, always riding his donkey without the saddle, rarely laughing and never joking with anyone. On his ring is written the words "Enough is Death as a reminder to you O 'Umar".<sup>[65]</sup> He did not seek advancement for his own family, but rather sought to advance the interests of the Muslim community, the *ummah*. The general Sunni sentiment for Umar is summarized by one of Muhammad's companions, Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud:

Umar's submission to Islam was a conquest, his migration was a victory, his Imamate (period of rule) was a blessing, I have seen when we were unable to pray at the Kaabah until Umar submitted, when he submitted to Islam, he fought them (the pagans) until they left us alone and we prayed.

—Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud,<sup>[82]</sup>

### Shia views

Umar is viewed negatively in Shi'a literature. He is regarded as an usurper of Ali's rights of succession. According to Shi'a beliefs, his role during Muhammad's lifetime is questioned as he was not assigned to any civil or military authority.<sup>[83]</sup> Some Shi'a writers have accused him of being involved in the killing Muhammad's daughter Fatimah (see Fatimah's death). The Shi'a believe that Fatima, wife of Ali and daughter of Muhammad, was physically assaulted by him. These sources report that the event caused her to miscarry her child and eventually led to her death soon after.<sup>[84]</sup> (see Umar at Fatimah's house).

## Western views

In his book *Mahomet and His Successors*, Washington Irving estimates the achievements of Umar in the following terms:

The whole history of Omar shows him to have been a man of great powers of mind, inflexible integrity, and rigid justice. He was, more than any one else, the founder of the Islam empire; confirming and carrying out the inspirations of the prophet; aiding Abu Bakr with his counsels during his brief caliphate; and establishing wise regulations for the strict administration of the law throughout the rapidly-extending bounds of the Muslim conquests. The rigid hand which he kept upon his most popular generals in the midst of their armies, and in the most distant scenes of their triumphs, gave signal evidence of his extraordinary capacity to rule. In the simplicity of his habits, and his contempt for all pomp and luxury, he emulated the example of the Prophet and Abu Bakr. He endeavored incessantly to impress the merit and policy of the same in his letters to his generals. 'Beware,' he would say, 'of Persian luxury, both in food and raiment. Keep to the simple habits of your country, and Allah will continue you victorious; depart from them, and he will reverse your fortunes.' It was

his strong conviction of the truth of this policy which made him so severe in punishing all ostentatious style and luxurious indulgence in his officers. Some of his ordinances do credit to his heart as well as his head. He forbade that any female captive who had borne a child should be sold as a slave. In his weekly distributions of the surplus money of his treasury he proportioned them to the wants, not the merits of the applicants. 'God,' said he, 'has bestowed the good things of this world to relieve our necessities, not to reward our virtues: those will be rewarded in another world.'<sup>[85]</sup>

In his book *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline, and Fall* Sir William Muir says as follows about Umar:

Omar's life requires but few lines to sketch. Simplicity and duty were his guiding principles; impartiality and devotion the leading features of his administration. Responsibility so weighed upon him that he was heard to exclaim, 'O that my mother had not borne me; would that I had been this stalk of grass instead!' In early life of a fiery and impatient temper, he was known, even in the later days of Muhammad, as the stern advocate of vengeance. Ever ready to unsheathe the sword, it was he that at Badr advised the prisoners to be all put to death. But age, as well as office, had now mellowed this asperity. His sense of justice was strong. And excepting the treatment of Khalid, whom he pursued with an ungenerous resentment, no act of tyranny or injustice is recorded against him; and even in this matter his enmity took its rise in Khalid's unscrupulous treatment of a fallen foe. The choice of his captains and governors was free from favouritism, and (Moghira and Ammar excepted) singularly fortunate. The various tribes and bodies in the empire, representing interests the most diverse, reposed in his integrity implicit confidence, and his strong arm maintained the discipline of law and empire. ... Whip in hand, he would perambulate the streets and markets of Medina, ready to punish slanders on the spot; and so the proverb, '-Omar's whip more terrible than another's sword.' But with all this he was tender-hearted, and numberless acts of kindness are recorded of him, such as relieving the wants of the widow and the fatherless.'<sup>[86]</sup>

In *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Gibbon refers to Umar in the following terms:

Yet the abstinence and humility of Omar were not inferior to the virtues of Abubeker: his food consisted of barley-bread or dates; his drink was water; he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places; and a Persian satrap, who paid his homage as to the conqueror, found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the mosque of Medina. Oeconomy is the source of liberality, and the increase of the revenue enabled Omar to establish a just and perpetual reward for the past and present services of the faithful. Careless of his own emolument, he assigned to Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, the first and most ample allowance of twenty-five thousand drams or pieces of silver. Five thousand were allotted to each of the aged warriors, the relics of the field of Beder, and the last and the meanest of the companions of Mahomet was distinguished by the annual reward of three thousand pieces. ... Under his reign, and that of his predecessor, the conquerors of the East were the trusty servants of God and the people: the mass of public treasure was consecrated to the expenses of peace and war; a prudent mixture of justice and bounty, maintained the discipline of the Saracens, and they united, by a rare felicity, the dispatch and execution of despotism, with the equal and frugal maxims of a republican government.'<sup>[87]</sup>

In his book *History of the Arabs* Professor Philip Khuri Hitti has assessed the achievements of Umar in the following terms:

Simple and frugal in manner, his energetic and talented successor, 'Umar (634–44), who was of towering height, strong physique and bald-headed, continued at least for some time after becoming caliph to support himself by trade and lived throughout his life in a style as unostentatious as that of a Bedouin sheikh. In fact 'Umar, whose name according to Moslem tradition is the greatest in early Islam after that of Muhammad, has been idolized by Moslem writers for his piety, justice and patriarchal simplicity and treated as the personification of all the virtues a caliph ought to possess. His irreproachable character became an exemplar for all conscientious successors to follow. He owned, we are told, one shirt and one mantle only, both conspicuous for their patchwork, slept on a bed of palm leaves and had no concern other than the maintenance



of the purity of the faith, the upholding of justice and the ascendancy and security of Islam and the Arabians. Arabic literature is replete with anecdotes extolling 'Umar's stern character. He is said to have scourged his own son to death for drunkenness and immorality. Having in a fit of anger inflicted a number of stripes on a Bedouin who came seeking his succour against an oppressor, the caliph soon repented and asked the Bedouin to inflict the same number on him. But the latter refused. So 'Umar retired to his home with the following soliloquy: 'O son of al-Khattab! humble thou wert and Allah hath elevated thee; astray, and Allah hath guided thee; weak, and Allah hath strengthened thee. Then He caused thee to rule over the necks of thy people, and when one of them came seeking thy aid, thou didst strike him! What wilt thou have to say to thy Lord when thou presentest thyself before Him?' The one who fixed the Hijrah as the commencement of the Moslem era, presided over the conquest of large portions of the then known world, instituted the state register and organized the government of the new empire met a tragic and sudden death at the very zenith of his life when he was struck down (3 November 644) by the poisoned dagger of a Christian Persian slave in the midst of his own congregation.<sup>[88]</sup>

*Encyclopædia Britannica* remarks about Umar:

To 'Omar's ten years' Caliphate belong for the most part the great conquests. He himself did not take the field, but remained in Medina; he never, however, suffered the reins to slip from his grasp, so powerful was the influence of his personality and the Moslem community of feeling. His political insight is shown by the fact that he endeavoured to limit the indefinite extension of Moslem conquest, and to maintain and strengthen the national Arabian character of the commonwealth of Islam; also by his making it his foremost task to promote law and order in its internal affairs. The saying with which he began his reign will never grow antiquated: 'By God, he that is weakest among you shall be in my sight the strongest, until I have vindicated for him his rights; but him that is strongest will I treat as the weakest, until he complies with the laws.' It would be impossible to give a better general definition of the function of the State.<sup>[89]</sup>

On the other hand, David Samuel Margoliouth offers this assessment of Umar:

Yet we have no record of any occasion on which Omar displayed remarkable courage, though many examples are at hand of his cruelty and bloodthirstiness; at the battle of Hunain he ran away, and on another occasion owed his life to the good nature of an enemy.<sup>[90]</sup>

However, in contrast to Margoliouth's assertion, Shahid Ashraf celebrates Umar as amongst the firmest companions who remained with Muhammad at his most critical juncture during the Battle of Hunayn when others fled during their disarray:

Only a dozen companions stood by Muhammad, all other men fled for safety. The men who stood around Muhammad included Hadrat Abu Bakr, Hadrat Umar and some members of the Hashemites<sup>[91]</sup>

This view of Umar's courageous commitment at the Battle of Hunayn is also reported in Ibn Ishaq's *Sīrat rasūl Allāh* and Ibn Sa'd's *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir*,<sup>[92][93]</sup> in addition to modern Muslim writers.<sup>[94][95]</sup> For instance, the renowned Ibn Sa'd reports in his *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir*:

On that day (Battle of Hunayn) those (few) who remained firm were al-Abbas, Ali ibn Abi Talib, ... Abu Bakr, Umar, ...<sup>[93]</sup>

## Notes

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## External links

- Excerpt from *The History of the Khalifahs* (<http://www.bogvaerker.dk/Bookwright/Umar.html>) by Jalal ad-Din as-Suyuti
- Sirah of Amirul Muminin Umar Bin Khattab (<http://www.lailahailallah.net/Khutbahs/Khutbah40.asf>) by Shaykh Sayyed Muhammad bin Yahya Al-Husayni Al-Ninowy.
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# Valdemar I of Denmark

Valdemar the Great	
Statue of Valdemar the Great in the town square of Ringsted.	
Statue of Valdemar the Great in the town square of Ringsted.	
King of Denmark	
Reign	1157–1182
Predecessor	Sweyn III
Successor	Canute VI
Duke of Schleswig	
Reign	1152–1154
Predecessor	Magnus
Successor	Christopher
Consort	Sophia of Minsk
<i>among others...</i>	
Issue	
Canute VI Valdemar II Ingeborg, Queen of France Richeza, Queen of Sweden	
Full name	
Valdemar Knudsen	
House	Estridsen
Father	Canute Lavard
Mother	Ingeborg of Kiev
Born	14 January 1131
Died	12 May 1182 (aged 51) <div>Vordingborg</div>
Burial	St. Bendt's Church, Ringsted
Religion	Roman Catholicism

**Valdemar I of Denmark** (14 January 1131 – 12 May 1182), also known as **Valdemar the Great**, was King of Denmark from 1157 until his death in 1182.

## Biography

He was the son of Canute Lavard, a chivalrous and popular Danish prince, who was the eldest son of Eric I of Denmark. Valdemar's father was murdered by Magnus the Strong days before the birth of Valdemar; his mother, Ingeborg of Kiev, daughter of Mstislav I of Kiev and Christina Ingesdotter of Sweden, named him after her grandfather, Vladimir Monomakh of Kiev.

As an heir to the throne, and with his rivals quickly gaining power, he was raised in the court of Asser Rig of Fjenneslev, together with Asser's sons, Absalon and Esbern Snare, who would become his trusted friends and ministers.

In 1146, when Valdemar was fifteen years old, King Erik III Lamb abdicated and a civil war erupted. The pretenders to the throne were: Sweyn III Grathe, son of Eric II Emune, son of Eric I. Canute V, son of Magnus the Strong who was the son of King Niels, who was the brother of Erik I. Valdemar himself held Jutland, at least Schleswig, as his possession. The civil war lasted the better part of ten years.

In 1157, the three agreed to part the country in three among themselves. Sweyn hosted a great banquet for Canute, Absalon, and Valdemar during which he planned to dispose of all of them. Canute was killed, but Absalon and Valdemar escaped. Valdemar returned to Jutland. Sweyn quickly launched an invasion, only to be defeated by Valdemar in the Battle of Grathe Heath. He was killed during flight, supposedly by a group of peasants who stumbled upon him as he was fleeing from the battlefield. Valdemar, having outlived all his rival pretenders, became the sole King of Denmark.

In 1158 Absalon was elected Bishop of Roskilde, and Valdemar made him his chief friend and advisor. He reorganized and rebuilt war-torn Denmark. At Absalon's instigation he declared war upon the Wends who were raiding the Danish coasts. They inhabited Pomerania and the island of Rügen in the Baltic Sea. In 1168 the Wendish capital, Arkona, was taken, and the Wends became Christians and subject to Danish suzerainty. Danish influence reached into Pomerania.

Valdemar's reign saw the rise of Denmark, which reached its zenith under his second son Valdemar II.



Bishop Absalon topples the god Svantevit at Arkona

## Issue

Valdemar married Sophia of Minsk (c. 1141–1198), half-sister of Canute V of Denmark and daughter of Richeza of Poland, dowager queen of Sweden, from her marriage with Volodar of Minsk (Vladimir or Volodar Glebovich of the Rurikids, died 1167), ruling Prince of Principality of Minsk, and they had the following children:

- Sophie, (1159–1208), married Siegfried III, Count of Orlamünde
- King Canute VI of Denmark (1163–1202)
- Maria, nun at Roskilde (born c. 1165)
- Margaret, nun at Roskilde (born c. 1167)
- King Valdemar II of Denmark (1170–1241)
- Ingeborg (1175–1236), married King Philip II of France
- Helena (c.1177–1233), married William of Lüneburg
- Richeza of Denmark (c. 1180–1220), married King Eric X of Sweden

His widow Sophia married then Louis III, Landgrave of Thuringia.

Illegitimate with Tove:

- Christopher (1150–1173), Valdemar's eldest son, Duke of Jutland (dux Iuciae<sup>[1]</sup>) ca. 1170–1173



## External links


- Find-A-Grave profile for Valdemar I the Great <sup>[2]</sup>
- <http://www.kingsofdenmark.dk/king19.htm>

## Notes

- [1] Esben Albrechtsen, "Das Abel-Geschlecht und die Schauenburger als Herzöge von Schleswig", Marion Hartwig and Frauke Witte (trls.), in: *Die Fürsten des Landes: Herzöge und Grafen von Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg* [De slevigske hertuger; German], Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen (ed.) on behalf of the Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte, Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2008, pp. 52–71, here p. 52. ISBN 978-3-529-02606-5

- [2] <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=10598576>

# Valentinian I

Valentinian I	
65th Emperor of the Western Roman Empire	
<div></div>	
Bust of Valentinian I	
Reign	26 February – 28 March 364 (whole empire); 26 March 364 – 17 November 375 (emperor of the west)
Full name	Flavius Valentinianus (from birth to accession); Flavius Valentinianus Augustus (as emperor)
Born	321
Birthplace	Cibalae, Pannonia Secunda (Vinkovci, present-day Croatia)
Died	17 November 375 (aged 54)
Place of death	Brigetio, Pannonia Valeria (Szőny, present-day Hungary)
Predecessor	Jovian
Successor	Valens, Gratian and Valentinian II
Consort to	1) Marina Severa
Wives	2) Justina
Offspring	Gratian Valentinian II Galla Grata Justa
Dynasty	Valentinian
Father	Gratian the Elder

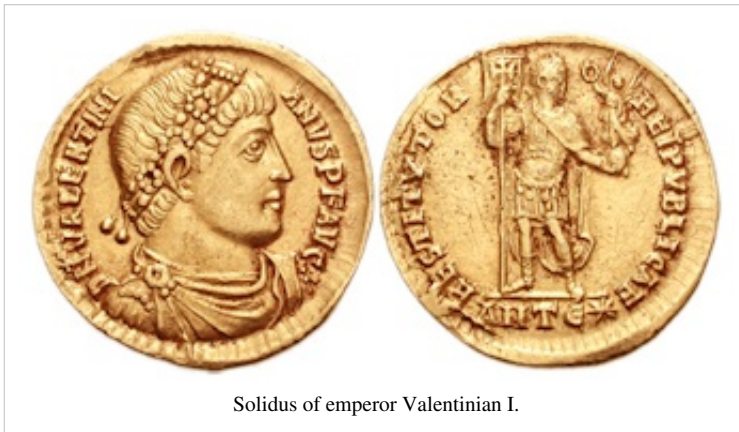
**Valentinian I** (Latin: *Flavius Valentinianus Augustus*;<sup>[1]</sup> 321 – 17 November 375), also known as **Valentinian the Great**,<sup>[2][3][4][5]</sup> was Roman emperor from 364 to 375. Upon becoming emperor he made his brother Valens his co-emperor, giving him rule of the eastern provinces while Valentinian retained the west.

During his reign, Valentinian fought successfully against the Alamanni, Quadi, and Sarmatians. Most notable was his victory over the Alamanni in 367 at the Battle of Solicinium. His brilliant general Count Theodosius defeated a

revolt in Africa and the Great Conspiracy, a coordinated assault on Britain by Picts, Scots, and Saxons. Valentinian was also the last emperor to conduct campaigns across both the Rhine and Danube rivers. Valentinian rebuilt and improved the fortifications along the frontiers – even building fortresses in enemy territory.

Due to the successful nature of his reign and almost immediate decline of the empire after his death, he is often considered the "last great western emperor". He founded the Valentinian Dynasty, with his sons Gratian and Valentinian II succeeding him in the western half of the empire.

## Early life



Solidus of emperor Valentinian I.

Valentinian was born in 321<sup>[6]</sup> at Cibalae in southern Pannonia (now Vinkovci in Croatia).<sup>[7]</sup> Valentinian and his younger brother Valens were the sons of Gratianus Major, a prominent commander during the reigns of emperors Constantine I and Constans I.<sup>[8]</sup> He and his brother grew up on the family estate where they were educated in a variety of subjects, including painting and sculpting.<sup>[9]</sup>

Gratianus was promoted to *Comes Africae* in the late 320's or early 330's, and the young Valentinian accompanied his father to Africa.<sup>[10]</sup> However, Gratianus was soon accused of embezzlement and was forced to retire.<sup>[10]</sup> Valentinian joined the army in the late 330's and later probably acquired the position of *protector domesticus*.<sup>[10]</sup> Gratianus was later recalled during the early 340s and was made *comes* of Britannia.<sup>[10]</sup> After holding this post, Gratianus retired to the family estate in Cibalae.<sup>[11]</sup>

In 350, Constans I was assassinated by agents of the usurper Magnentius, a commander in Gaul proclaimed emperor by his soldiers.<sup>[12]</sup> Constantius II, older brother of Constans and emperor in the East, promptly set forth towards Magnentius with a large army.<sup>[13]</sup> The following year the two emperors met in Pannonia. The ensuing Battle of Mursa Major resulted in a costly victory for Constantius.<sup>[14]</sup> Two years later he defeated Magnentius again in southern Gaul at the Battle of Mons Seleucus.<sup>[15]</sup> Magnentius, now realizing the futility of continuing his revolt, committed suicide in August that year; making Constantius sole ruler of the empire.<sup>[16]</sup> It was around this time that Constantius confiscated Gratianus' property, for supposedly showing hospitality to Magnentius when he was in Pannonia.<sup>[11]</sup> Despite his father's fall from favor, Valentinian does not seem to have been adversely affected at this time, making it unlikely he ever fought for the usurper.<sup>[17]</sup> It is known that Valentinian was in the region during the conflict, but what involvement he had in the war, if any, is unknown.<sup>[17]</sup>

## Service under Constantius and Julian

The conflict between Magnentius and Constantius had allowed the Alamanni and Franks to take advantage of the confusion and cross the Rhine, attacking several important settlements and fortifications.<sup>[10][17]</sup> In 355, after deposing his cousin Gallus but still feeling the crises of the empire too much for one emperor to handle, Constantius raised his cousin Julian to the rank of *Caesar*.<sup>[10]</sup> With the situation in Gaul rapidly deteriorating, Julian was made at least nominal commander of one of the two main armies in Gaul, Barbatio being commander of the other.<sup>[10]</sup> Constantius devised a strategy where Julian and Barbatio would operate in a pincer movement against the Alamanni.<sup>[17]</sup> However, a band of Alamanni slipped past Julian and Barbatio and attacked Lugdunum (Lyon). Julian sent the tribunes Valentinian and Bainobaudes to watch the road the raiders would have to return by. However, their efforts were hindered by Barbatio and his tribune Cella. The Alamann king Chnodomarius took advantage of the situation and attacked the Romans in detail, inflicting heavy losses.<sup>[17]</sup> Barbatio complained to Constantius and the

debacle was blamed on Valentinian and Bainobaudes, who were cashiered from the army.<sup>[17]</sup>

With his career in ruins, Valentinian returned to his new family estate in Sirmium. Two years later his first son Gratian was born by his wife Marina Severa.<sup>[18]</sup> Valentinian's actions become uncertain around this time, but he may have been exiled for refusing to do sacrifice to Julian.<sup>[19]</sup>

## Rise to power

At the news of Julian's death, the army hastily declared a commander, Jovian, emperor. The army still found itself beleaguered by Persian attacks, forcing Jovian to accept humiliating peace terms.<sup>[20]</sup> Jovian's authority within the empire was still insecure, so he sent a notary Procopius and the tribune Memoridus west to announce his accession.<sup>[20]</sup> During Jovian's reign Valentinian was promoted to tribune of a *Scutarii* (elite infantry) regiment, and was dispatched to Ancyra. Jovian's rule would be short – only eight months – and before he could even consolidate his position in Constantinople he died en route between Ancyra and Nicaea. His death was attributed to either poisoning or assassination. Jovian is remembered mostly for restoring Christianity to its previous favored status under Constantine and his sons.

The army marched to Nicaea, and a meeting of civil and military officials was convened to choose a new emperor. Two names were proposed: Aequitius, a tribune of the first Scutarii, and Januarius, a relative of Jovian's in charge of military supplies in Illyricum. Both were rejected; Aequitius as too rough and boorish,<sup>[21]</sup> Januarius because he was too far away.<sup>[22]</sup> As a man well qualified and at hand, the assembly finally agreed upon Valentinian and sent messengers to inform him in Ancyra.

## Emperor

Valentinian accepted the acclamation on 26 February 364. As he prepared to make his accession speech the soldiers threatened to riot, apparently uncertain as to where his loyalties lay. Valentinian reassured them that the army was his greatest priority. According to Ammianus the soldiers were astounded by Valentinian's bold demeanor and his willingness to assume the imperial authority. To further prevent a succession crisis he agreed to pick a co-Augustus. His decision to elect a fellow-emperor could also be construed as a move to appease any opposition among the civilian officials in the eastern portion of the Empire. By agreeing to appoint a co-ruler, he assured the eastern officials that someone with imperial authority would remain in the east to protect their interests.



Missorium of Valentinian, possibly his son Valentinian II.

Valentinian selected his brother Valens as co-Augustus at Constantinople on 28 March 364. This was done over the objections of Dagalaifus, the *magister equitum*. Ammianus makes it clear that Valens was subordinate to his brother. The remainder of 364 was spent delegating administrative duties and military commands. Valentinian retained the services of Dagalaifus and promoted Aequitius to *Comes Illyricum*. Valens was given the Prefecture of Oriens, governed by prefect Salutius.

Valentinian gained control of Italy, Gaul, Africa, and Illyricum. Valens resided in Constantinople, while Valentinian's court was at Milan.

## Campaigns in Gaul and Germania

In 365 the Alamanni crossed the Rhine and invaded Gaul. Simultaneously, Procopius – the last scion of the Constantinian dynasty – began his revolt against Valens in the east. According to Ammianus, Valentinian received news of both the Alamanni and Procopius' revolt on 1 November while on his way to Paris. He initially sent Dagalaifus to fight the Alamanni<sup>[23]</sup> while he himself made preparations to march east and help Valens. After receiving counsel from his court and deputations from the leading Gallic cities begging him to stay and protect Gaul, he decided to remain in Gaul and fight the Alamanni.<sup>[24][25]</sup> Valentinian advanced to Durocortorum and sent two generals, Charietto and Severianus, against the invaders.<sup>[26]</sup> Both generals were promptly defeated and killed.<sup>[27]</sup> In 366, Dagalaifus was sent against the Alamanni but he was also ineffective.<sup>[28]</sup> Late in the campaigning season Dagalaifus was replaced by Jovinus, a general from the court of Valentinian. After several battles Jovinus pushed the Alamanni out of Gaul and was awarded the consulate the following year for his efforts.<sup>[29]</sup>

In early 367 Valentinian was distracted from launching a punitive expedition against the Alamanni due to crises in Britain and northern Gaul. The Alamanni promptly re-crossed the Rhine and plundered Moguntiacum. Valentinian succeeded in arranging the assassination of Vithicabius, an Alamannic leader, but Valentinian was more determined to bring the Alamanni under Roman hegemony. Valentinian spent the entire winter of 367 gathering a massive army for a spring offensive. He summoned the *Comes Italiae* Sebastianus, with the Italian and Illyrian legions, to join Jovinus and Severus, the *magister peditum*. In the spring of 368 Valentinian, his eight year old son Gratian and the army crossed the Rhine and Main river into Alamannic territory. They did not encounter any resistance initially – burning any dwellings or food stores they found along the way. Finally, Valentinian fought the Alamanni in the Battle of Solicinium; the Romans were victorious<sup>[30]</sup> but suffered heavy casualties.<sup>[31]</sup> A temporary peace was reached and Valentinian returned to Trier for the winter.<sup>[32]</sup> During 369, Valentinian ordered new defensive works to be constructed and old structures refurbished along the length of the Rhine's west bank.<sup>[33]</sup> Boldly, he ordered the construction of a fortress across the Rhine in the mountains near modern Heidelberg.<sup>[34]</sup> The Alamanni sent envoys to protest, but they were dismissed. The Alamanni attacked the fortress while it was still under construction and destroyed it.<sup>[35]</sup>

In 370 the Saxons renewed their attacks on northern Gaul. Nannienus, the *comes* in charge of the troops in northern Gaul, urged Severus to come to his aid. After several modest successes, a truce was called and the Saxons gave the Romans young men fit for duty in the Roman military – in exchange for free passage back to their homeland. The Romans – preferring to be rid of many Saxon enemies now rather than later – treacherously ambushed them and killed them all.

Valentinian meanwhile tried to persuade the Burgundians – bitter enemies of the Alamanni – to attack Macrian, a powerful Alamannic chieftain. If the Alamanni tried to flee, Valentinian would be waiting for them with his army.



The emperor depicted in the Colossus of Barletta could very well be Valentinian I.



Negotiations with the Burgundians broke down when Valentinian, in his usual high-handed manner, refused to meet with the Burgundian envoys and personally assure them of Roman support. Nevertheless, rumors of a Roman alliance with the Burgundians did have the effect of scattering the Alamanni through fear of an imminent attack from their enemies. This event allowed the *magister equitum* Theodosius to attack the Alamanni through Raetia – taking many Alamannic prisoners. These captured Alamanni were settled in the Po river valley in Italy, where they were still settled at the time Ammianus wrote his history.

Valentinian campaigned unsuccessfully for four more years to defeat Macrian though in 372 he barely escaped capture by Theodosius. Meanwhile, Valentinian continued to recruit heavily from Alamanni friendly to Rome. He sent the Alamannic king Fraomarius, along with Alamannic troops commanded by Bitheridius and Hortarius, to Britain in order to replenish troops there. Valentinian's Alamannic campaigns, however, were hampered by troubles first in Africa, and later on the Danube river. In 374 Valentinian was forced to make peace with Macrian because the Emperor's presence was needed to counter an invasion of Illyricum by the Quadi and Sarmatians.

## The Great Conspiracy



Solidus of emperor Valentinian wearing consular robes.

In 367, Valentinian received reports from Britain that a combined force of Picts, Attacotti and Scots had killed the *Comes litoris Saxonici* Nectaridus and *Dux Britanniarum* Fullofaudes. At the same time, Frankish and Saxon forces were raiding the coastal areas of northern Gaul. The empire was in the midst of the Great Conspiracy – and was in danger of losing control of Britain altogether. Valentinian set out for Britain, sending *Comes domesticorum* Severus ahead of him to

investigate. Severus was not able to correct the situation and returned to Gaul, meeting Valentinian at Samarobriua. Valentinian then sent Jovinus to Britain and promoted Severus to *magister peditum*. It was at this time that Valentinian fell ill and a battle for succession broke out between Severus, a representative of the army, and Rusticus Julianus, *magister memoriae* and a representative of the Gallic nobility. Valentinian soon recovered however and appointed his son Gratian as his co-Augustus in the west. Ammianus remarks that such an action was unprecedented. Jovinus quickly returned saying that he needed more men to take care of the situation. In 368 Valentinian appointed Theodosius as the new *Comes Britanniarum* with instructions to return Britain to Roman rule. Meanwhile, Severus and Jovinus were to accompany the emperor on his campaign against the Alamanni.

Theodosius arrived in 368 with the Batavi, Heruli, Jovii and Victores legions. Landing at Rutupiae, he proceeded to Londinium restoring order to southern Britain. Later, he rallied the remaining garrison which was originally stationed in Britain; it was apparent the units had lost their cohesiveness when Fullofaudes and Nectaridus had been defeated. Theodosius sent for Civilis to be installed as the new vicarius of the diocese and Dulcitius as an additional general. In 369, Theodosius set about reconquering the areas north of London; putting down the revolt of Valentinus, the brother-in-law of a vicarius Maximinus. Subsequently, Theodosius restored the rest of Britain to the empire and rebuilt many fortifications – renaming northern Britain 'Valentia'. After his return in 369, Valentinian promoted Theodosius to *magister equitum* in place of Jovinus.



## Revolt in Africa and crises on the Danube

In 372, the rebellion of Firmus broke out in the African provinces. This rebellion was driven by the corruption of the *comes* Romanus. Romanus took sides in the murderous disputes among the legitimate and illegitimate children of Nubel, a Moorish prince and leading Roman client in Africa. Resentment of Romanus' peculations and his failure to defend the province from desert nomads caused some of the provincials to revolt. Valentinian sent in Theodosius to restore imperial control. Over the following two years Theodosius uncovered Romanus' crimes, arrested him and his supporters, and defeated Firmus.

In 373, hostilities erupted with the Quadi, a group of Germanic-speaking people living on the upper Danube. Like the Alamanni, the Quadi were outraged that Valentinian was building fortifications in their territory. They complained and sent deputations that were ignored by the *magister armorum per Illyricum* Aequitius. However, by 373 the construction of these forts was behind schedule. Maximinus, now praetorian prefect of Gaul, arranged with Aequitius to promote his son Marcellianus and put him in charge of finishing the project. The protests of Quadic leaders continued to delay the project, and in a fit of frustration Marcellianus murdered the Quadic king Gabinius at a banquet ostensibly arranged for peaceful negotiations. This roused the Quadi to war; along with their allies the Sarmatians. During the fall, they crossed the Danube and began ravaging the province of Pannonia Valeria. The marauders could not penetrate the fortified cities, but they heavily damaged the unprotected countryside. Two legions were sent in but failed to coordinate and were routed by the Sarmatians. Meanwhile, another group of Sarmatians invaded Moesia, but were driven back by the son of Theodosius, *Dux Moesiae* and later emperor Theodosius.

Valentinian did not receive news of these crises until late 374. The following spring he set out from Trier and arrived at Carnuntum, which was deserted. There he was met by Sarmatian envoys who begged forgiveness for their actions. Valentinian replied that he would investigate what had happened and act accordingly. Valentinian ignored Marcellianus' treacherous actions and decided to punish the Quadi. He was accompanied by Sebastianus and Merobaudes, and spent the summer months preparing for the campaign. In the fall he crossed the Danube at Aquincum into Quadi territory.<sup>[36]</sup> After pillaging Quadi lands without opposition, he retired to Savaria to winter quarters.<sup>[37]</sup>

In the spring he decided to continue campaigning and moved from Savaria to Brigetio. Once he arrived on 17 November, he received a deputation from the Quadi. In return for supplying fresh recruits to the Roman army, the Quadi were to be allowed to leave in peace. However, before the envoys left they were granted an audience with Valentinian. The envoys insisted that the conflict was caused by the building of Roman forts in their lands; furthermore individual bands of Quadi were not necessarily bound to the rule of the chiefs who had made treaties with the Romans – and thus might attack the Romans at any time. The attitude of the envoys so enraged Valentinian that he suffered a stroke that ended his life.

## Reputation

A.H.M. Jones writes that though he was "less of a boor" than his chief rival for election to the imperial throne, "he was of a violent and brutal temper, and not only uncultivated himself, but hostile to cultivated persons", as Ammianus tells us, 'he hated the well-dressed and educated and wealthy and well-born'. He was, however, an able soldier and a conscientious administrator, and took an interest in the welfare of the humbler classes, from which his father had risen. Unfortunately his good intentions were often frustrated by a bad choice of ministers, and an obstinate belief in their merits despite all evidence to the contrary."<sup>[38]</sup> According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* 1911, he was a founder of schools, and provided medical attendance for the poor of Rome, by appointing a physician for each of the fourteen districts of the city.

Valentinian was a Christian but permitted liberal religious freedom to all his subjects, proscribing only some forms of rituals such as particular types of sacrifices, and banning the practice of magic. Against all abuses, both civil and ecclesiastical (excepting, of course, his own excesses), Valentinian steadily set his face, even against the increasing

wealth and worldliness of the clergy. His chief flaw was his temper, which at times was frightful, and showed itself in its full fierceness in the punishment of persons accused of witchcraft, some kinds of fortune-telling or magical practices."<sup>[39]</sup>

Socrates Scholasticus gives an interesting account in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Valentinian's marriages, that has inspired some to call this emperor polygamous. According to the text: the empress Justina "became known to Marina Severa, wife of the emperor Valentinian, and had frequent intercourse with the empress, until their intimacy at length grew to such an extent that they were accustomed to bathe together. When Severa saw Justina in the bath she was greatly struck with the beauty of the virgin, and spoke of her to the emperor; saying that the daughter of Justus was so lovely a creature, and possessed of such symmetry of form, that she herself, though a woman, was altogether charmed with her. The emperor, treasuring this description by his wife in his own mind, considered with himself how he could espouse Justina, without repudiating Severa, as she had borne him Gratian, whom he had created Augustus a little while before. He accordingly framed a law, and caused it to be published throughout all the cities, by which any man was permitted to have two lawful wives. The law was promulgated and he married Justina, by whom he had Valentinian the younger." (Book IV, chapt. 31.)<sup>[40]</sup> This story is only known to Socrates. There is no trace of any edict allowing polygamy in the laws passed by Valentinian I, his predecessors or his successors. This practice is unknown in all other sources of Classical Antiquity. Valentinian I may have divorced Severa according to Roman Law, which allowed for divorce (see *Women in Ancient Rome*).<sup>[41]</sup> But since divorce was not acknowledged by Christians,<sup>[42]</sup> Socrates contemptuously describes him as a bigamist. It is also possible that Socrates, who was a Novatianist attempted to accuse Justina, who was an Arianist, of fornication, a common aspersion against other cults. Gibbon maintains that the marriages of Valentinian were conducted successively.<sup>[43]</sup> According to the Antique sources of John Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale* and John of Nikiu the empress Severa was banished by Valentinian I for conducting an illegal transaction, before he consorted with Justina. Barnes believes this story to be an attempt to justify the divorce of Valentinian I without accusing the emperor.<sup>[44]</sup>

## Notes

[1] In Classical Latin, Valentinian's name would read as FLAVIVS VALENTINIANVS AVGVSTVS.

[2] Philip Schaff, *A Select Library of the Nicene and post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Volume 3*. Eerdmans Publishing, University of California, 1956. p 146

[3] Edward Kenneth Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*. Dover Publications, University of Michigan, 1957. p 76

[4] Michael Whitby, Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284–628 AD*. Liverpool University Press, University of Michigan, 1989. p 51, 53

[5] Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and priest: the imperial office in Byzantium*. Cambridge University Press, 2003. p 26

[6] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXX.6.6

[7] Lenski, Noel Emmanuel (2002). *Failure of empire: Valens and the Roman state in the fourth century A.D.* (<http://books.google.com/books?id=uvXo39xOV8kC&pg=PA56>). University of California Press. p. 56. ISBN 9780520233324. . Retrieved 12 October 2010.

[8] Tomlin, R. (1973). *The Emperor Valentinian I*. p. 2.

[9] Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus*. 45.5

[10] Tomlin, R. (1973). *The Emperor Valentinian I*. p. 4.

[11] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXX.7.3

[12] Canduci, pg. 131

[13] Zosimus, *New History* II.60

[14] Zonaras, *Extracts of History* XIII.8.5–13

[15] Eutropius, *Historiae Romanae Breviarium* X.11-2

[16] Eutropius, *Historiae Romanae Breviarium* X.12

[17] Tomlin, R. (1973). *The Emperor Valentinian I*. p. 13.

[18] Tomlin, R. (1973). *The Emperor Valentinian I*. p. 14.

[19] Sources give different commands Valentinian held at the time and vastly different places of exile: Philostorgius says Constantius exiled Valentinian to Thebes in Egypt, Sosomen to Melitene in Armenia, the Paschal Chronicle to Selymbria in Thrace, and Theodoret to "a distant fort". Tomlin, p. 14.

[20] Tomlin, R. (1973). *The Emperor Valentinian I*. p. 16.

[21] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVI.1.4

[22] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVI.1.5

[23] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVI.5.9

- [24] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVI.5.12
- [25] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVI.5.13
- [26] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVII.1.2
- [27] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVII.1.4
- [28] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVII.2.1
- [29] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVII.2.10
- [30] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVII.10.15
- [31] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVII.10.16
- [32] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVII.10.17
- [33] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVIII.2.1
- [34] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVIII.2.2
- [35] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVIII.2.8
- [36] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXX.5.13
- [37] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXX.5.14
- [38] A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1986), p. 139.
- [39] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Volume I*, Chap. XXV (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), p. 388.
- [40] Translated by A.C. Zenos. From Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 2. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1890.)
- [41] Frier, Bruce W. and McGinn, Thomas A.J.: *A Casebook on Roman Family Law* (American Philological Association) OUP USA 2003. Part D, The End of Marriage
- [42] Matthew 19, 4–6.
- [43] Edward Gibbon: *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol.III, p. 66, Cosimo 2008
- [44] Timothy Barnes, "Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality" (1998), pages 123–125

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# Vladimir the Great

St. Vladimir the Great	
Grand Prince of Kiev	
<b>Reign</b>	11 June 980 – 15 July 1015
<b>Coronation</b>	11 June 980
<b>Predecessor</b>	Yaropolk I of Kiev
<b>Successor</b>	Sviatopolk I of Kiev
Prince of Novgorod	
<b>Reign</b>	969 – c. 977
<b>Predecessor</b>	Sviatoslav I of Kiev
<b>Successor</b>	Yaropolk I of Kiev
<b>Spouse</b>	Allogia Rogneda of Polotsk Adela Malfrida Anna Porphyrogenita a granddaughter of Otto the Great
<i>among others</i>	
Issue	

Izyaslav of Polotsk Yaroslav the Wise Mstislav of Chernigov Saint Boris Saint Gleb Maria Dobroniega of Kiev Agatha (possibly)	
<b>Full name</b>	
Vladimir Sviatoslavich	
<b>Dynasty</b>	Rurik
<b>Father</b>	Sviatoslav I of Kiev
<b>Mother</b>	Malusha (probably of Northern origin) <sup>[1]</sup>
<b>Born</b>	c. 958 near Pskov
<b>Died</b>	15 July 1015 (aged c. 57) Berestova (today a part of Kiev)
<b>Burial</b>	Church of the Tithes, Kiev
<b>Religion</b>	Christian

**Vladimir Sviatoslavich the Great** (Old East Slavic: *Володимѣръ Свѣтославичъ* Old Norse as *Valdamarr Sveinaldsson*, Russian: Влади́мир, *Vladimir*, Ukrainian: Володимир, *Volodymyr*,<sup>[2]</sup>; c. 958 near Pskov – 15 July 1015, Berestovo) was a grand prince of Kiev, ruler of Kievan Rus' in (980–1015).<sup>[3][4]</sup>

Vladimir's father was the prince Sviatoslav of the Rurik dynasty.<sup>[5]</sup> After the death of his father in 972, Vladimir, who was then prince of Novgorod, was forced to flee to Scandinavia in 976 after his brother Yaropolk had murdered his other brother Oleg and conquered Rus. In Sweden with the help from his relative Ladejarl Håkon Sigurdsson, ruler of Norway, assembled a Varangian army and reconquered Novgorod from Yaropolk.<sup>[6]</sup> By 980 Vladimir had consolidated the Kievan realm from modern day Ukraine to the Baltic Sea and had solidified the frontiers against incursions of Bulgarian, Baltic, and Eastern nomads. Originally a pagan, Vladimir converted to Christianity in 988,<sup>[7][8][9]</sup> and proceeded to baptise all of Kievan Rus'.<sup>[10]</sup>


## Way to the throne

Vladimir, born in 958, was the natural son and youngest son of Sviatoslav I of Kiev by his housekeeper Malusha. Malusha is described in the Norse sagas as a prophetess who lived to the age of 100 and was brought from her cave to the palace to predict the future. Malusha's brother Dobrynya was Vladimir's tutor and most trusted advisor. Hagiographic tradition of dubious authenticity also connects his childhood with the name of his grandmother, Olga Prekrasa, who was Christian and governed the capital during Sviatoslav's frequent military campaigns.

Transferring his capital to Pereyaslavets in 969, Sviatoslav designated Vladimir ruler of Novgorod the Great but gave Kiev to his legitimate son Yaropolk. After Sviatoslav's death (972), a fratricidal war erupted (976) between Yaropolk and his younger brother Oleg, ruler of the Drevlians. In 977 Vladimir fled to his kinsman Haakon Sigurdsson, ruler of Norway, collecting as many of the Norse warriors as he could to assist him to recover Novgorod, and on his return the next year marched against Yaropolk.

On his way to Kiev he sent ambassadors to Rogvolod (Norse: Ragnvald), prince of Polotsk, to sue for the hand of his daughter Rogneda (Norse: Ragnhild). The high-born princess refused to affiance herself to the son of a bondswoman, but Vladimir attacked Polotsk, slew Rogvolod, and took Ragnhild by force. Polotsk was a key fortress on the way to Kiev, and the capture of Polotsk and Smolensk facilitated the taking of Kiev (978), where he slew Yaropolk by treachery, and was proclaimed knyaz of all Kievan Rus'.<sup>[11]</sup>

## Years of pagan rule

Saint Vladimir of Kiev	
	
Icon of Saint Vladimir, Novgorod, 16th century	
Prince of Novgorod Grand Prince of Kiev	
<b>Born</b>	c. 958
<b>Died</b>	1015
<b>Honored in</b>	Roman Catholicism Eastern Orthodoxy Lutheranism Anglicanism
<b>Feast</b>	July 15
<b>Attributes</b>	crown, cross, throne

Vladimir continued to expand his territories beyond his father's extensive domain. In 981, he conquered the Cherven cities (known later as Galicia) shifting his borders toward Poland; in 983, he subdued the Yatvingians, whose territories lay between Lithuania and Poland; in 985, he led a fleet along the central rivers of Kievan Rus' to conquer the Bulgars of the Kama, planting numerous fortresses and colonies on his way.

Though Christianity had won many converts since Olga's rule, Vladimir had remained a thoroughgoing pagan, taking eight hundred concubines (besides numerous wives) and erecting pagan statues and shrines to gods. He may have attempted to reform Slavic paganism by establishing the thunder-god, Perun, as a supreme deity. "Although Christianity in Kiev existed before Vladimir's time, he had remained a pagan, accumulated about seven wives, established temples, and, it is said, taken part in idolatrous rites involving human sacrifice."<sup>[10]</sup>

"In 983, after another of his military successes, Prince Vladimir and his army thought it necessary to sacrifice human lives to the gods. A lot was cast and it fell on a youth, Ioann by name, the son of a Christian, Fyodor. His father stood firmly against his son being sacrificed to the idols. More than that, he tried to show the pagans the futility of their faith: 'Your gods are just plain wood: it is here now but it may rot into oblivion tomorrow; your gods neither eat, nor drink, nor talk and are made by human hand from wood; whereas there is only one God — He is worshiped by Greeks and He created heaven and earth; and your gods? They have created nothing, for they have been created themselves; never will I give my son to the devils!'"

An open abuse of the deities, to which most people in Rus' bowed in reverence in those times, triggered widespread indignation. A mob killed the Christian Fyodor and his son Ioann (later, after the overall christening of Kievan Rus, people came to regard these two as the first Christian martyrs in Rus and the Orthodox Church set a day to commemorate them, July 25).

Immediately after the murder of Fyodor and Ioann, early medieval Rus saw persecutions against Christians, many of whom escaped or concealed their belief.



However, Prince Vladimir mused over the incident long after, and not least for political considerations. According to the early Slavic chronicle called *Tale of Bygone Years*, which describes life in Kyivan Rus' up to the year 1110, he sent his envoys throughout the civilized world to judge at first hand the major religions of the time—Islam, Roman Catholicism, Judaism, and Byzantine Orthodoxy. They were most impressed with their visit to Constantinople, saying, "We knew not whether we were in Heaven or on Earth... We only know that God dwells there among the people, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations."

## Baptism of Rus'



The Baptism of Saint Prince Vladimir, by Viktor Vasnetsov (1890)

The Primary Chronicle reports that in the year 987, as the result of a consultation with his boyars, Vladimir sent envoys to study the religions of the various neighboring nations whose representatives had been urging him to embrace their respective faiths. The result is amusingly described by the chronicler Nestor. Of the Muslim Bulgarians of the Volga the envoys reported there is no gladness among them; only sorrow and a great stench. He also said that the Bulgars' religion of Islam was undesirable due to its taboo against alcoholic beverages and pork;<sup>[12]</sup> Vladimir said on that occasion: "Drinking is the joy of all Rus'. We cannot exist without that pleasure."<sup>[13]</sup> Ukrainian and Russian sources also describe Vladimir consulting with Jewish envoys (who may or may not have been Khazars), and questioning them about their religion but ultimately rejecting it, saying that their loss of Jerusalem was evidence of their having been abandoned by God. Roman Catholic missionaries came too and so did Orthodox. . Ultimately Vladimir settled on Orthodox Christianity. In the churches of the Germans his emissaries saw no beauty; but at Constantinople, where the full

festival ritual of the Byzantine Church was set in motion to impress them, they found their ideal: "*We no longer knew whether we were in heaven or on earth,*" they reported, describing a majestic Divine Liturgy in Hagia Sophia, "*nor such beauty, and we know not how to tell of it.*" If Vladimir was impressed by this account of his envoys, he was yet more so by political gains of the Byzantine alliance.



Vladimir the Great on the Millennium of Russia monument in Novgorod

In 988, having taken the town of Chersonesos in Crimea, he boldly negotiated for the hand of the emperor Basil II's sister, Anna. Never before had a Byzantine imperial princess, and one "born-in-the-purple" at that, married a barbarian, as matrimonial offers of French kings and German emperors had been peremptorily rejected. In short, to marry the 27-year-old princess off to a pagan Slav seemed impossible. Vladimir, however, was baptized at Cherson, taking the Christian name of Basil out of compliment to his imperial brother-in-law; the sacrament was followed by his wedding with Anna. Returning to Kiev in triumph, he destroyed pagan monuments and established many churches, starting with the splendid Church of the Tithes (989) and monasteries on Mt. Athos.

Arab sources, both Muslim and Christian, present a different story of Vladimir's conversion. Yahya of Antioch, al-Rudhrawari, al-Makin, Al-Dimashqi, and ibn al-Athir<sup>[14]</sup> all give essentially the same account. In 987, Bardas Sclerus and Bardas Phocas revolted against the Byzantine emperor Basil II. Both rebels briefly joined forces, but then Bardas Phocas proclaimed himself emperor on 14

September 987. Basil II turned to the Kievan Rus' for assistance, even though they were considered enemies at that time. Vladimir agreed, in exchange for a marital tie; he also agreed to accept Christianity as his religion and bring his people to the new faith. When the wedding arrangements were settled, Vladimir dispatched 6,000 troops to the Byzantine Empire and they helped to put down the revolt.<sup>[15]</sup>

## Christian reign

He then formed a great council out of his boyars, and set his twelve sons over his subject principalities.

It is mentioned in the Primary Chronicle that Vladimir founded the city of Belgorod in 991.

In 992 he went on a campaign against the Croats, most likely the White Croats (an East Slavic group unrelated to the Croats of Dalmatia) that lived on the border of modern Ukraine. This campaign was cut short by the attacks of the Pechenegs on and around Kiev.

In his later years he lived in a relative peace with his other neighbors: Boleslav I of Poland, Stephen I of Hungary, Andrikh the Czech (questionable character mentioned in *A Tale of the Bygone Years*).

After Anna's death, he married again, likely to a granddaughter of Otto the Great.

In 1014 his son Yaroslav the Wise stopped paying tribute. Vladimir decided to chastise the insolence of his son, and began gathering troops against Yaroslav. However, Vladimir fell ill, most likely of old age and died at Berestovo, near Kiev.

The various parts of his dismembered body were distributed among his numerous sacred foundations and were venerated as relics.

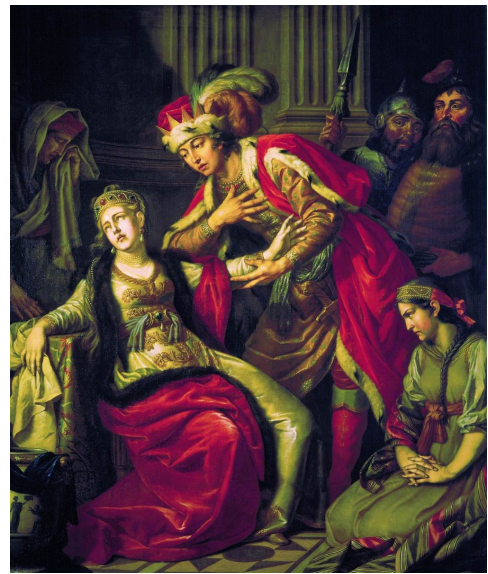


Modern statue of Vladimir in London with an inscription "Ruler of Ukraine"

## Family

The fate of all Vladimir's daughters, whose number is around nine, is uncertain.

- Olava or Allogia (Varangian or Czech), speculative she might have been mother of Vysheslav while others claim that it is a confusion with Helena Lekapena
- Vysheslav (~977–~1010), Prince of Novgorod (988–1010)
- a widow of Yaropolk I, a Greek nun
- Sviatopolk the Accursed (~979), possibly the surviving son of Yaropolk
- Rogneda (the daughter of Rogvolod), later upon divorce she entered a convent taking the Christian name of Anastasia
- Iziaslav of Polotsk (~979, Kiev), Prince of Polotsk (989–1001)
- Yaroslav the Wise (no earlier than 983), Prince of Rostov (987–1010), Prince of Novgorod (1010–1034), Grand Prince of Kiev (1016–1018, 1019–1054). Possibly he was a son of Anna rather than Rogneda. Another interesting fact that he was younger than Sviatopolk according to the words of Boris in the *Tale of Bygone Years* and not as it was officially known. Also the fact of him being the Prince of Rostov is highly doubtful although not discarded.
- Vsevolod (~984–1013), possibly the Swedish Prince Wissawald of Volyn (~1000)
- Mstislav, other Mstislav that possibly died as an infant if he was ever born
- Mstislav of Chernigov (~983), Prince of Tmutarakan (990–1036), Prince of Chernigov (1024–1036), other sources claim him to be son of other mothers (Adela, Malfrida, or some other Bulgarian wife)
- Predslava, a concubine of Bolesław I Chrobry according to *Gesta principum Polonorum*
- Premislava, (? – 1015), some source state that she was a wife of the Duke Laszlo (Vladislav) "the Bald" of Arpadians
- Mstislava, in 1018 was taken by Bolesław I Chrobry among the other daughters
- Bulgarian Adela, some sources claim that Adela is not necessarily Bulgarian as Boris and Gleb were born from some other wife
- Boris (~986), Prince of Rostov (~1010–1015), remarkable is the fact that Rostov Principality as well as the Principality of Murom used to border the territory of Volga Bulgars
- Gleb (~987), Prince of Murom (1013–1015), as Boris, Gleb is being also claimed the son of Anna Porphyrogenita
- Stanislav (~985–1015), Prince of Smolensk (988–1015), possible of another wife and a fate of whom is not certain
- Sudislav (?-1063), Prince of Pskov (1014–1036), possible of another wife, but he is mentioned in Nikon's Chronicles. He spent 35 years in prison and later before dying turned into a monk.
- Malfrida



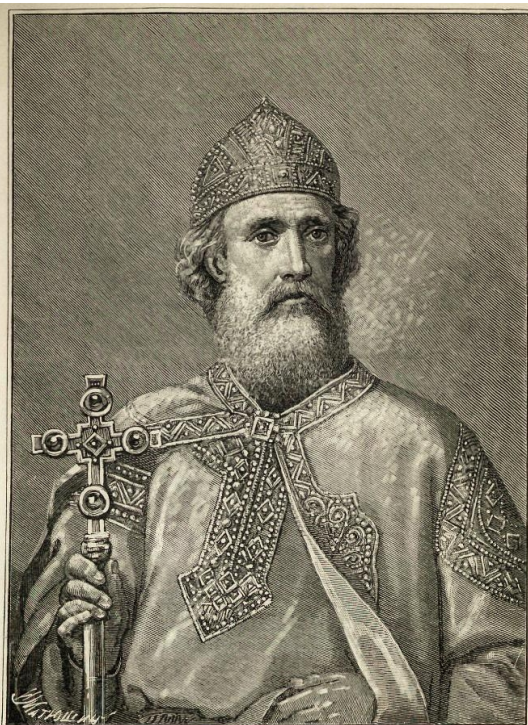
Vladimir and Rogneda (1770).



Gold coin of Vladimir



- Sviatoslav (~982–1015), Prince of Drevlians (990–1015)
- Anna Porphyrogenita
  - Theofana, a wife of Novgorod posadnik Ostromir, a grandson of semi-legendary Dobrynya (highly doubtful is the fact of her being Anna's offspring)
- a granddaughter of Otto the Great (possibly Rechlinda Otona [Regelindis])
  - Maria Dobroniega of Kiev (~1012), the Duchess of Poland (1040–1087), married around 1040 to Casimir I the Restorer, Duke of Poland
  - Agatha, a theoretical daughter according to Jette
- other possible family
  - an out-of-marriage daughter (?-1044), a wife of the Nordmark Margrave Bernard
  - Pozvizi (prior to 988-?), a son of Vladimir according to Hustyn Chronicles. He, possibly, was the Prince Khrisokhir mentioned by Niketas Choniates.



Vladimir I. Engraving of 1889

## Significance and legacy

One of the largest Kievan cathedrals is dedicated to him. The University of Kiev was named after the man who Christianized Kievan Rus. There is the Russian Order of St. Vladimir and Saint Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in the United States. The Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches celebrate the feast day of St. Vladimir on 15 July.

His memory was also kept alive by innumerable Ukrainian and Russian folk ballads and legends, which refer to him as *Krasno Solnyshko*, that is, the *Fair Sun*. With him the Varangian period of Eastern Slavic history ceases and the Christian period begins.

## Notes

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- [3] Companion to the Calendar: A Guide to the Saints and Mysteries of the Christian Calendar, p. 105 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=n0av-2QejZgC&pg=PA105>), Mary Ellen Hynes, Ed. Peter Mazar, LiturgyTrainingPublications, 1993
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- [8] Saint Volodymyr the Baptizer: Wetting cultural appetites for the Gospel (<http://www.ukrainian-orthodoxy.org/saints/otherSaints/volodymyr.htm>), Dr. Alexander Roman, Ukrainian Orthodoxy website
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- [10] Vladimir I (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/631547/Vladimir-I>), Encyclopædia Britannica
- [11] Den hellige Vladimir av Kiev (~956–1015) (<http://www.katolsk.no/biografier/historisk/vladimi1>), Den Katolske Kirke
- [12] Moss, 18. He also explored many other replacements for his pagan beliefs before settling on Christianity.
- [13] Moss, 18.

[14] Ibn al-Athir dates these events to 985 or 986 in his *The Complete History*

[15] "Rus". *Encyclopaedia of Islam*

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# Vytautas

Vytautas the Great	
Grand Duke of Lithuania	
<div></div> <div>17th century painting</div>	
Reign	August 4, 1392 – October 27, 1430
Titles	Duke of Trakai Postulated King of Hussites
Born	~1350
Birthplace	Senieji Trakai
Died	October 27, 1430
Place of death	Trakai
Buried	Vilnius, Vilnius Cathedral
Predecessor	Skirgaila
Successor	Švitrigaila
Royal House	House of Kęstutis
Dynasty	Gediminids
Father	Kęstutis
Mother	Birutė

**Vytautas** (Lithuanian: *Vytautas Didysis*, Belarusian: Біра́йт, Polish: *Witold Kiejstutowicz*, Rusyn: *Vitovt*, Latin: *Alexander Vitoldus*, Italian: *Vito il Grande*); styled "the Great" from the 15th century onwards; c. 1350 – October 27, 1430) was one of the most famous rulers of medieval Lithuania. Vytautas was the ruler (1392–1430) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania which chiefly encompassed the Lithuanians and Ruthenians. He was also the Prince of Hrodna (1370–1382) and the Prince of Lutsk (1387–1389), postulated king of Hussites.<sup>[1]</sup>

In modern Lithuania, Vytautas is revered as a national hero and was an important figure in the national rebirth in the 19th century. *Vytautas* is a popular male given name in Lithuania. In commemoration of 500 years of Vytautas' death Vytautas Magnus University was named after him. Monuments in his honour were built in many towns in the independent Republic of Lithuania during the interwar period, 1918–1939.



## Struggle for power

### 1377–1384

Vytautas' father, Kęstutis, and his uncle Algirdas, were brothers and did not compete for power. Algirdas was the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and Kęstutis was primarily responsible for defense against the Teutonic Knights. However, after Algirdas' death in 1377, his son Jogaila, became Grand Duke. The harmonious relationship of his father and uncle ended, and a struggle for power between them ensued. In 1380, Jogaila signed the secret Treaty of Dovydiškės with the Teutonic Knights against Kęstutis. When Kęstutis discovered this in the following year, he seized Vilnius, imprisoned Jogaila, and made himself Grand Duke. However, Jogaila managed to escape and raised an army against Kęstutis, and his son Vytautas. The two opposing sides confronted each other but never engaged in battle. Kęstutis was ready to negotiate, but he and Vytautas were arrested and transported to Kreva Castle. One week later, Kęstutis was found dead. Whether he died of natural causes or was murdered is still a matter of debate amongst historians.

In 1382, Vytautas was able to escape from Kreva. After the escape, he sought help from the Teutonic Knights. At the time Jogaila was negotiating with the Teutonic Order. They formulated the Treaty of Dubysa, by which Jogaila promised to accept Christianity, become an ally of the Order, and give the Order some territory of Samogitia up to the Dubysa River. However, the treaty was never ratified. In summer 1383, the war between Jogaila and the Order started up again. Vytautas was baptised in the Catholic rite, receiving the name of Wigand (Lithuanian: *Vygandas*). Vytautas participated in several raids against Jogaila. In January 1384, Vytautas again promised to cede part of Samogitia, to the Teutonic Order, up to the Nevėžis River in return for the title of Grand Duke of Lithuania. However, in July of the same year, Vytautas decided to abandon the Teutonic Knights and reconciled with Jogaila. He then proceeded to burn three important Teutonic castles, and he redeemed all Kęstutis' lands, except for Trakai.



Vytautas and Kęstutis imprisoned by Jogaila.  
Painting by Wojciech Gerson

### 1389–1392

Vytautas participated in the signing of Union of Kreva with Poland in 1385 and he was re-baptised in 1386 in the Catholic rite, receiving the name Alexander. This treaty provided for the marriage of Jogaila to Jadwiga of Poland, and for him to become the King of Poland. He left his brother Skirgaila as a regent of Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, he was unpopular with the people and Vytautas saw an opportunity to become the Grand Duke again. In 1389 he started a war and attacked Vilnius but failed. Vytautas was forced to ask the Teutonic Knights for help for the second time in the beginning of 1390. Vytautas had to promise to keep the original agreement of 1384, and turn over Samogitia to the Order. His army now attacked Lithuanian lands.

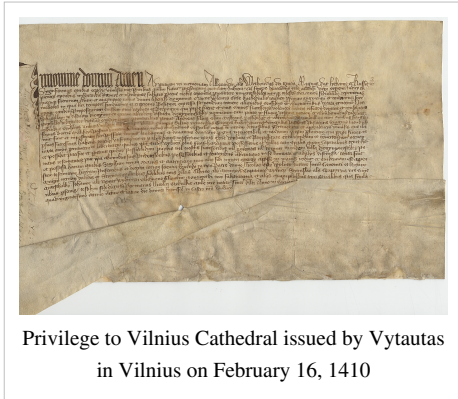
To further advance his influence, Vytautas married his only daughter Sophia to Vasili I of Russia in 1391. The Polish nobility was unhappy that Jogaila, their new king, now Władysław II Jagiełło, spent too much time on the affairs of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was clear that the war could continue for years and would not bring any benefit to the country. In 1392, Władysław II Jagiełło's envoy, Henry of Masovia,



Poland and Lithuania 1386–1434

offered Vytautas to become his regent instead of Skirgaila. Vytautas accepted and once again burned three Teutonic castles and returned to Vilnius. Jagiełło and Vytautas signed the Astrava Treaty in which Vytautas redeemed all Kęstutis' lands, including Trakai, and was given more. He could rule Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the name of Wladyslaw II Jagiełło. After Vytautas death all lands and powers were to be returned to the King of Poland.

## Grand Duke of Lithuania



Privilege to Vilnius Cathedral issued by Vytautas in Vilnius on February 16, 1410

### Policy towards the East

Vytautas continued Algirdas' vision to control as many Muscovy lands as possible. Many lands were already under the Grand Duke's rule, but the rest were controlled by the Mongols. Tokhtamysh, Khan of the Golden Horde, sought Vytautas' help when he was removed from the throne in 1395 after his defeat by Timur. An agreement was reached that Vytautas would help Tokhtamysh to regain power, and the Horde would cede more lands to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in return. In 1398, Vytautas' army attacked a part of the Crimea and built a castle there. Now Lithuania spanned from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. A

number of Tatar captives were brought to the ethnic Lithuania.

Inspired by this successful campaign, Vytautas and Wladyslaw II Jagiełło won support from Pope Boniface IX for organising a crusade against the Mongols. This political move also demonstrated that Grand Duchy of Lithuania had fully accepted Christianity and was defending the faith on its own, and that the Teutonic Knights had no further basis for attacks against Lithuania. The campaign resulted in total defeat at the Battle of the Vorskla River in 1399. Over twenty princes, including two brothers of Wladyslaw II Jagiełło, were killed, and Vytautas himself barely escaped alive. This came as a shock to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland. A number of territories revolted against Vytautas, and Smolensk was retaken by its hereditary ruler, George of Smolensk and not re-conquered by Lithuanians until 1404. Vytautas waged a war in 1406–1408 against his son-in-law Vasili I of Moscow and Švitrigaila, a brother of Jogaila who with the support of the Teutonic Order had declared himself grand prince. A major stand-off between the two armies ended without a battle in the Treaty of Ugra, by which Velikiy Novgorod was granted to Jogaila's brother Simeon Lingwen, and the important city of Pskov to Jogaila's envoy Jerzy Nos, the latter settlement a clear violation of the treaty of Raciąż.<sup>[2][3]</sup> The war with Muscovy ended in December 1408, on terms which made further conflict with the Teutonic Order inevitable, despite Hermann II of Celje's attempt to negotiate a solution.<sup>[4]</sup>

## Wars against the Teutonic Order

In 1398 in preparation for the crusade against the Golden Horde, Vytautas had signed the Treaty of Salynas with the Teutonic Knights and transferred Samogitia to them. Samogitia was especially important for the order because it separated Teutonic Knights, based in Prussia, from the Livonian Order, based in Latvia. The two orders desired to unite and form a mighty force. However, the knights ruled Samogitia only for three years, because in 1401 the Samogitians, supported by Vytautas, rebelled and burned two castles. The knights received support from Švitrigaila, brother of Jagiełło, who desired to take Vytautas' title. In 1404 Peace of Raciaż was signed which, in essence, repeated the Treaty of Salynas: Samogitia was transferred to the Teutonic Knights. Poland promised not to support Lithuania in case of another war. The knights promised to support Vytautas in the east and not to support any Gediminid who could have claims to the Grand Duke of Lithuania title. However, the treaty did not solve the problems, and all the parties prepared for a war.

In 1408 Vytautas reached peace in the east and returned to Samogitia matters. In 1409 the second Samogitian uprising, backed by Vytautas, against the Teutonic Knights started. The rebels burned Skirsnemunė castle. Since both Poland and Lithuania supported the rebels, the war started. Vytautas gathered a large army from 18 lands under his control. The army joined Polish forces and advanced towards the Teutonic headquarters at the castle of Marienburg (present-day Malbork). In 1410 Vytautas himself commanded the forces of the Grand Duchy in the Battle of Grunwald (also called the Battle of Tannenberg). The battle ended in a decisive Polish-Lithuanian victory. Even though the siege of Marienburg was unsuccessful, the Teutonic Knights never regained their strength and from then on posed a reduced threat to Poland-Lithuania.



Vytautas the Great as shown on Jan Matejko's oil painting of the Battle of Grunwald



The Royal Seal, with the only survived original depiction of Vytautas

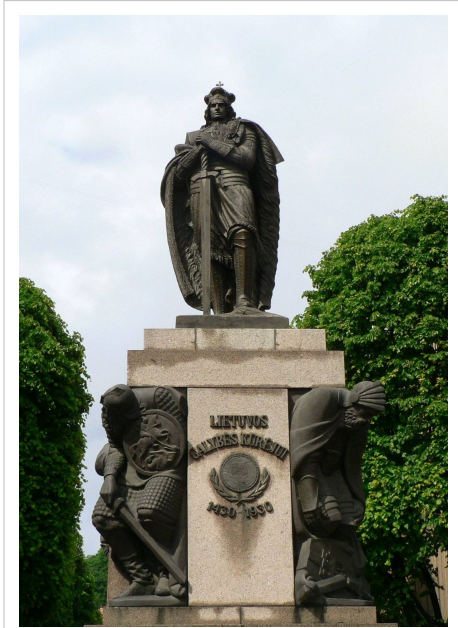
As a result of the Peace of Thorn of 1411, Vytautas received Samogitia for his lifetime. However, the parties could not agree on the border. Sigismund, Holy Roman Emperor, agreed to mediate the dispute. In 1413, it was declared that the whole right bank of the Neman River was Samogitia and therefore belonged to Lithuania. The Teutonic Knights disagreed and a new war started in 1414. The war lasted for just a couple of months and the dispute was brought to the Council of Constance. Even though the dispute was not resolved, the Samogitians had a chance to present their case to the leaders of Europe. It is seen as an important event in the diplomatic history of Lithuania. Several other mediation attempts failed and yet another war with the Teutonic Order started in 1422. After a couple of months of fighting, the Treaty of

Lake Melno was signed. Samogitia was returned to Lithuania in perpetuity, while the city of Memel (present-day Klaipėda) and surrounding territories stayed with the Order. This border, as established by the treaty, remained stable for some 500 years until the Memel Territory dispute of 1923. With peace established, Vytautas could now concentrate on reforms and the relationship with Poland.



## Relationship with Poland

In 1399 Jadwiga of Poland and her newborn died in childbirth. Jogaila's power in Poland was jeopardised as he was a foreigner king with no other ties to the throne but his wife. Also, the defeat at Vorskla forced a re-evaluation of the relationship between Poland and Lithuania. The result was the Union of Vilnius and Radom in 1401. Vytautas was granted wide autonomy, but after his death the title and powers of Grand Duke of Lithuania were to be transferred to the king of Poland or vice versa. In case Jagiełło died first without an heir, the Polish nobility agreed not to elect a new king without consulting Vytautas. The unique feature of this union was that the Lithuanian nobility presented their own document: for the first time somebody other than dukes played a role in the state matters.



Vytautas the Great monument in Kaunas



Church of Vytautas the Great. Built around 1400 in Kaunas

Vytautas was one of the creators of the Union of Horodło with Poland in 1413. According to the act of the union, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was to retain a separate Grand Duke and its own parliament. At the same time both the Polish and Lithuanian Sejms were to discuss all the important matters jointly. This union was important culturally as well as politically because it granted Lithuanian Christian nobles the same rights as the Polish szlachta. This act did not include Orthodox nobles. This paved the way for more contacts and cooperation between the nobles of Poland and of Lithuania.

In January 1429 Vytautas already had received the title of King of Lithuania with the backing of Sigismund, Holy Roman Emperor, but the envoys who were transporting the crown were stopped by Polish magnates in autumn of 1430. Another crown was sent, but Vytautas died in the Trakai Island Castle several days before it reached Lithuania. He was buried in the Cathedral of Vilnius. The knowledge about his remains has been lost.

According to 1911 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vytautas "was certainly the most imposing personality of his day in Eastern Europe, and his martial valour was combined with statesmanlike foresight."

## Reforms

Vytautas backed the economic development of his state and introduced many reforms. Under his rule the Grand Duchy of Lithuania gradually became more centralised, as local princes with dynastic ties to the throne were replaced by the governors loyal to Vytautas. The governors were rich landowners who formed the basis for the Lithuanian nobility. During Vytautas' rule, the influential Radziwiłł and Goštautai families began their rise.



Litas commemorative coin dedicated to Vytautas the Great

## Family



Vytautas beside his uncle Algirdas on the Millennium of Russia in Veliky Novgorod.

Born in 1350 in the castle of present-day Senieji Trakai, Vytautas was the son of Kęstutis and his second wife Birutė. Vytautas was a cousin and childhood friend of Jogaila (Władysław II Jagiełło), who became King of Poland in 1386. Around 1370, he married Anna, who gave birth to Sophia of Lithuania, the only child of Vytautas. She was married to Vasily I, Grand Prince of Moscow. After Anna's death in 1414, Vytautas married her niece Juliana Olshanska, daughter of Ivan Olshanski.

## Notes

- [1] Turnbull, Stephen (2004). *The Hussite Wars 1419-36*. Ospreypublishing. pp. 11. ISBN 1-84176-665-8.
- [2] **(Polish)** Paweł Jasienica (1988). "Władysław Jagiełło". *Polska Jagiellonów*. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy. ISBN 83-06-01796-X.
- [3] **(Polish)** Tekla Wołowska (1860). *Historia Polska (Polish History)* (<http://books.google.com/books?vid=0M4twVP-4wcULxFPgixkP9T&id=JCsLAAAIAAJ&pg=PA433&lpg=PA432&dq=Jagiello+1408>). Paris: L. Martinet. pp. 433. .
- [4] **(Polish)** Antoni Prochaska (1908). *Król Władysław Jagiełło* (<http://books.google.com/books?vid=OCLC13016756&id=5vIKAAAIAAJ&q=Jagiello+1408&dq=Jagiello+1408&pgis=1>). Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności. pp. 240. .

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## William I, Count of Burgundy

### William I, Count of Burgundy



Imaginary 19th-century portrait in the cathedral of St John of Besançon

<b>Spouse(s)</b>	Stephanie
<b>Noble family</b>	House of Ivrea
<b>Father</b>	Renaud I, Count of Burgundy
<b>Mother</b>	Alice of Normandy
<b>Born</b>	1020
<b>Died</b>	12 November 1087 Besançon
<b>Burial</b>	Besançon Cathedral

**William I** (1020 – 12 November 1087), called **the Great** (*le Grand* or *Tête Hardie*, "the Rash"), was Count of Burgundy from 1057 to 1087 and Mâcon from 1078 to 1087. He was a son of Renaud I and Alice of Normandy, daughter of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. William was the father of several notable children, including Pope Callixtus II.

In 1057, he succeeded his father and reigned over a territory larger than that of the Franche-Comté itself. In 1087, he died in Besançon and was buried there in the cathedral of St John.

William married a woman named Stephanie.<sup>[1]</sup>

They had many children:

- Renaud II, William's successor, died on First Crusade
- Stephen I, successor to Renaud II, Stephen died on the Crusade of 1101
- Raymond, married (1090) Urraca, the reigning queen of Castile
- Guy of Vienne, elected pope, in 1119 at the Abbey of Cluny. as Calixtus II
- Sybilla (or Maud), married (1080) Eudes I of Burgundy



- Gisela of Burgundy, married (1090) Humbert II of Savoy and then Renier I of Montferrat
- William
- Eudes
- Hugh III, Archbishop of Besançon
- Clementia married Robert II, Count of Flanders and was Regent, during his absence. She married secondly Godfrey I, Count of Leuven and was possibly the mother of Joscelin of Louvain.
- Stephanie married Lambert, Prince de Royans (died 1119)
- Ermentrude, married (1065) Theodoric I
- (perhaps) Bertha wife of Alphonso VI of Castile
- and maybe another daughter

## Note

- [1] She was identified as the daughter of Adalbert, Duke of Lorraine in an article by Szabolcs de Vajay in *Annales de Bourgogne*, XXXII:247–267 (Oct–Dec 1960), but the author subsequently made an unqualified retraction of this claim in "Parlons encore d'Etienne" in *Prosopographica et Genealogica*, vol. 3: *Onomastique et Parenté dans l'Occident medieval*, K. S. B. Keats-Rohan and C. Settipani, eds. (2000), pp. 2–6.

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- Medieval Lands Project on William I, Comté de Burgundy ([http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BURGUNDY\\_Kingdom.htm#\\_Toc147820419](http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BURGUNDY_Kingdom.htm#_Toc147820419))

# William V, Duke of Aquitaine

**William V** (969 – 31 January 1030), called **the Great** (*le Grand*), was Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitou (as William II or III) from 990 until his death. He was the son and successor of William IV by his wife Emma of Blois, daughter of Theobald I of Blois. He seems to have taken after his formidable mother, who ruled Aquitaine as regent until 1004. He was a friend to Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, who found in him another Maecenas, and founded a cathedral school at Poitiers. He himself was very well educated, a collector of books, and turned the prosperous court of Aquitaine into the learning centre of Southern France.

Though a cultivated prince, he was a failure in the field. He called in the aid of his suzerain Robert II of France in subduing his vassal, Boso of La Marche. Together, they yet failed. Eventually, Boso was chased from the duchy. He had to contain the Vikings who yearly threatened his coast, but in 1006, he was defeated by Viking invaders. He lost the Loudunais and Mirebalais to Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou. He had to give up Confolens, Ruffec, and Chabanais to compensate William II of Angoulême, but Fulbert negotiated a treaty (1020) outlining the reciprocal obligations of vassal and suzerain.

However, his court was a centre of artistic endeavour and he its surest patron. His piety and culture brought peace to his vast feudum and he tried to stem the tide of feudal warfare then destroying the unity of many European nations by supporting the current Peace and Truce of God movements initiated by Pope and Church. He founded Maillezais Abbey (1010) and Bourgueil Abbey. He rebuilt the cathedral and many other religious structures in Poitiers after a fire. He travelled widely in Europe, annually visiting Rome or Spain as a pilgrim. Everywhere he was greeted with royal pomp. His court was of an international flavour, receiving ambassadors from the Emperor Henry II, Alfonso V of León, Canute the Great, and even his suzerain, Robert of France.

In 1024–1025, an embassy from Italy, sent by Ulric Manfred II of Turin, came to France seeking a king of their own, the Henry II having died. The Italians asked for Robert's son Hugh Magnus, co-king of France, but Robert refused to allow his son to go and the Italians turned to William, whose character and court impressed many. He set out for Italy to consider the proposal, but the Italian political situation convinced him to renounce the crown for him and his heirs. Most of his surviving six letters deal with the Italian proposal.

His reign ended in peace and he died on the last (or second to last) day of January 1030 at Maillezais, which he founded and where he is buried.

The principal source of his reign is the panegyric of Adhemar of Chabannes.

## Family

He was married at least 3 times. His first wife was Adalemode of Limoges, widow of Adalbert I of La Marche. They had one son:

1. William VI, his successor

His second wife was Sancha of Gascony [1] (or Brisa/Prisca), daughter of Duke William II Sánchez of Gascony and sister of Duke Sancho VI William. She was dead by 1018. They had two sons and a daughter:

1. Odo, later duke also
2. Adalais, married Count Guiraut I Trancaleon of Armagnac
3. Theobald, died young

His third wife was Agnes of Burgundy, daughter of Otto-William, Duke of Burgundy. Her second husband was Geoffrey II of Anjou. They had two sons and a daughter also:

1. Peter William, later duke as William VII
2. Guy Geoffrey, later duke as William VIII
3. Agnes (or Ala), married Henry III, Holy Roman Emperor (1043)

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## External links

- Medieval Lands Project on William the Great <sup>[2]</sup>

## References

[1] <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/GASCONY.htm#SanchaGascognediedbefore1018>


[2] <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/AQUITAINE.htm#GuillaumeVAquitainedied1030B>

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# Xerxes I of Persia

Josua I of Persia

Khshayathiya Khshayathiyānam, King of Kings



"Xerxes, King of Persia" as portrayed by Guillaume Rouille (1553 AD)

Reign	486 to 465 BC
Coronation	October 485 BC
Born	519 BC
Birthplace	Persia
Died	465 BC (aged 54)
Place of death	Persia
Buried	Persia
Predecessor	Darius the Great
Successor	Artaxerxes I
Consort	Amestris
Royal House	Achaemenid
Father	Darius the Great
Mother	Atossa
Religious beliefs	Zoroastrianism

**Xerxes I of Persia** (English: /ˈzɜrksiːz/), Old Persian: *Xšāyaršā* IPA: [xʃajɑːrʃaː] meaning "ruling over heroes",<sup>[1]</sup> Greek: Ξέρξης, Hebrew: חֲשִׁיָּרֶשׁ, Modern *Ahashverosh* Tiberian ʾĀḥašwērôš), also known as **Xerxes the Great** (519 BC-465 BC), was the fourth king of the Achaemenid Empire.

## Life

### Youth and rise to power

Immediately after seizing the kingship, Darius I of Persia (son of Hystaspes) married Atossa (daughter of Cyrus the Great). They were both descendants of Achaemenes from different Achaemenid lines. Marrying a daughter of Cyrus strengthened Darius's position as king.<sup>[2]</sup> Darius was an active emperor, busy with building programs in Persepolis, Susa, Egypt, and elsewhere. Toward the end of his reign he moved to punish Athens, but a new revolt in Egypt (probably led by the Persian satrap) had to be suppressed. Under Persian law, the Achaemenian kings were required to choose a successor before setting out on such serious expeditions. Upon his great decision to leave (487-486 BC),<sup>[3]</sup> Darius prepared his tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam and appointed Xerxes, his eldest son by Atossa, as his successor. Darius's failing health then prevented him from leading the campaigns,<sup>[4]</sup> and he died in October 486 BC.<sup>[4]</sup>

Xerxes was not the oldest son of Darius, and according to old Iranian traditions should not have succeeded the King. Xerxes was however the oldest son of Darius and Atossa hence descendent of Cyrus. This made Xerxes the chosen King of Persia.<sup>[5]</sup> Some modern scholars also view the unusual decision of Darius to give the throne to Xerxes to be a result of his consideration of the unique positions that Cyrus the Great and his daughter Atossa have had.<sup>[6]</sup> Artobazan was born to "Darius the subject", while Xerxes was the eldest son born in the purple after Darius's rise to the throne, and Artobazan's mother was a commoner while Xerxes's mother was the daughter of the founder of the empire.<sup>[7]</sup>

Xerxes was crowned and succeeded his father in October–December 486 BC<sup>[8]</sup> when he was about 36 years old.<sup>[3]</sup> The transition of power to Xerxes was smooth due again in part to great authority of Atossa<sup>[2]</sup> and his accession of royal power was not challenged by any person at court or in the Achaemenian family, or any subject nation.<sup>[9]</sup>

Almost immediately, he suppressed the revolts in Egypt and Babylon that had broken out the year before, and appointed his brother Achaemenes as governor or satrap (Old Persian: khshathrapavan) over Egypt. In 484 BC, he outraged the Babylonians by violently confiscating and melting down<sup>[10]</sup> the golden statue of Bel (Marduk, Merodach), the hands of which the rightful king of Babylon had to clasp each New Year's Day. This sacrilege led the Babylonians to rebel in 484 BC and 482 BC, so that in contemporary Babylonian documents, Xerxes refused his father's title of King of Babylon, being named rather as King of Persia and Media, Great King, King of Kings (Shahanshah) and King of Nations (i.e. of the world).

Even though Herodotus's report in the *Histories* has created certain problems concerning Xerxes's religious beliefs, modern scholars consider him a Zoroastrian.<sup>[11]</sup>

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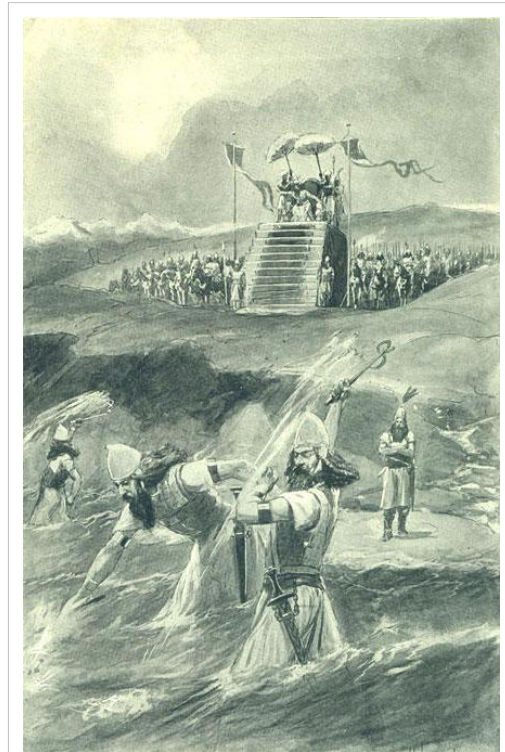
## Campaigns

### Invasion of the Greek mainland

Darius died while in the process of preparing a second army to invade the Greek mainland, leaving to his son the task of punishing the Athenians, Naxians, and Eretrians for their interference in the Ionian Revolt, the burning of Sardis and their victory over the Persians at Marathon. From 483 BC Xerxes prepared his expedition: A channel was dug through the isthmus of the peninsula of Mount Athos, provisions were stored in the stations on the road through Thrace, two pontoon bridges later known as Xerxes's Pontoon Bridges were built across the Hellespont. Soldiers of many nationalities served in the armies of Xerxes, including the Assyrians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Egyptians and Jews.<sup>[12]</sup>

According to the Greek historian Herodotus, Xerxes's first attempt to bridge the Hellespont ended in failure when a storm destroyed the flax and papyrus cables of the bridges; Xerxes ordered the Hellespont (the strait itself) whipped three hundred times and had fetters thrown into the water. Xerxes's second attempt to bridge the Hellespont was successful.<sup>[13]</sup> Xerxes concluded an alliance with Carthage, and thus deprived Greece of the support of the powerful monarchs of Syracuse and Agrigentum. Many smaller Greek states, moreover, took the side of the Persians, especially Thessaly,

Thebes and Argos. Xerxes set out in the spring of 480 BC from Sardis with a fleet and army which Herodotus exaggerated to be more than two million strong with at least 10,000 elite warriors named Persian Immortals. The actual Persian strength was around two to three hundred thousands. Xerxes was victorious during the initial battles.



Xerxes attending the lashing of the Hellespont  
(Illustration from 1909)

### Thermopylae and Athens

The Battle of Thermopylae, a small force of Greek warriors led by King Leonidas of Sparta resisted the much larger Persian forces, but were ultimately defeated. According to Herodotus, the Persians broke the Spartan phalanx after a Greek man called Ephialtes betrayed his country by telling the Persians of another pass around the mountains. After Thermopylae, Athens was captured and the Athenians and Spartans were driven back to their last line of defense at the Isthmus of Corinth and in the Saronic Gulf.

What happened next is a matter of some controversy. According to Herodotus, upon encountering the deserted city, in an uncharacteristic fit of rage particularly for Persian kings, Xerxes had Athens burned. He almost immediately regretted this action and ordered it rebuilt the very next day. However, Persian scholars dispute this view as pan-Hellenic propaganda, arguing that Sparta, not Athens, was Xerxes's main foe in his Greek campaigns, and that Xerxes would have had nothing to gain by destroying a major center of trade and commerce like Athens once he had already captured it.

At that time, anti-Persian sentiment was high among many mainland Greeks, and the rumor that Xerxes had destroyed the city was a popular one, though it is equally likely the fire was started by accident as the Athenians were frantically fleeing the scene in pandemonium, or that it was an act of "scorched earth" warfare to deprive Xerxes's army of the spoils of the city.

At Artemisium, large storms had destroyed ships from the Greek side and so the battle stopped prematurely as the Greeks received news of the defeat at Thermopylae and retreated. Xerxes was induced by the message of Themistocles (against the advice of Artemisia of Halicarnassus) to attack the Greek fleet under unfavourable conditions, rather than sending a part of his ships to the Peloponnesus and awaiting the dissolution of the Greek armies. The Battle of Salamis (September, 480 BC) was won by the Greek fleet, after which Xerxes set up a winter camp in Thessaly.

Due to unrest in Babylon, Xerxes was forced to send his army home to prevent a revolt, leaving behind an army in Greece under Mardonius, who was defeated the following year at Plataea.<sup>[14]</sup> The Greeks also attacked and burned the remaining Persian fleet anchored at Mycale. This cut off the Persians from the supplies they needed to sustain their massive army, and they had no choice but to retreat. Their withdrawal roused the Greek city-states of Asia.

## Construction projects

After the military blunders in Greece, Xerxes returned to Persia and completed the many construction projects left unfinished by his father at Susa and Persepolis. He built the Gate of all Nations and the Hall of a Hundred Columns at Persepolis, which are the largest and most imposing structures of the palace. He completed the Apadana, the Palace of Darius and the Treasury all started by Darius as well as building his own palace which was twice the size of his father's. His taste in architecture was similar to that of Darius, though on an even more gigantic scale.<sup>[15]</sup> He also maintained the Royal Road built by his father and completed the Susa Gate and built a palace at Susa.<sup>[16]</sup>

## Death

In 465 BC, Xerxes was murdered by Artabanus, the commander of the royal bodyguard and the most powerful official in the Persian court (Hazarapat/commander of thousand). Although Artabanus bore the same name as the famed uncle of Xerxes, a Hyrcanian, his rise to prominence was due to his popularity in religious quarters of the court and harem intrigues. He put his seven sons in key positions and had a plan to dethrone the Achamenids.<sup>[17]</sup>

In August 465 BC, Artabanus assassinated Xerxes with the help of a eunuch, Aspamitres. Greek historians give contradicting accounts of events. According to Ctesias (in Persica 20), Artabanus then accused the Crown Prince Darius, Xerxes's eldest son, of the murder and persuaded another of Xerxes's sons, Artaxerxes, to avenge the patricide by killing Darius.



Inscription of Xerxes the Great near the Van Citadel



The rock-cut tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam north of Persepolis, copying that of Darius, is usually assumed to be that of Xerxes



But according to Aristotle (in *Politics* 5.1311b), Artabanus killed Darius first and then killed Xerxes. After Artaxerxes discovered the murder he killed Artabanus and his sons.<sup>[18]</sup> Participating in these intrigues was the general Megabyzus, whose decision to switch sides probably saved the Achamenids from losing their control of the Persian throne.<sup>[19]</sup>

## Children

### By queen Amestris:

- Amytis, wife of Megabyzus
- Artaxerxes I
- Darius, the first born, murdered by Artaxerxes I or Artabanus.
- Hystaspes, murdered by Artaxerxes I.
- Achaemenes, murdered by Egyptians.
- Rhodogune

### By unknown wives:

- Artarius, satrap of Babylon.
- Tithraustes
- Arsames or Arsamenes or Arxanes or Sarsamas satrap of Egypt.
- Parysatis<sup>[20]</sup>
- Ratashah<sup>[21]</sup>

## Cultural depictions

Xerxes is the protagonist of the opera *Serse* by the German-English Baroque composer George Frederic Handel. It was first performed in the King's Theatre London on 15 April 1738. The famous aria "Ombra mai fù" opens the opera.

Later generations' fascination with ancient Sparta, and particularly the Battle of Thermopylae, has led to Xerxes's portrayal in works of popular culture. For instance, he was played by David Farrar in the 1962 fiction film *The 300 Spartans*, where he is portrayed as a cruel, power-crazed despot and an inept commander. He also features prominently in the graphic novel *300* by Frank Miller, as well as the movie adaptation (portrayed by Brazilian actor Rodrigo Santoro), in which he is represented as a giant god-king. This portrayal has attracted controversy, especially in Iran.<sup>[22]</sup>

Other works dealing with the Persian Empire or the Biblical story of Esther have also referenced Xerxes, such as the video game *Assassin's Creed II* and the film *One Night with the King*, in which Ahasuerus (Xerxes) was portrayed by British actor Luke Goss. He is the leader of the Persian Empire in the video game *Civilization II* and *III* (along with Scheherazade), although *Civilization IV* replaces him with Cyrus the Great and Darius I.

Gore Vidal, in his historical fiction novel *Creation*, describes at length the rise of Achemenids, and especially Darius I and presents the life and death circumstances of Xerxes. His vision of history goes against the grain of Greek histories.

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# Yu the Great

Yu the Great															
															
Yu the Great, Color on silk at the National Palace Museum															
Chinese	大禹														
<table> <tr> <th colspan="2">Transcriptions</th></tr> <tr> <th colspan="2">Mandarin</th></tr> <tr> <td>- Hanyu Pinyin</td><td>Dà Yǔ</td></tr> <tr> <th colspan="2">Min</th></tr> <tr> <td>- Hokkien POJ</td><td>Daí Wu</td></tr> <tr> <th colspan="2">Cantonese (Yue)</th></tr> <tr> <td>- Jyutping</td><td>Daai<sup>6</sup> Yu<sup>5</sup></td></tr> </table>		Transcriptions		Mandarin		- Hanyu Pinyin	Dà Yǔ	Min		- Hokkien POJ	Daí Wu	Cantonese (Yue)		- Jyutping	Daai <sup>6</sup> Yu <sup>5</sup>
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**Yu the Great** (Chinese: 大禹; pinyin: *Dà Yǔ*, c. 2200 - 2100 BC),<sup>[1]</sup> was a legendary ruler in ancient China famed for his introduction of flood control, inaugurating dynastic rule in China by founding the Xia Dynasty, and for his upright moral character.<sup>[2][3]</sup>

Few, if any, records exist from the period of Chinese history when Yu reigned. Because of this, the vast majority of information about his life and reign comes from collected pieces of oral tradition and stories that were passed down in various areas of China, many of which were collected in Sima Qian's famous Records of the Grand Historian. Yu and other "sage-kings" of Ancient China were lauded by Confucius and other Chinese teachers, who praised their virtues and morals.<sup>[4]</sup>

Yu is one of the few Chinese rulers posthumously honored with the appellation "the Great".

## Ancestry and early life

According to several ancient Chinese records, Yu was the 8<sup>th</sup> great-grandson of the Yellow Emperor: Yu's father Gun was the 5<sup>th</sup> great-grandson of King Zhuanxu; Zhuanxu's father Changyi was the second son of the Yellow Emperor.<sup>[5][6][7][8]</sup> Yu was said to be born at Mount Wen (Chinese: 汶山), in modern day Beichuan County, Sichuan Province,<sup>[9]</sup> though there are debates as to whether he was born in Shifang instead.<sup>[10]</sup> Yu's mother was a woman of the Youxin clan named either Nüzhi (Chinese: 女志) or Nüxi (Chinese: 女嬉).

As a child, Yu's father Gun moved the people east toward the Chinese heartland. King Yao enfeoffed Gun as lord of Chong, usually identified as the middle peak of Mount Song. Yu is thus believed to have grown up on the slopes of Mount Song, just south of the Yellow River.<sup>[11]</sup> He later married a woman from Mount Tu (Chinese: 塗山) who is generally referred to as Tushan-shi (Chinese: 塗山氏; literally "Lady Tushan").<sup>[12]</sup> They had a son named Qi, a

name literally meaning "revelation".<sup>[12]</sup>

## Great Yu Controls the Waters



Han Dynasty depiction of Yu.

During the reign of king Yao, the Chinese heartland was frequently plagued by floods that prevented further economic and social development.<sup>[13]</sup> Yu's father, Gun, was tasked with devising a system to control the flooding. He spent nine years building a series of dikes and dams along the riverbanks, but they were ineffective. As an adult, Yu continued his father's work and made a careful study of the river systems in an attempt to learn why his father's great efforts had failed.

Collaborating with Houji - a semi-mythical agricultural master about whom little is concretely known - Yu successfully devised a system of flood controls that were crucial in establishing the prosperity of the Chinese heartland. Instead of directly damming the rivers' flow, Yu made a system of irrigation canals which relieved floodwater into fields, as well as spending great effort dredging the riverbeds.<sup>[7]</sup> Yu is said to have eaten and slept with the common workers and spent most of his time personally assisting the work of dredging the silty beds of the rivers for the 13 years the projects took to complete. The dredging and irrigation were successful, and allowed ancient Chinese culture to flourish along the Yellow River, Wei River, and other waterways of the

Chinese heartland. The project earned Yu renown throughout Chinese history, and is referred to in Chinese history as **"Great Yu Controls the Waters"** (Chinese: 大禹治水; pinyin: *Dà Yǔ Zhì Shuǐ*). In particular, Mount Longmen along the Yellow River had a very narrow channel which blocked water from flowing freely east toward the ocean. Yu is said to have brought a large number of workers to open up this channel, which has been known ever since as "Yu's Gateway" (Chinese: 禹門口).<sup>[7]</sup>

## Apocryphal stories

In a mythical version of this story, presented in Wang Jia's 4<sup>th</sup> century AD work *Shi Yi Ji*, Yu is assisted in his work by a yellow dragon and a black turtle (not necessarily related to the Black Tortoise of Chinese mythology).<sup>[14]</sup> Another local myth says that Yu created the Sanmenxia "Three Passes Gorge" of the Yangzi River by cutting a mountain ridge with a divine battle-axe to control flooding.<sup>[15]</sup>

Traditional stories say that Yu sacrificed a great deal of his body to control the floods. For example, his hands were said to be thickly callused, and his feet were completely covered with callus. In one common story, Yu had only been married four days when he was given the task of fighting the flood. He said goodbye to his wife, saying that he did not know when he would return. During the 13 years of flooding, he passed by his own family's doorstep three times, but each time he did not return inside his own home. The first time he passed, he heard that his wife was in labor. The second time he passed by, his son could already call out to his father. His family urged him to return home, but he said it was impossible as the flood was still going on. The third time Yu was passing by, his son was older than 10 years old. Each time, Yu refused to go in the door, saying that as the flood was rendering countless numbers of people homeless, he could not rest.<sup>[12][16]</sup>

## The Nine Provinces

King Shun, who reigned after his father Yao, was so impressed by Yu's engineering work and diligence that he passed the throne to Yu instead of to his own son. Yu is said to have initially declined the throne, but was so popular with other local lords and chiefs that he agreed to become the new emperor, at the age of 53. He established a capital at Anyi (Chinese: 安邑) - the ruins of which are in modern Xia County, in southern Shanxi Province - and founded what would be called the Xia Dynasty, traditionally considered China's first dynasty.<sup>[17]</sup>

Yu's flood control work is said to have made him intimately familiar with all regions of what was then Han Chinese territory. According to the *Book of History*, Yu divided the Chinese "world" into nine *zhou* or provinces. These were Jizhou (冀州), Yanzhou (兗州), Qingzhou (青州), Xuzhou (徐州), Yangzhou (揚州), Jingzhou (荊州), Yuzhou (豫州), Liangzhou (梁州) and Yongzhou (雍州).<sup>[18]</sup>

According to the Rites of Zhou there was no Xuzhou or Liangzhou, instead there was Youzhou (幽州) and Bingzhou (并州), but according to the Erya there was no Qingzhou or Liangzhou, instead there was Youzhou (幽州) and Yingzhou (營州).<sup>[18]</sup> Either way there were nine divisions. Once he had received bronze from these nine territories, he created ding vessels called the Nine Tripod Cauldrons.<sup>[19]</sup> Yu then established his capital at Yang City (陽城).<sup>[20]</sup> According to the Bamboo Annals, Yu killed one of the northern leaders, Fangfeng (防風) to reinforce his hold on the throne.<sup>[21][22]</sup>



## Death



According to the Bamboo Annals, Yu ruled the Xia Dynasty for 45 years; and, according to Yue Jueshu (越絕書), he died from an illness.<sup>[22][23]</sup> It is said that he died at Kuaiji Mountain (會稽山), south of present day Shaoxing, while on a hunting tour to the eastern frontier of his empire, and was buried there. The Yu mausoleum (大禹陵) known today was first built in the 6th century CE during the Southern dynasty in his honor.<sup>[24]</sup> It is located four kilometers southeast of Shaoxing city.<sup>[24]</sup> Most of the structure was rebuilt many times in later periods. The three main parts of the mausoleum are the Yu tomb (禹陵), temple (禹廟) and memorial (禹祠).<sup>[25]</sup> In many statues he is seen carrying an ancient plow (耒耜). A

number of emperors in imperial times have travelled there to perform ceremonies in his honor, notably Qin Shi Huang.<sup>[23]</sup>



## Influence on society

### Modern

In the Republic of China era Sun Yat-sen envisioned great plans for water control like Yu the Great including a 30 million horsepower dam across the Yangtze River.<sup>[26]</sup> However the plans did not come into being as the Kuomintang were at war with Japan and the Communist Party of China.<sup>[26][27]</sup>



Yu temple in Yu mausoleum

Beichuan, Wenchuan and Dujiangyan towns in Sichuan have all made claims to be the birthplace of Yu the great.<sup>[28]</sup>

### In popular culture

Yu, played by Vince Crestejo, is the eldest of the System Lords, as seen in the science fiction television series *Stargate SG-1*. He did not assume the role of a god, but rather one of China's earliest emperors, and is notable for several positive influences made during his reign. In the show, he has been introduced as Yu the Great in *Fair Game*, and the Jade Emperor, the exalted Yu Huang Shang Ti in *Summit*, who are separate figures in Chinese mythology.

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# Religious figures

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## Abraham the Great of Kashkar

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**Abraham the Great of Kashkar** was the father of the Assyrian monastic revival in the 6th century. He is hailed as a doctor and saint of the Assyrian Church of the East.

He was born in Kashkar in Persia around 492. He left there to preach the Gospel at Al-Hirah, leaving there to study monastic life at Scetes.

Monasticism was very popular in early Syrian and Mesopotamian Christianity. Some held the view that only a life of celibacy could lead to salvation. Initially, all monks and nuns were hermits, but in about 350 Mar Awgin founded the first cenobitic monastery of Mesopotamia on Mount Izla above the city Nisibis after the Egyptian model. Soon there were many monasteries.<sup>[1]</sup>

But at the synod of Beth Lapat the Assyrian Church of the East decided that all monks and nuns should marry. Obviously, this was in order to please the Zoroastrian rulers, who held family life sacred. The decision severely weakened the church. Spiritual life declined and some opponents left altogether and joined the new Monophysite Church.

The decision was reverted in 553, and in 571 Abraham founded a new monastery on Mt. Izla with strict rules. Abraham died in 586.

The third abbot of this monastery was his student Babai the Great (551-628). Babai finally drove out the married monks from Mt. Izla, and as 'visitor of the monasteries of the north' ensured that the monastic ideal was taken seriously throughout northern Mesopotamia.

Abraham's feast day is celebrated on the 6th Friday after Epiphany.

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# Abraham Kidunaia

## Saint Abraham the Great



### Hermit

<b>Died</b>	c. 366 Assos, in the Troad, Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey)
<b>Honored in</b>	Roman Catholic Church, Eastern Orthodox Church, Coptic Church, Syrian Orthodox Church
<b>Feast</b>	July 29; October 24; October 29; December 14

**Saint Abraham the Great of Kidunja** (or **Kidunaja**) (died c. 366) was a Hermit and Priest of the Christian Church.

## Biography

He left his young wife on his wedding day and settled in the desert of Syria. After having spent twelve years there in a hut he had walled up, he was ordained to the priesthood and appointed the pastor of a village in Mesopotamia with a largely pagan population. Within three years, he had converted the population of his village to Christianity. Thereafter, he left to return to the desert. He only returned later to convert his niece Mary, who had become a prostitute, to Christianity. He died at Assos in the Troad, Asia Minor (now modern-day Turkey) around 366 AD.

## Veneration

The feast day of Saint Abraham is October 29 in the Eastern Orthodox Church and in the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>[1]</sup> The Syrian Church commemorates him on December 14, the Coptic Church on July 29, the Syriac Orthodox Church on October 24.

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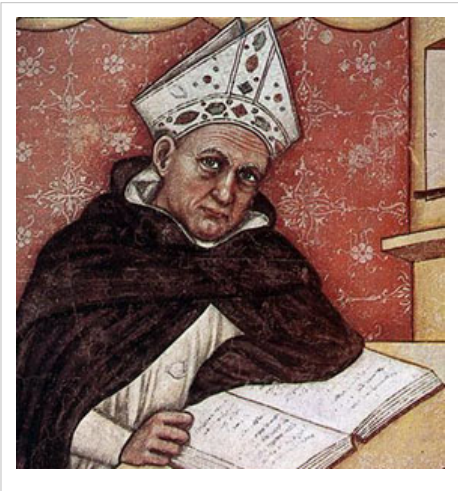
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# Albertus Magnus

Saint Albertus Magnus (St. Albert the Great)



Saint Albertus Magnus, fresco, 1352, Treviso, Italy

Bishop, Confessor, and Doctor of the Church

Born	ca. 1193/1206 Lauingen, Bavaria
Died	November 15, 1280 Cologne, Holy Roman Empire
Honored in	Catholic Church
Beatified	1622, Rome
Canonized	1931, Rome by Pope Pius XI
Major shrine	Saint Andreas in Cologne
Feast	November 15
Patronage	Cincinnati, Ohio; medical technicians; natural sciences; philosophers; scientists; students; World Youth Day

## Albertus Magnus (Albert the Great)

Other names	"Albert of Cologne"
Born	Unknown, year between 1193–1206 Lauingen, Bavaria
Died	1280 Cologne
Era	Medieval philosophy
Region	Western philosophy
School	Scholasticism

**Albertus Magnus**, O.P. (1193/1206 – November 15, 1280), also known as **Albert the Great** and **Albert of Cologne**, is a Catholic saint. He was a German Dominican friar and a bishop who achieved fame for his comprehensive knowledge of and advocacy for the peaceful coexistence of science and religion. Those such as

James A. Weisheipl and Joachim R. Söder have referred to him as the greatest German philosopher and theologian of the Middle Ages, an opinion supported by contemporaries such as Roger Bacon.<sup>[1]</sup> The Catholic Church honours him as a Doctor of the Church, one of only 34 persons with that honor.

## Biography

Albertus was born sometime between 1193 and 1206 to the Count of Bollstädt in Lauingen in Bavaria.<sup>[2]</sup> Contemporaries such as Roger Bacon applied the term "Magnus" to Albertus during his own lifetime, referring to his immense reputation as a scholar and philosopher.

Albertus was educated principally at Padua, where he received instruction in Aristotle's writings. A late account by Rudolph de Novamagia refers to Albertus' encounter with the Blessed Virgin Mary, who convinced him to enter Holy Orders. In 1223 (or 1221) he became a member of the Dominican Order, against the wishes of his family, and studied theology at Bologna and elsewhere. Selected to fill the position of lecturer at Cologne, Germany, where the Dominicans had a house, he taught for several years there, at Regensburg, Freiburg, Strasbourg and Hildesheim. In 1245 he went to Paris, received his doctorate and taught for some time as a master of theology with great success. During this time Thomas Aquinas began to study under Albertus.



Bust of Albertus Magnus by Vincenzo Onofri, c. 1493

Albertus was the first to comment on virtually all of the writings of Aristotle, thus making them accessible to wider academic debate. The study of Aristotle brought him to study and comment on the teachings of Muslim academics, notably Avicenna and Averroes, and this would bring him in the heart of academic debate. He was ahead of his time in his attitude towards science. Two aspects of this attitude deserve to be mentioned: 1) he did not only study science from books, as other academics did in his day, but actually observed and experimented with nature (the rumours starting by those who did not understand this are probably at the source of Albert's supposed connections with alchemy and witchcraft), 2) he took from Aristotle the view that scientific method had to be appropriate to the objects of the scientific discipline at hand (in discussions with Roger Bacon, who, like many 20th century

academics, thought that all science should be based on mathematics).

In 1254 Albertus was made provincial of the Dominican Order, and fulfilled the arduous duties of the office with great care and efficiency. During his tenure he publicly defended the Dominicans against attacks by the secular and regular faculty of the University of Paris, commented on St John, and answered what he perceived as errors of the Arabian philosopher Averroes.

In 1260 Pope Alexander IV made him Bishop of Regensburg, an office from which he resigned after three years. During the exercise of his duties he enhanced his reputation for humility by refusing to ride a horse—in accord with the dictates of the Dominican order—instead walking back and forth across his huge diocese. This earned him the affectionate sobriquet, "boots the bishop," from his parishioners. After his stint as bishop, he spent the remainder of his life partly in retirement in the various houses of his order, yet often preaching throughout southern Germany. In 1270 he preached the eighth Crusade in Austria. After this, he was especially known for acting as a mediator between conflicting parties (In Cologne he is not only known for being the founder of Germany's oldest university there, but also for "the big verdict" (der Grose Schied) of 1258, which brought an end to the conflict between the citizens of Cologne and the archbishop. Among the last of his labors was the defense of the orthodoxy of his former pupil, Thomas Aquinas, whose death in 1274 grieved Albertus (the story that he travelled to Paris in person to defend the teachings of Aquinas can not be confirmed).



After suffering a collapse of health in 1278, he died on November 15, 1280, in Cologne, Germany. Since November 15, 1954, his relics are in a Roman sarcophagus in the crypt of the Dominican St. Andreas church in Cologne. [3]

Albertus is frequently mentioned by Dante, who made his doctrine of free will the basis of his ethical system. In his *Divine Comedy*, Dante places Albertus with his pupil Thomas Aquinas among the great lovers of wisdom (*Spiriti Sapienti*) in the Heaven of the Sun. Albertus is also mentioned, along with Agrippa and Paracelsus, in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, in which his writings influence a young Victor Frankenstein.

Albertus was beatified in 1622. He was canonized and proclaimed a Doctor of the Church in 1931 by Pope Pius XI and patron saint of the sciences. St Albert's feast day is celebrated on November 15. According to Joan Carroll Cruz, his body is incorrupt.<sup>[4]</sup>



Roman sarcophagus containing the relics of Albertus Magnus in the crypt of St. Andreas church in Cologne, Germany

## Writings



Albertus Magnus monument at the University of Cologne.

Albertus' writings collected in 1899 went to thirty-eight volumes. These displayed his prolific habits and literally encyclopedic knowledge of topics such as logic, theology, botany, geography, astronomy, astrology, mineralogy, chemistry, zoology, physiology, phrenology and others; all of which were the result of logic and observation. He was perhaps the most well-read author of his time. He digested, interpreted and systematized the whole of Aristotle's works, gleaned from the Latin translations and notes of the Arabian commentators, in accordance with Church doctrine. Most modern knowledge of Aristotle was preserved and presented by Albertus.

Albertus' activity, however, was more philosophical than theological (see Scholasticism). The philosophical works, occupying the first six and the last of the twenty-one volumes, are generally divided according to the Aristotelian scheme of the sciences, and consist of interpretations and condensations of Aristotle's relative works, with supplementary discussions upon contemporary topics, and occasional divergences from the opinions of the master.

His principal theological works are a commentary in three volumes on the Books of the Sentences of Peter Lombard (*Magister Sententiarum*), and the *Summa Theologiae* in two volumes. The latter is in substance a more didactic repetition of the former.

## Natural philosopher



Painting by Joos (Justus) van Gent,  
Urbino, ~ 1475

Albertus's knowledge of physical science was considerable and for the age remarkably accurate. His industry in every department was great, and though we find in his system many gaps which are characteristic of scholastic philosophy, his protracted study of Aristotle gave him a great power of systematic thought and exposition. An exception to this general tendency is his Latin treatise "De falconibus" (later inserted in the larger work, *De Animalibus*, as book 23, chapter 40), in which he displays impressive actual knowledge of a) the differences between the birds of prey and the other kinds of birds; b) the different kinds of falcons; c) the way of preparing them for the hunt; and d) the cures for sick and wounded falcons.<sup>[5]</sup> His scholarly legacy justifies his contemporaries' bestowing upon him the honourable surname *Doctor Universalis*.

In the centuries since his death, many stories arose about Albertus as an alchemist and magician. On the subject of alchemy and chemistry, many treatises relating to *Alchemy* have been attributed to him, though in his authentic writings he had little to say on the subject, and then mostly through commentary on Aristotle. For example, in his commentary, *De mineralibus*, he refers to the power of stones, but does not elaborate on what these powers might be.<sup>[6]</sup> A wide range of Pseudo-Albertine works dealing with alchemy exist, though, showing

the belief developed in the generations following Albert's death that he had mastered alchemy, one of the fundamental sciences of the Middle Ages. These include *Metals and Materials*; the *Secrets of Chemistry*; the *Origin of Metals*; the *Origins of Compounds*, and a *Concordance* which is a collection of *Observations on the philosopher's stone*; and other alchemy-chemistry topics, collected under the name of *Theatrum Chemicum*.<sup>[7]</sup> He is credited with the discovery of the element arsenic<sup>[8]</sup> and experimented with photosensitive chemicals, including silver nitrate.<sup>[9][10]</sup> He did believe that stones had occult properties, as he related in his work *De mineralibus*. However, there is scant evidence that he personally performed alchemical experiments. Much of the modern confusion results from the fact that later works, particularly the alchemical work known as the *Secreta Alberti* or the *Experimenta Alberti*, were falsely attributed to Albertus by their authors to increase the prestige of the text through association.

According to legend, Albertus Magnus is said to have discovered the philosopher's stone and passed it to his pupil Thomas Aquinas, shortly before his death. Magnus does not confirm he discovered the stone in his writings, but he did record that he witnessed the creation of gold by "transmutation."<sup>[11]</sup> Given that Thomas Aquinas died six years before Albertus Magnus' death, this legend as stated is unlikely.

However, it is true that Albertus was deeply interested in astrology, as has been articulated by scholars such as Paola Zambelli.<sup>[12]</sup> While today we would view this as evidence of superstition, in the high Middle Ages—and well into the early modern period—few intellectuals, if any, questioned the basic assumptions of astrology: humans live within a web of celestial influences that affect our bodies, and thereby motivate us to behave in certain ways. Within this worldview, it was logical to believe that astrology could be used to predict the probable future of a human being. Albertus made this a central component of his philosophical system, arguing that an understanding of the celestial influences affecting us could help us to live our lives more in accord with Christian precepts. The most comprehensive statement of his astrological beliefs is to be found in a work he authored around 1260, now known as the *Speculum astronomiae*. However, details of these beliefs can be found in almost everything he wrote, from his early *Summa de bono* to his last work, the *Summa theologiae*.

## Music

Albertus is known for his enlightening commentary on the musical practice of his times. Most of his written musical observations are found in his commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*. He rejected the idea of "music of the spheres" as ridiculous: movement of astronomical bodies, he supposed, is incapable of generating sound. He wrote extensively on proportions in music, and on the three different subjective levels on which plainchant could work on the human soul: purging of the impure; illumination leading to contemplation; and nourishing perfection through contemplation. Of particular interest to 20th-century music theorists is the attention he paid to silence as an integral part of music.

## Cultural references

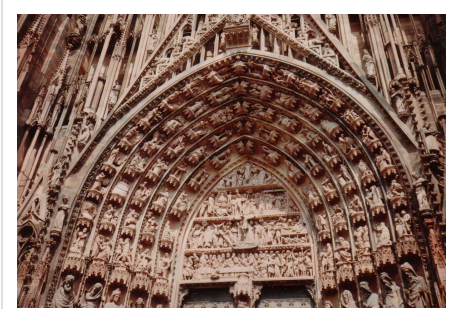
The iconography of the tympanum and archivolts of the late 13th-century portal of Strasbourg Cathedral was inspired by the writings of Albertus Magnus.<sup>[13]</sup> Albertus is recorded as having made a mechanical automaton in the form of a brass head that would answer questions put to it. Such a feat was also attributed to Roger Bacon.<sup>[14]</sup>

In *The Concept of Anxiety* Søren Kierkegaard wrote that Albert Magnus, "arrogantly boasted of his speculation before the deity and suddenly became stupid." Kierkegaard cites G. O. Marbach who he quotes as saying "Albertus repente ex asino factus philosophus et ex philosopho asinus" [Albert was suddenly transformed from an ass into a philosopher and from a philosopher into an ass].<sup>[15]</sup>

In 1968, he was cited by William F. Buckley as one of several historical figures whose best qualities would be emulated by the ideal President.

The typeface Albertus is named in his memory.

In Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Albertus Magnus is referred to as one of Victor Frankenstein's chosen readings. He is also referred to in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Birth-mark* and Herman Melville's *The Bell Tower*. In Terry Pratchett's *Discworld* novels, the character of Alberto Mallich (founder of the Unseen University and later Death's manservant Albert) is a sly nod to Albertus Magnus in his more legendary and esoteric guise. Walter M. Miller, Jr.'s novel *A Canticle for Leibowitz* centers on a monastic order called the Albertian Order of Leibowitz, named by its founder after Albertus Magnus and dedicated to preserving scientific knowledge lost after a nuclear war.



Iconography inspired by writings of Albertus Magnus

## Influence and tribute

A number of schools are named after Albert, including Albertus Magnus High School, in Bardonia, New York, and Albertus Magnus College in New Haven, Connecticut. The main science building at Providence College is named in honor of Albertus Magnus.

The Academy for Science and Design in New Hampshire honored Albertus by naming one of its four houses Magnus House.

As a tribute to the scholar's contributions to the law, the University of Houston Law Center displays a statue of Albertus Magnus. It is located on the campus of the University of Houston.

The Albertus-Magnus-Gymnasium is found in Regensburg, Germany.

In Managua, Nicaragua, the Albertus Magnus International Institute, a business and economic development research center, was founded in 2004.

In the Philippines, the Albertus Magnus Building at the University of Santo Tomas that houses the Conservatory of Music, College of Tourism and Hospitality Management, College of Education, and UST Education High School is

named in his honor. The Saint Albert the Great Science Academy in San Carlos City, Pangasinan, which offers preschool, elementary and high school education, takes pride in having St. Albert as their patron saint. Its main building was named Albertus Magnus Hall in 2008.

Due to his contributions to natural philosophy, the plant species *Alberta magna* and the asteroid 20006 Albertus Magnus were named after him.

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## Further reading

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## External links

- Albert the Great (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/albert-great>) entry by Markus Führer in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
- 🌐 Kennedy, D.J. (1913). "St. Albertus Magnus". *Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company.
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- Online Galleries, History of Science Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries (<http://hos.ou.edu/galleries/03Medieval/AlbertusMagnus/>) High resolution images of works by Albertus Magnus in .jpg and .tiff format.

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# Anthony the Great

Saint Anthony of Egypt	
<div></div> <p>A Coptic icon, showing, in the lower left, St. Anthony with St. Paul the First Hermit</p>	
Venerable and God-bearing Father of Monasticism	
Born	ca. 251 Herakleopolis Magna, Egypt
Died	356 Mount Colzim, Egypt
Honored in	Eastern Orthodoxy, Coptic Orthodox Church, Oriental Orthodoxy, Roman Catholic Church, Lutheranism
Major shrine	Monastery of Saint Anthony, Egypt Saint-Antoine-l'Abbaye, France
Feast	January 30 (Eastern Orthodoxy = Tobi 22 Coptic Church) January 17 = Western Christianity
Attributes	bell; pig; book; Tau cross <sup>[1][2]</sup>
Patronage	Skin diseases, basket makers, brushmakers, gravediggers <sup>[3]</sup>

**Anthony the Great** or **Antony the Great** (ca. 251–356), also known as **Saint Anthony**, **Anthony of Egypt**, **Anthony the Abbot**, **Anthony of the Desert**, **Anthony the Anchorite**, **Anthony of Thebes**, **Abba Antonius** (Ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος), and **Father of All Monks**, was a Christian saint from Egypt, a prominent leader among the Desert Fathers. He is celebrated in many churches on his feast days: 30 January in the Old-Calendar Eastern Orthodox Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church; 17 January in the New-Calendar Eastern Orthodox Church, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church and the Coptic Catholic Church.

The biography of Anthony's life by Athanasius of Alexandria helped to spread the concept of monasticism, particularly in Western Europe through Latin translations. He is often erroneously considered the first monk, but as his biography and other sources make clear, there were many ascetics before him. Anthony was, however, the first known ascetic going into the wilderness (about A.D. 270–271), a geographical move that seems to have contributed to his renown.<sup>[4]</sup> Accounts of Anthony enduring supernatural temptation during his sojourn in the Libyan Desert inspired the often-repeated subject of the temptation of St. Anthony in Western art and literature.

Anthony is appealed to against infectious diseases, particularly skin diseases. In the past, many such afflictions, including ergotism, erysipelas, and shingles, were historically referred to as "St. Anthony's fire."



## Life

### Early life

Most of what is known about the life of Anthony comes from the *Life of Anthony*. Written in Greek around 360 by Athanasius of Alexandria, it depicts Anthony as an illiterate and holy man who through his existence in a primordial landscape has an absolute connection to the divine truth, which always is in harmony with that of Athanasius as the biographer.<sup>[4]</sup> Sometime before 374, it was translated into Latin by Evagrius of Antioch. The Latin translation helped the *Life* become one of the best known works of literature in the Christian world, a status it would hold through the Middle Ages. In addition to the *Life*, several surviving homilies and epistles of varying authenticity provide some additional autobiographical detail.

Anthony was born in Cooma near Herakleopolis Magna in Lower Egypt in 251 to wealthy landowner parents. When he was about 18 years old, his parents died and left him with the care of his unmarried sister. Shortly thereafter, he decided to follow the words of Jesus, who had said: "If you want to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasures in heaven; and come, follow Me.",<sup>[Mt 19:21]</sup> which is part of the Evangelical counsels. Taking these words quite literally, Anthony gave away some of the family estate to his neighbors, sold the remaining property, donated the funds thus raised to the poor, placed his sister with a group of Christian virgins,<sup>[5]</sup> a sort of proto-monastery of nuns, and himself became the disciple of a local hermit.<sup>[3]</sup>

The appellation "Father of Monasticism" might be considered misleading, as Christian monasticism was already being practiced in the deserts of Egypt. Ascetics commonly retired to isolated locations on the outskirts of cities. By the 2nd century there were also famous Christian ascetics, such as Saint Thecla.

Also note that the *Therapeutae*, pagan ascetic hermits and loosely organized cenobitic communities described by the Hellenized Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria in the first century, were long established in the harsh environments by the Lake Mareotis close to Alexandria, and in other less-accessible regions. Philo noted that "this class of persons may be met with in many places, for both Greece and barbarian countries want to enjoy whatever is perfectly good."<sup>[6]</sup>

There are various legends associating him with pigs: one is that for a time he worked as a swineherd.<sup>[7]</sup>

### Hermit

Saint Anthony decided to follow this tradition and headed out into the alkaline Nitrian Desert region (which became the location of the noted monasteries of Nitria, Kellia and Scetis), about 95 km (**unknown operator: u'strong' mi**) west of Alexandria, on the edge of the Western Desert. Here he remained for some 13 years.<sup>[3]</sup>

Anthony is notable for being one of the first ascetics to attempt living in the desert proper, completely cut off from civilization. His anchoretic lifestyle was remarkably harsher than that of his predecessors. Yet the title of Father of monasticism is merited as he was the inspiration for the coming of hundreds of men and women into the depths of the desert, who were then loosely organized into small communities, especially by his disciple, Macarius.

According to Athanasius, the devil fought St. Anthony by afflicting him with boredom, laziness, and the phantoms of women, which he overcame by the power of prayer, providing a theme for Christian art. After that, he moved to a tomb, where he resided and closed the door on himself, depending on some local villagers who brought him food. When the devil perceived his ascetic life and his intense worship, he was envious and beat him mercilessly, leaving him unconscious. When his friends from the local village came to visit him and found him in this condition, they carried him to a church.

After he recovered, he made a second effort and went back into the desert to a farther mountain by the Nile called Pispir, now Der el Memun, opposite Crocodilopolis. There he lived strictly enclosed in an old abandoned Roman fort for some twenty years.<sup>[3]</sup> According to Athanasius, the devil again resumed his war against Saint Anthony, only this time the phantoms were in the form of wild beasts, wolves, lions, snakes and scorpions. They appeared as if they

were about to attack him or cut him into pieces. But the saint would laugh at them scornfully and say, "If any of you have any authority over me, only one would have been sufficient to fight me." At his saying this, they disappeared as though in smoke, and God gave him the victory over the devil. While in the fort he only communicated with the outside world by a crevice through which food would be passed and he would say a few words. Saint Anthony would prepare a quantity of bread that would sustain him for six months. He did not allow anyone to enter his cell; whoever came to him stood outside and listened to his advice.



The former main altar of the hermitage church in Warfhuizen in the Netherlands with a mural of Anthony the Abbot and a reliquary with some of his relics. Since then they have been moved to a new golden shrine on a side-altar especially made for them.

Then one day he emerged from the fort with the help of villagers to break down the door. By this time most had expected him to have wasted away, or to have gone insane in his solitary confinement. Instead, he emerged healthy, serene and enlightened. Everyone was amazed that he had been through these trials and emerged spiritually rejuvenated. He was hailed as a hero and from this time forth the legend of Anthony began to spread and grow.

Anthony went to the Fayyum and confirmed the brethren there in the Christian faith, then returned to his old Roman fort. In 311, Anthony wished to become a martyr and went to Alexandria. He visited those who were imprisoned for the sake of Christ and comforted them. When the Governor saw that he was confessing his Christianity publicly, not caring what might happen to him, he ordered him not to show up in the city. However, the Saint did not heed his threats. He faced him and argued with him in order that he might arouse

his anger so that he might be tortured and martyred, but it did not happen.

## Father of monks

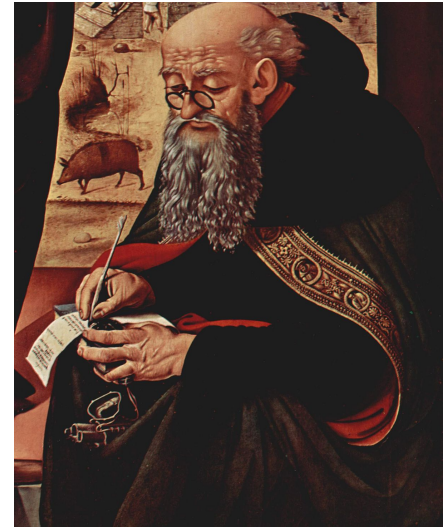
He left Alexandria to return to the old Roman fort upon the end of the persecutions. Here, many came to visit him and to hear his teachings. He saw that these visits kept him away from his worship. As a result, he went further into the Eastern Desert of Egypt. He travelled to the inner wilderness for three days, until he found a spring of water and some palm trees, and then he chose to settle there. Disciples soon started to come to him to seek spiritual teaching. A trickle became a flood, and soon they numbered in the hundreds. On this spot now stands the monastery of Saint Anthony the Great.

There, he anticipated the rule of Benedict of Nursia who lived about 200 years later; "pray and work", by engaging himself and his disciple or disciples in manual labor. Anthony himself cultivated a garden and wove mats of rushes. He and his disciples were regularly sought out for words of enlightenment. These statements were later collected into the book of *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*. Anthony himself is said to have spoken to those of a spiritual disposition personally, leaving the task of addressing the more worldly visitors to Macarius. On occasions, he would go to the monastery on the outskirts of the desert by the Nile to visit the brethren, then return to his inner monastery.

The backstory of one of the surviving epistles, directed to Constantine I, recounts how the fame of Saint Anthony spread abroad and reached Emperor Constantine. The Emperor wrote to him offering him praise and asking him to pray for him. The brethren were pleased with the Emperor's letter, but Anthony did not pay any attention to it, and he said to them, "The books of God, the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords, commands us every day, but we do not heed what they tell us, and we turn our backs on them." Under the persistence of the brethren who told him, "Emperor Constantine loves the church," he accepted to write him a letter blessing him, and praying for the peace

and safety of the empire and the church.

According to Athanasius, Saint Anthony heard a voice telling him, "Go out and see." He went out and saw an angel who wore a girdle with a cross, one resembling the holy Eskiem (Tonsure or Schema), and on his head was a head cover (Kolansowa). He was sitting while braiding palm leaves, then he stood up to pray, and again he sat to weave. A voice came to him saying, "Anthony, do this and you will rest." Henceforth, he started to wear this tunic that he saw, and began to weave palm leaves, and never got bored again. Saint Anthony prophesied about the persecution that was about to happen to the church and the control of the heretics over it, the church victory and its return to its formal glory, and the end of the age. When Saint Macarius visited Saint Anthony, Saint Anthony clothed him with the monk's garb, and foretold him what would be of him. When the day drew near of the departure of Saint Paul the First Hermit in the desert, Saint Anthony went to him and buried him, after clothing him in a tunic which was a present from St Athanasius the Apostolic, the 20th Patriarch of Alexandria.



Painting of Saint Anthony, a part of *The Visitation with Saint Nicholas and Saint Anthony* Abbot by Piero di Cosimo, ca. 1480.

In 338, he was summoned by Athanasius of Alexandria to help refute the teachings of Arius.<sup>[3]</sup>

### Final days

When Saint Anthony felt that the day of his departure had approached, he commanded his disciples to give his staff to Saint Macarius, and to give one sheepskin cloak to Saint Athanasius and the other sheepskin cloak to Saint Serapion, his disciple. He further instructed his disciples to bury his body in an unmarked, secret grave.

He probably spoke only his native language, Coptic, but his sayings were spread in a Greek translation. He himself left no writings. His biography was written by Saint Athanasius and titled *Life of Saint Anthony the Great*. Many stories are also told about him in various collections of sayings of the Desert Fathers.

Though Anthony himself did not organize or create a monastery, a community grew around him based on his example of living an ascetic and isolated life. Athanasius' biography helped propagate Anthony's ideals. Athanasius writes, "For monks, the life of Anthony is a sufficient example of asceticism."<sup>[3]</sup>

## Temptation

Famously, Anthony is said to have faced a series of supernatural temptations during his pilgrimage to the desert. The first to report on the temptation was his contemporary Athanasius of Alexandria. However, some modern scholars have argued that the demons and temptations that Anthony is reported to have faced may have been related to Athanasius by some of the simpler pilgrims who had visited him, who may have been conveying what they had been told in a manner more dramatic than it had been conveyed to them.

It is possible these events, like the paintings, are full of rich metaphor or in the case of the animals of the desert, perhaps a vision or dream. Some of the stories included in Saint Anthony's biography are perpetuated now mostly in paintings, where they give an opportunity for artists to depict their more lurid or bizarre interpretations. Many artists, including Martin Schongauer, Hieronymus Bosch, Dorothea Tanning, Max Ernst, and Salvador Dalí, have depicted these incidents from the life of Anthony; in prose, the tale was retold and embellished by Gustave Flaubert in *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*.

Emphasis on these stories, however, did not really begin until the Middle Ages, when the psychology of the individual became of greater interest.<sup>[3]</sup> Below are some of these controversial tales.



Michelangelo (1487-9). *The Torment of Saint Anthony*. Oil and tempera on panel. One of many artistic depictions of Saint Anthony's trials in the desert, this painting was copied by the young Michelangelo after an engraving by Martin Schongauer

## The satyr and the centaur

Saint Anthony was on a journey in the desert to find his predecessor, Saint Paul of Thebes. Saint Anthony had been under the impression that he was the first person to ever dwell in the desert; however, due to a vision, Saint Anthony was called into the desert to find his predecessor, Saint Paul. On his way there he ran into two demons in the forms of a centaur and a satyr. Many works of art depict Saint Anthony meeting with this centaur and satyr. Western theology considers these demons to have been temptations. At any rate, he was stopped by these demons and asked, "Who are you?" To that the satyr replied, "I am a mortal, one of those whom the gentiles call Fauns, Satyrs and Incubi, I am on a mission from my flock. We request thee to pray for us unto the common God, whom ye know to have come for the salvation of the world, and whose praise is sounded all over the earth." Rejoicing at the glory of Christ, St. Anthony, turning his face towards Alexandria... In the end, the centaur showed Saint Anthony the way to his destination.<sup>[8]</sup>

## Silver and gold

Another time Saint Anthony was traveling in the desert he found a plate of silver coins in his path. He pondered for a moment as to why a plate of silver coins would be out in the desert where no one else travels. Then he realized the devil must have laid it out there to tempt him. To that he said, "Ha! Devil, thou weenest to tempt me and deceive me, but it shall not be in thy power." Once he said this, the plate of silver vanished. Saint Anthony continued walking along and saw a pile of gold in his way which the devil had laid there to deceive him. Saint Anthony cast the pile of gold into a fire, and it vanished just like the silver coins did. After these events, Saint Anthony had a vision where the whole world was full of snares and traps. He cried to the Lord, "Oh good Lord, who may escape from these snares?" A voice said back to him, "humility shall escape them without more. "

## Demons in the cave

One time Saint Anthony tried hiding in a cave to escape the demons that plagued him. There were so many little demons in the cave though that Saint Anthony's servant had to carry him out because they had beaten him to death. When the hermits were gathered to Saint Anthony's corpse to mourn his death, Saint Anthony was revived. He demanded that his servants take him back to that cave where the demons had beaten him. When he got there he called out to the demons, and they came back as wild beasts to rip him to shreds. All of a sudden a bright light flashed, and the demons ran away. Saint Anthony knew that the light must have come from God, and he asked God where was he before when the demons attacked him. God replied, "I was here but I would see and abide to see thy battle, and because thou hast manly fought and well maintained thy battle, I shall make thy name to be spread through all the world."<sup>[9]</sup>

## Veneration



Anthony was secretly buried on the mountain-top where he had chosen to live. His remains were reportedly discovered in 361, and transferred to Alexandria. Some time later, they were taken from Alexandria to Constantinople, so that they might escape the destruction being perpetrated by invading Saracens.

Later, in the eleventh century, the Byzantine emperor gave them to the French Count Jocelin. Jocelin had them transferred to La-Motte-Saint-Didier, which was then renamed Saint-Antoine-en-Dauphiné.<sup>[3]</sup> There, Anthony is credited with assisting in a number of miraculous healings, primarily from ergotism,

which became known as "St. Anthony's Fire". He was credited by two local noblemen of assisting them in recovery from the disease. They then founded the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony in honour of him, who specialized in nursing the victims of skin diseases.<sup>[3]</sup>

Veneration of Anthony in the East is more restrained. There are comparatively few icons and paintings of him. He is regarded as the "first master of the desert and the pinnacle of holy monks", however, and there are monastic communities of the Maronite, Chaldean, and Orthodox churches which state that they follow his monastic rule.<sup>[3]</sup> During the Middle Ages, Anthony, along with Quirinus of Neuss, Cornelius and Hubertus, was venerated as one of the Four Holy Marshals (*Vier Marschälle Gottes*) in the Rhineland.<sup>[10]</sup>

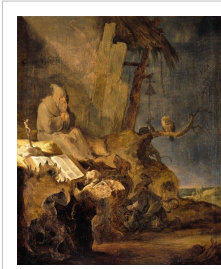
## Coptic literature

Examples of purely Coptic literature are the works of Saint Anthony and Saint Pachomius, who only spoke Coptic, and the sermons and preachings of Saint Shenouda the Archmandrite, who chose to only write in Coptic. Saint Shenouda was a popular leader who only spoke to the Egyptians in Egyptian language (Coptic), the language of the repressed, not in Greek, the language of the rulers.

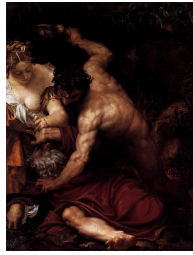
The earliest original writings in Coptic language were the letters by Saint Anthony. During the 3rd and 4th centuries many ecclesiastics and monks wrote in Coptic.<sup>[11]</sup>



## Images of the Temptation of St. Anthony



Cornelis Saftleven,  
1629



Paolo Veronese,  
1552-3



Mathias Grünewald, ca. 1515



Joachim Patinir, ca. 1515



Giovanni Battista Tiepolo,  
first half of 18th century



Jan Brueghel, second half of 16th  
century



Lelio Orsi, 1570s

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# Babai the Great

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**Babai the Great** (ca. 551 – 628) was an early church father of the Church of the East. He set several of the foundational pillars of the Church, revived the monastic movement, and formulated its Christology in a systematic way. He served as an unofficial head of the Nestorian Church from 611 to 628 AD, leaving a legacy of strong discipline and deep religious Orthodoxy. He is revered in the modern Assyrian Church of the East.

## Biography

Babai the Great, not to be confused with Mar Babai I, the first autonomous leader of the Church of the East, was born in Beth Ainata in Beth Zabdai. Born to a wealthy family, he received a primary education in the Persian (Pahlavi) books. He continued his studies at the Christian School of Nisibis under the directorship of Abraham of Beth Rabban. Sometime around 571 A.D., when the Origenist Henana of Adiabene became the new headmaster, Babai's teacher, Abraham the Great of Kashkar, founded a new monastery on Mt. Izla above Nisibis. Babai taught for a while at the Xenodocheio of Nisibis. After that he joined the newly-founded monastery of Abraham on Mt. Izla. When Abraham died in 588, Babai left and founded a new monastery and school in his home country Beth Zabdai. In 604 Babai became the third head of Abraham's monastery on Mt. Izla.

Abraham the Great had started a monastic reform movement which Babai and other disciples carried through. Since Bar Sauma and the Synod of Beth Lapat, monks and nuns had been encouraged to marry. When Babai returned to Mt. Izla in 604, he expelled monks that lived with women and enforced strict discipline, emphasizing a deep life of prayer and solitude. The result was a mass exodus, not only of the married monks.

But the Church of the East was with Babai. In 604, the Catholicos Mar Sabrisho I died and a new Catholicos had to be elected. The choice fell between two men named Gregory: Bishop Gregory of Nisibis and Professor Gregory of Seleucia. King Khosrau II, the Sassanid emperor, stated only that his preferred candidate was Gregory, possibly meaning the bishop. The king's influential wife Shirin, however, disliked Gregory of Nisibis and preferred Gregory of Seleucia, who had once been her steward. The Synod (council) rejected the king's initial candidate, taking advantage of the ambiguity of name, and chose Gregory of Seleucia, who became Mar Gregorius I. The king was accordingly displeased, and reluctantly supported the elected candidate (after applying a hefty fine to him), and said, "Patriarch he is and patriarch he shall be -- but never again do I allow another election."<sup>[1]</sup>

When the Catholicos Gregorius died a few years later in 608, the bishops made the usual request to the king to allow them to elect a new Catholicos, but Khosrau had not forgotten the events of the previous election and refused them leave to do so. The royal physician Gabriel of Shiggar, a staunch Monophysite, suggested to make Henana of Adiabene or one of his students Catholicos, and also used his influence with the king to prevent an election. The king successfully blocked an election in the church, preventing the church from having any figure who could allow new bishops and metropolitans to be consecrated.

During the decades of this vacancy, the Nestorian church required a sort of authority. Because the king remained staunch in his policy, the church chose to separate itself from the king's royal proscription. Two *vekils* (regents) were selected as a stop-gap measure: Archdeacon Mar Aba, who handled matters in the north. In the south, Babai the Great was chosen to lead, who at the time was abbot of a monastery on Mt. Izla. He was nominated inspector-general or visitor of the monasteries of the three northern provinces by the Metropolitans of Nisibis, B. Garmai, and Adiabene. Therefore Babai, even though not yet a bishop, acted as patriarch in all ecclesiastical matters, though he could not ordain or consecrate. He was appointed 'visitor of the monasteries' of the north, and administered the church in collaboration with Archdeacon Mar Aba. In particular, this new position allowed Babai to investigate the orthodoxy of the monasteries and monks of northern Mesopotamia, and to enforce discipline throughout the monasteries of northern Mesopotamia, even against occasional resistance.

Babai the Great and Mar Aba administered the Nestorian Church for 17 years. Attempts were made during that time to ask the king to change his mind and allow an election, but influences in the court, such as Gabriel of Shiggar, and the king's wife Shirin (who was under Gabriel's influence) blocked the requests. Gabriel was seeking to maneuver things such that the decision of Catholicos would have been in his own (monophysite) hands, an option completely unacceptable, in fact horrifying,<sup>[2]</sup> to the existing bishops.

The king defended this policy until his death in 628. The situation, and vacancy, endured until Khosrau II was murdered in 628. After this, Babai was promptly, and unanimously, elected Catholicos, but he declined. Soon afterward, he died in the cell of his monastery on Mt. Izla, being 75 or 77 years old.

## Babai's teaching

Besides bringing discipline to the monasteries and administering the church, Babai is mainly known for his orthodox teaching.

From 610 to 628 the last and most devastating wars between Byzantium and Persia took place. First Persia conquered parts of Byzantium, which were populated mostly by Monophysite and Chalcedonian Christians. To be popular in the newly gained provinces, King Chosroes II did not want to favor the Nestorians any more. During the successful Byzantine counter attack 622—628, Chalcedonians and especially Monophysites were on the advance in Persia and several sees and villages were lost by the Church of the East.

## Babai's writing

To defend and clarify the Nestorian tradition against Henana's Origenism and the advancing Monophysites, Babai the Great produced some 83 or 84 volumes of writing. He developed a systematic Christology, the only one in Nestorian Mesopotamia.<sup>[3]</sup> Of his extensive exegetical works on all of Scripture nothing survived. What we do have are two hagiographies, his principal work on the foundations of ascetic life 'On the Life of Excellency', and commentaries on mystical themes.

From what has been preserved we learn that his main authority was Theodore of Mopsuestia, though in general he used few citations from the Fathers. There is no evidence that he could read Greek, and Babai must have relied on translations.

He mainly fought against the ideas of the Monophysites and of the Origenist Henana. They were the inner enemies. He also wrote against Mani, Marcion, Bar Daisan, the Messalians and the general loss of discipline since Beth Lapat. The *Book of Union* is Babai's most systematic surviving christological treatise, divided into seven memre that cover more than 200 folios. The 'Tractatus Vaticanus' is another manuscript that deals with the "impossibility of the hypostatic union and natural union, the possibility of the parsopic union, and the significance of the expression *hypostatic union* among the fathers of the antiquity".

An important source on the position of Babai the Great against Origen and his follower Henana of Adiabene is his commentary on Evagrius Ponticus. It also shows his opposition to Messalianism. An 8th century manuscript has been preserved that contains Evagrius' text together with Babai's commentary on it. This commentary is an abridged version of a larger one which Babai had written earlier and which is lost.

The writings of Evagrius were important to the current mystical revival among Greek and Syrian monks. For the monks of Mt. Izla, Evagrius was the pillar of mystical theology. The Greek text was condemned already in 553 for its Origenist heresies.

But unlike the Greek, the 'Common Syriac Version', a translation of the Gnostic chapters of Evagrius by the Monophysite Philoxenus, was void of the specific Origenist-Evagrian Christology. For example, it omits the 'nous-Christos' Christology where the God-logos and the flesh are united in the nous, Jesus Christ, the subject of incarnation. Babai tried to eliminate the Origenist ideas even further and presented Evagrius as opposed to Origen and his follower Henana by pointing out apparent contradictions between them.

"The Devil is telling the people that some of Evagrius' statements are similar to heresies. Some even tried to translate directly from the Greek to show the heresy of Evagrius. They translated according to their foolishness, but can be refuted by other writings of Evagrius. The cursed Origen and his disciple, the fool Apollinaris, they teach completely different from Evagrius on the renewal of the soul after death".

To show this further, Babai tells the vita of Evagrius and enumerates his sources: Basilus, Gregorius, and Nectarius. No mention of Origen.

### Babai's christology

The main theological authorities of Babai were Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus. He also relied on John Chrysostomos, the Cappadocian fathers and on Ephrem the Syrian, which were also accepted in the West. In his exegetical methods he synthesized between the rational Theodore and mystical writers like Evagrius.

And most important, instead of breaking with Theodore because of some extreme interpretations of his teachings, like others did, Babai clarified his position to the point that differences with western Christology became superficial and mostly an issue of terminology. His Christology is built in great part on sound exegesis and an interesting anthropology and is far less dualistic than the one Nestorius seems to have presented.

Babai in the 'Book of Union' teaches two *qnome* (hypostasis—not the Chalcedonian use of this term, essence), which are unmingled but everlastingly united in one *parsopa* (person, character, identity, also "hypostasis" in Chalcedonian usage.) It is essential to use the Syrian terms here and not any translations, because the same words mean different things to different people, and the words must be accepted in the particular sense of each. In Greek Christology, *hypostasis* is used specifically to refer to what would correspond to Babai's *parsopa*, and *ousion* would correspond to *qnome*. In the period in which Babai and others formulated their respective Christological models, words such as "hypostasis" and "ousion" had less specifically fixed definitions. Thus, it was possible for two individuals to honestly use a single term to mean two distinctly different things.

Clearly, to Babai, Christ is both God and man. But he could not tolerate any form of Theopaschism (the belief that God suffered), be it the divinity itself, the Trinity, or one of the hypostases of the Trinity. According to Babai, Cyril of Alexandria stood at the root of simple Theopaschism as professed by the Monophysites, and the Emperor Justinian I at the root of composite Theopaschism. The Nestorian church could accept expressions like 'Christ died', 'the Son died', but not 'the Word died', even not 'the Word died in the flesh'.

In the sixth century AD, Mar Babai wrote the **Teshbokhta or (Hymn of Praise)** explaining the theology of the Church of the East He writes:

One is Christ the Son of God,  
Worshiped by all in two natures;



The Holy Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East. The normative Christology of the Assyrian church was written by Babai the Great (551–628) and is clearly distinct from the accusations directed toward Nestorius.

In His Godhead begotten of the Father,  
Without beginning before all time;  
In His humanity born of Mary,  
In the fullness of time, in a body united;  
Neither His Godhead is of the nature of the mother,  
Nor His humanity of the nature of the Father;  
The natures are preserved in their Qnumas (substance),  
In one person of one Sonship.  
And as the Godhead is three substances in one nature,  
Likewise the Sonship of the Son is in two natures, one person.  
So the Holy Church has taught.<sup>[4]</sup>

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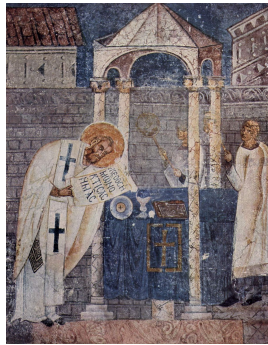
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# Basil of Caesarea

## Saint Basil the Great



St. Basil celebrating the Divine Liturgy (Mass)

### Bishop, Confessor and Doctor of the Church; Great Hierarch

<b>Born</b>	329 or 330 Caesarea, Cappadocia,
<b>Died</b>	January 1, 379) <sup>[1]</sup> . Caesarea, Cappadocia
<b>Honored in</b>	Eastern and Western Christianity
<b>Canonized</b>	Pre-Congregation
<b>Feast</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>January 1<sup>[2][3]</sup> and January 30<sup>[4][5]</sup> (Eastern Orthodox Churches)</li> <li>January 2 (Roman Catholic Church; Anglican Church)</li> <li>January 15 / January 16 (leap year) (Coptic Orthodox Church and Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church)</li> <li>June 14 (General Roman Calendar from 13th century to 1969; Episcopal Church; Lutheran Church)</li> </ul>
<b>Attributes</b>	vested as bishop, wearing omophorion, holding a Gospel Book or scroll. St. Basil is depicted in icons as thin and ascetic with a long, tapering black beard.
<b>Patronage</b>	Russia, Cappadocia, Hospital administrators, Reformers, Monks, Education, Exorcism, Liturgists

**Basil of Caesarea**, also called **Saint Basil the Great**, (329 or 330<sup>[6]</sup> – January 1, 379) (Greek: Ἅγιος Βασίλειος ὁ Μέγας) was the Greek bishop of Caesarea Mazaca in Cappadocia, Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey). He was an influential theologian, who supported the Nicene Creed and opposed the heresies of the early Christian Church, fighting against both Arianism and the followers of Apollinaris of Laodicea. His ability to balance his theological convictions with his political connections made Basil a powerful advocate for the Nicene position.

In addition to his work as a theologian, Basil was known for his care of the poor and underprivileged. Basil established guidelines for monastic life which focus on community life, liturgical prayer, and manual labour. Together with Pachomius he is remembered as a father of communal monasticism in Eastern Christianity. He is considered a saint by the traditions of both Eastern and Western Christianity.

Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa are collectively referred to as the Cappadocian Fathers. The Eastern Orthodox Church and Eastern Catholic Churches have given him, together with Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom, the title of Great Hierarch. His is recognised as a Doctor of the Church in both Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. He is sometimes referred to by the epithet "Οὐρανοφάντωρ", translatable as "revealer of heavenly mysteries".<sup>[7]</sup>

## Life

### Early life and education



The theology of Gregory Thaumaturgus, a student of Origen, influenced Basil through his grandmother Macrina the Elder.

Basil was born into the wealthy family of Basil the Elder, a famous rhetor,<sup>[8]</sup> and Emmelia of Caesarea around 330 in Caesarea Mazaca in Cappadocia<sup>[9]</sup> (modern day Kayseri, Turkey). His parents were renown for their piety,<sup>[10]</sup> and his maternal grandfather was a Christian martyr, executed in the years prior to Constantine I's conversion.<sup>[11][12]</sup> Among Basil's siblings, four are commonly venerated as saints: Macrina the Younger, Naucratius, Peter of Sebaste and Gregory of Nyssa.

Shortly after Basil's birth, the family moved to the estate of his grandmother Macrina the Elder, which was near the town of Neocaesarea. There, Basil was educated in the home by his father and grandmother. He was greatly influenced by the elder Macrina, who had been student of Gregory Thaumaturgus.<sup>[13]</sup> Following the death of his father during his teenage years, Basil returned to Caesarea in Cappadocia around 350-51 to begin his formal education.<sup>[14]</sup> There he met Gregory of Nazianzus, who would become a lifetime friend.<sup>[15]</sup> Together, Basil and Gregory went on to study in Constantinople, where they would have listened to the lectures of Libanius. Finally, the two spent almost six years in Athens starting around 349, where they met a fellow student who would become the emperor Julian the Apostate.<sup>[16][17]</sup> Basil left Athens in 356, and after travelling in Egypt and Syria, he returned to Caesarea, where for around a year he practiced law and taught rhetoric.<sup>[9]</sup> A year later, Basil's life would change radically after he encountered Eustathius of Sebaste, a charismatic bishop and ascetic.<sup>[18]</sup>

Basil soon abandoned his legal and teaching professions in order to devote his life to God. Describing his spiritual awakening in a letter, Basil said:

“I had wasted much time on follies and spent nearly all of my youth in vain labors, and devotion to the teachings of a wisdom that God had made foolish. Suddenly, I awoke as out of a deep sleep. I beheld the wonderful light of the Gospel truth, and I recognized the nothingness of the wisdom of the princes of this world.”<sup>[19]</sup>



## Arnesi

After receiving the sacrament of baptism, Basil traveled in 357 to Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia to study ascetics and monasticism.<sup>[20][21]</sup> While impressed by the piety of the ascetics, the ideal of solitary life held little appeal to him.<sup>[22]</sup> Rather, he turned his attention toward communal religious life. After dividing his fortunes among the poor he went briefly into solitude near Neocaesaria on the Iris.<sup>[20]</sup> Basil soon ventured out of this solitude, and by 358 he was gathering around him a group of like-minded disciples, including his brother Peter. Together they founded a monastic settlement on his family estate at Arnesi in Pontus.<sup>[23]</sup> Joining him there were his mother Emmelia, then widowed, his sister Macrina and several other women, who gave themselves to a pious life of prayer and charitable works. Eustathius of Sebaste had already labored in Pontus in behalf of the anchoritic life, and Basil revered him on that account, although they differed over dogmatic points, which gradually separated the two.<sup>[24]</sup>

It was here that Basil wrote his works regarding monastic communal life, which are accounted as being pivotal in the development of the monastic tradition of the Eastern Church and have led to his being called the "father of Eastern communal monasticism".<sup>[25]</sup> In 358, he wrote to his friend, Gregory of Nazianzus, asking Gregory to join him in Arnesi.<sup>[26]</sup> Gregory eventually agreed to come; together, they collaborated on the production of the *Philocalia*, an anthology drawn from Origen.<sup>[27]</sup> Gregory then decided to return to his family in Nazianzus.

Basil attended the Council of Constantinople in 360. It was here that he first sided with the Homoiousians, a semi-Arian faction who taught that the Son was of *like* substance with the Father, neither the same (*one* substance) nor different from him.<sup>[28]</sup> Its members included Eustathius, Basil's mentor in asceticism. The Homoiousians opposed the Arianism of Eunomius but refused to join with the supporters of the Nicene Creed, who professed that the members of the Trinity were of one substance ("homouousios"). This stance put him at odds with his bishop, Dianius of Caesarea, who had subscribed only to the earlier Nicene form of agreement. Some years later Basil abandoned the Homoiousians, emerging instead as a supporter of the Nicene Creed.<sup>[28]</sup>



Russian icon of Basil of Caesarea

## Caesarea

In 362, Basil was ordained a deacon by Bishop Meletius of Antioch. He was summoned by Eusebius to his city, and was ordained presbyter of the Church there in 365. His ordination was probably the result of the entreaties of his ecclesiastical superiors.<sup>[20]</sup>

Basil and Gregory Nazianzus spent the next few years combating the Arian heresy, which threatened to divide the region of Cappadocia. The two friends then entered a period of close fraternal cooperation as they participated in a great rhetorical contest of the Caesarean church precipitated by the arrival of accomplished Arian theologians and rhetors.<sup>[29]</sup> In the subsequent public debates, presided over by agents of Valens, Gregory and Basil emerged triumphant. This success confirmed for both Gregory and Basil that their futures lay in administration of the Church.<sup>[29]</sup> Basil next took on functional administration of the Diocese of Caesarea.<sup>[25]</sup> Eusebius is reported as becoming jealous of the reputation and influence which Basil quickly developed, and allowed Basil to return to his earlier solitude. Later, however, Gregory persuaded Basil to return. Basil did so, and became the effective manager of the diocese for several years, while giving all the credit to Eusebius.

In 370, Eusebius died, and Basil was chosen to succeed him, and was consecrated bishop on June 14, 370.<sup>[30]</sup> His new post as bishop of Caesarea also gave him the powers of exarch of Pontus and metropolitan of five suffragan bishops, many of whom had opposed him in the election for Eusebius's successor. It was then that his great powers were called into action. Hot-blooded and somewhat imperious, Basil was also generous and sympathetic. He personally organized a soup kitchen and distributed food to the poor during a famine following a drought. He gave away his personal family inheritance to benefit the poor of his diocese.

His letters show that he actively worked to reform thieves and prostitutes. They also show him encouraging his clergy not to be tempted by wealth or the comparatively easy life of a priest, and that he personally took care in selecting worthy candidates for holy orders. He also had the courage to criticize public officials who failed in their duty of administering justice. At the same time, he preached every morning and evening in his own church to large congregations. In addition to all the above, he built a large complex just outside Caesarea, called the Basiliad, which included a poorhouse, hospice, and hospital, and was regarded at the time as one of the wonders of the world.

His zeal for orthodoxy did not blind him to what was good in an opponent; and for the sake of peace and charity he was content to waive the use of orthodox terminology when it could be surrendered without a sacrifice of truth. The Emperor Valens, who was an adherent of the Arian philosophy, sent his prefect Modestus to at least agree to a compromise with the Arian faction. Basil's adamant negative response prompted Modestus to say that no one had ever spoken to him in that way before. Basil replied, "Perhaps you have never yet had to deal with a bishop." Modestus reported back to Valens that he believed nothing short of violence would avail against Basil. Valens was apparently unwilling to engage in violence. He did however issue orders banishing Basil repeatedly, none of which succeeded. Valens came himself to attend when Basil celebrated the Divine Liturgy on the Feast of the Theophany (Epiphany), and at that time was so impressed by Basil that he donated to him some land for the building of the Basiliad. This interaction helped to define the limits of governmental power over the church.

Basil then had to face the growing spread of Arianism. This belief system, which denied that Christ was consubstantial with the Father, was quickly gaining adherents and was seen by many, particularly those in Alexandria most familiar with it, as posing a threat to the unity of the church.<sup>[31]</sup> Basil entered into connections with the West, and with the help of Athanasius, he tried to overcome its distrustful attitude toward the Homoiousians. The



Icon of the Three Holy Hierarchs: Basil the Great (left), John Chrysostom (center) and Gregory the Theologian (right)—from Lipie, Historic Museum in Sanok, Poland.

difficulties had been enhanced by bringing in the question as to the essence of the Holy Spirit. Although Basil advocated objectively the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, he belonged to those, who, faithful to Eastern tradition, would not allow the predicate *homoousios* to the former; for this he was reproached as early as 371 by the Orthodox zealots among the monks, and Athanasius defended him. He maintained a relationship with Eustathius despite dogmatic differences. On the other hand, Basil was grievously offended by the extreme adherents of Homoousianism, who seemed to him to be reviving the Sabellian heresy.

Basil corresponded with Pope Damasus in the hope of having the Roman bishop condemn heresy wherever found, both East and West. The pope's apparent indifference upset Basil's zeal and he turned around in distress and sadness. It is still a point of controversy over how much he believed the Roman See could do for the Churches in the East, as many Roman Catholic theologians<sup>[32]</sup> claim the primacy of the Roman bishopric over the rest of the Churches, both in doctrine and in authoritative strength.

He did not live to see the end of the factional disturbances and the complete success of his continued exertions in behalf of the Church. He suffered from liver illness and his excessive asceticism seems to have hastened him to an early death. A lasting monument of his episcopal care for the poor was the great institute before the gates of Caesarea, which was used as poorhouse, hospital, and hospice.

## Writings



Fresco of Basil the Great in the cathedral of Ohrid. The saint is shown consecrating the Gifts during the Divine Liturgy which bears his name.

The principal theological writings of Basil are his *On the Holy Spirit*, a lucid and edifying appeal to Scripture and early Christian tradition (to prove the divinity of the Holy Spirit), and his *Refutation of the Apology of the Impious Eunomius*, written in 363 or 364, three books against Eunomius of Cyzicus, the chief exponent of Anomoian Arianism. The first three books of the *Refutation* are his work; the fourth and fifth books that are usually included do not belong to Basil, or to Apollinaris of Laodicea, but probably to Didymus "the Blind" of Alexandria.

He was a famous preacher, and many of his homilies, including a series of Lenten lectures on the *Hexaëmeron* (the Six Days of Creation), and an exposition of the psalter, have been preserved. Some, like that against usury and that on the famine in 368, are valuable for the history of morals; others illustrate the honor paid to martyrs and relics; the address to young men on the study of classical literature shows that Basil was lastingly influenced by his own education, which taught him to appreciate the propaedeutic importance of the classics.<sup>[33]</sup>

In his exegesis Basil was a great admirer of Origen and the need for the spiritual interpretation of Scripture, as his co-editorship of the *Philokalia* with Gregory of Nazianzen testifies. In his work on the Holy Spirit, he asserts that "to take the literal sense and stop there, is to have the heart covered by the veil of Jewish literalism. Lamps are useless when the sun is shining." He frequently stresses the need for Reserve in doctrinal and sacramental matters. At the same time he was against the wild allegories of some contemporaries. Concerning this, he wrote:

"I know the laws of allegory, though less by myself than from the works of others. There are those, truly, who do not admit the common sense of the Scriptures, for whom water is not water, but some other nature, who see in a plant, in a fish, what their fancy wishes, who change the nature of reptiles and of wild beasts to suit their allegories, like the interpreters of dreams who explain visions in sleep to



make them serve their own end."<sup>[34]</sup>

His ascetic tendencies are exhibited in the *Moralia* and *Asketika* (sometimes mistranslated as *Rules* of St. Basil), ethical manuals for use in the world and the cloister, respectively. Of the two works known as the *Greater Asketikon* and the *Lesser Asketikon*, the shorter is the one most probably his work.

It is in the ethical manuals and moral sermons that the practical aspects of his theoretical theology are illustrated. So, for example, it is in his *Sermon to the Lazicans* that we find St. Basil explaining how it is our common nature that obliges us to treat our neighbor's natural needs (e.g., hunger, thirst) as our own, even though he is a separate individual. Later theologians explicitly explain this as an example of how the saints become an image of the one common nature of the persons of the Trinity.

His three hundred letters reveal a rich and observant nature, which, despite the troubles of ill-health and ecclesiastical unrest, remained optimistic, tender and even playful. His principal efforts as a reformer were directed towards the improvement of the liturgy, and the reformation of the monastic institutions of the East.

Most of his extant works, and a few spuriously attributed to him, are available in the *Patrologia Graeca*, which includes Latin translations of varying quality. Several of St. Basil's works have appeared in the late twentieth century in the *Sources Chrétiennes* collection.

## Legacy

### Liturgical contributions

St Basil of Caesarea holds a very important place in the history of Christian liturgy, coming as he did at the end of the age of persecution. Basil's liturgical influence is well attested in early sources. Though it is difficult at this time to know exactly which parts of the Divine Liturgies which bear his name are actually his work, a vast corpus of prayers attributed to him has survived in the various Eastern Christian churches. Tradition also credits Basil with the elevation of the iconostasis to its present height.

Most of the liturgies bearing the name of Basil are not entirely his work in their present form, but they nevertheless preserve a recollection of Basil's activity in this field in formularizing liturgical prayers and promoting church-song. Patristics scholars conclude that the Liturgy of Saint Basil "bears, unmistakably, the personal hand, pen, mind and heart of St. Basil the Great."<sup>[35]</sup>

One liturgy that can be attributed to him is *The Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great*, a liturgy that is somewhat longer than the more commonly used *Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*. The difference between the two is primarily in the silent prayers said by the priest, and in the use of the hymn to the Theotokos, *All of Creation*, instead of the *Axion Estin* of Saint John Chrysostom's Liturgy. Chrysostom's Liturgy has come to replace Saint Basil's on most days in the Eastern Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic liturgical traditions. However, they still use Saint Basil's Liturgy on certain feast days: the first five Sundays of Great Lent, the Eves of Nativity and Theophany, on Great and Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday and on the Feast of Saint Basil, January 1 (for those churches which follow the Julian Calendar, their January 1 falls on January 14 of the Gregorian Calendar).

The Eastern Churches preserve numerous other prayers attributed to Saint Basil, including three Prayers of Exorcism, several Morning and Evening Prayers, the "Prayer of the Hours" which is read at each service of the Daily



Statue of Saint Basil, depicting him in Western vestments, in the Church of St. Nicholas, Mala Strana, Prague, Czech Republic.

Office, and the "Kneeling Prayers" which are recited by the priest at Vespers on Pentecost in the Byzantine Rite.

## Influence on monasticism

Through his examples and teachings Basil effected a noteworthy moderation in the austere practices which were previously characteristic of monastic life.<sup>[36]</sup> He is also credited with coordinating the duties of work and prayer to ensure a proper balance between the two.<sup>[37]</sup>

Basil is remembered as one of the most influential figures in the development of Christian monasticism. Not only is Basil recognised as the father of Eastern monasticism; historians recognize that his legacy extends also to the Western church, largely due to his influence on Saint Benedict.<sup>[38]</sup> Patristic scholars such as Meredith assert that Benedict himself recognized this when he wrote in the epilogue to his *Rule* that his monks, in addition to the Bible, should read "the confessions of the Fathers and their institutes and their lives and the *Rule of our Holy Father, Basil*."<sup>[39]</sup> Basil's teachings on monasticism, as encoded in works such as his *Small Asketikon*, was transmitted to the west via Rufinus during the last 4th century.<sup>[40]</sup>

As a result of his influence, numerous religious orders in Eastern Christianity bear his name. In the Roman Catholic Church, the Basilian Fathers, also known as The Congregation of St. Basil, an international order of priests and students studying for the priesthood, is named after him.

## Commemorations of Basil

St Basil was given the title Doctor of the Church for his contributions to the debate initiated by the Arian controversy regarding the nature of the Trinity, and especially the question of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Basil was responsible for defining the terms "*ousia*" (essence/substance) and "*hypostasis*" (person/reality), and for defining the classic formulation of three Persons in one Nature. His single greatest contribution was his insistence on the divinity and consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son.

In Greek tradition, he brings gifts to children every January 1 (**St Basil's Day**) — unlike other traditions where Father Christmas arrives either on December 6 (Saint Nicholas Day) or on Christmas Eve (December 24). It is traditional on St Basil's Day to serve *vasilopita*, a rich bread baked with a coin inside. It is customary on his feast day to visit the homes of friends and relatives, to sing New Year's carols, and to set an extra place at the table for Saint Basil. Basil, being born into a wealthy family, gave away all his possessions to the poor, the underprivileged, those in need, and children.<sup>[41]</sup> A similar story exists for another Greek bishop, Saint Nicholas of Myra. Over the centuries the two legends have blended together, though the Western Santa Claus remains associated with Nicholas, while the Eastern "Santa" is identified with Basil.

Saint Basil died on January 1, and the Eastern Orthodox Church celebrates his feast day together with that of the Feast of the Circumcision on that day. This was also the day on which the Roman Catholic calendar of saints celebrated it at first; but in the 13th century it was moved to June 14, a date believed to be that of his ordination as bishop, and it remained on that date until the 1969 revision of the calendar, which moved it to January 2, rather than January 1, because the latter date is occupied by the Solemnity of Mary, Mother of God. On January 2 Saint Basil is celebrated together with Saint Gregory Nazianzen.<sup>[42]</sup> Some traditionalist Catholics continue to observe pre-1970 calendars.

The Anglican Church celebrates Saint Basil's feast on January 2, but the Episcopal Church celebrates it on June 14.

In the Byzantine Rite, January 30 is the Synaxis of the Three Holy Hierarchs, in honor of Saint Basil, Saint Gregory the Theologian and Saint John Chrysostom.

The Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria celebrates the feast day of Saint Basil on the 6th of Tobi (6th of Terr on the Ethiopian calendar of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church). At present, this corresponds to January 14, January 15 during leap year.

The Macedonian Orthodox Church celebrates Saint Basil's feast on January 14. He is considered as one of the greatest saints in thi Christianity and is called St. Basil the Great (Macedonian: Свети Василиј Велики).<sup>[43]</sup>

There are numerous relics of Saint Basil throughout the world. One of the most important is his head, which is preserved to this day at the monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos in Greece. The mythical sword Durandal is said to contain some of Basil's blood.<sup>[44]</sup>

## Notes

- [1] The exact date of Basil's death is debated by historians. See Rousseau (1994), pp. 360–363, *Appendix III: The Date of Basil's Death and of the Hexameron* for details.
- [2] Great Synaxaristes: (**Greek**) Ὁ Ἅγιος Βασίλειος ὁ Μέγας ὁ Καππαδόκης (<http://www.synaxarion.gr/gr/sid/1584/sxsaintinfo.aspx>). 1 Ιανουαρίου. ΜΕΓΑΣ ΣΥΝΑΞΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ.
- [3] *St Basil the Great the Archbishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia* (<http://ocafs.oca.org/FeastSaintsViewer.asp?SID=4&ID=1&FSID=100003>). OCA - Feasts and Saints.
- [4] Great Synaxaristes: (**Greek**) Οἱ Ἅγιοι Τρεῖς Τεράρχες (<http://www.synaxarion.gr/gr/sid/1948/sxsaintinfo.aspx>). 30 Ιανουαρίου. ΜΕΓΑΣ ΣΥΝΑΞΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ.
- [5] *Synaxis of the Ecumenical Teachers and Hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom* (<http://ocafs.oca.org/FeastSaintsViewer.asp?SID=4&ID=1&FSID=100350>). OCA - Feasts and Saints.
- [6] Fedwick (1981), p. 5
- [7] *St Basil the Great the Archbishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia* (<http://ocafs.oca.org/FeastSaintsLife.asp?FSID=100003>). Orthodox Church in America Website. . Retrieved 2007-12-15
- [8] Quasten (1986), p. 204.
- [9] Rousseau (1994), p. 1.
- [10] *Oratio* 43.4, *PG* 36, 500B, tr. p.30, as presented in Rousseau (1994), p.4.
- [11] Davies (1991), p. 12.
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- [16] Ruether (1969), pp. 19, 25.
- [17] Rousseau (1994), pp. 32–40.
- [18] Hildebrand (2007), pp. 19–20.
- [19] Basil, *Ep.* 223, 2, as quoted in Quasten (1986), p. 205.
- [20] Quasten (1986), p. 205.
- [21] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15th ed.) vol. 1, p. 938.
- [22] Meredith (1995), p. 21.
- [23] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15th ed.) vol. 1, p. 938.
- [24] St. Basil the Great (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02330b.htm>) in Catholic Encyclopedia: "In 373 ... Eustathius of Sebaste (became) a traitor to the Faith and a personal foe"
- [25] Attwater, Donald and Catherine Rachel John. *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*. 3rd edition. New York: Penguin Books, 1993. ISBN 0-14-051312-4.
- [26] Rousseau (1994), p. 66.
- [27] Meredith (1995), pp. 21–22.
- [28] Meredith (1995), p. 22.
- [29] McGuckin (2001), p. 143.
- [30] Meredith (1995), p. 23
- [31] Foley, O.F.M., Leonard (2003). "St. Basil the Great (329-379)" (<http://www.americancatholic.org/Features/SaintOfDay/default.asp?id=1248>). In McCloskey, O.F.M., Pat (rev.). *Saint of the Day: Lives, Lessons and Feasts (5th Revised Edition)*. Cincinnati, Ohio: St. Anthony Messenger Press. ISBN 0-86716-535-9. . Retrieved 2007-12-15
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- [34] Basil. "*Hexameron*, 9.1" (<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.viii.x.html>). In Schaff, Philip. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (2nd Series)*. **8 Basil: Letters and Select Works**. Edinburgh: T&T Clark (1895). p. 102. . Retrieved 2007-12-15. Cf. *Hexameron*, 3.9 (<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.viii.iv.html>) (Ibid., pp. 70-71).
- [35] Bebis (1997), p. 283
- [36] Murphy (1930), p. 94.



- [37] Murphy (1930), p. 95.  
[38] See K.E. Kirk, *The Vision of God: The Christian Document of the summum bonum*, (London, 1931), 9.118, (as quoted in Meredith)  
[39] Meredith (1995), p.24  
[40] Silvas (2002), pp. 247-259, in *Vigiliae Chistanae*  
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[42] Calendarium Romanum, Libreria Editrice Vaticana 1969, p. 84  
[43] ([\(http://www.kurir.mk/makedonija/vesti/56976-Sveti-Vasilij-Veliki-?-Vecen-zastitnik-na-pravoslavnite?utm\\_source=feedburner&utm\\_medium=feed&utm\\_campaign=Feed%3A+kurir%2Fmakedonija+\(D%D1%BD,%C4%A1+%E2%84%B2%E2%84%B2\)](http://www.kurir.mk/makedonija/vesti/56976-Sveti-Vasilij-Veliki-?-Vecen-zastitnik-na-pravoslavnite?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+kurir%2Fmakedonija+(D%D1%BD,%C4%A1+%E2%84%B2%E2%84%B2)))  
[44] Keary (1882), p. 512 ([http://books.google.com/books?id=J36hrpo6twAC&pg=PA512&lpg=PA512&dq=durendal+basil&source=web&ots=iXTIlovnN3\\_&sig=1EiiBlsg6EU3lhsu-7KCXuMkW9o](http://books.google.com/books?id=J36hrpo6twAC&pg=PA512&lpg=PA512&dq=durendal+basil&source=web&ots=iXTIlovnN3_&sig=1EiiBlsg6EU3lhsu-7KCXuMkW9o)))

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## External links

- The Life of St. Basil the Great, Bishop of Caesarea & Doctor of the Catholic Church (<http://www.catholicrevelations.com/category/saints/the-life-of-st-basil-the-great-bishop-of-caesarea-also-confessor-doctor-and-saint-of-the-catholic-church.html>)
- Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Early Church Fathers, Series II, Vol. VIII (<http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-08/TOC.htm>) contains the treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, the *Hexaemeron*, some of the homilies and the letters
- St. Basil the Great (<http://www.ellopos.net/blog/?p=54>) in English and Greek, Select Resources
- Basil the Great ([http://www.orthodoxwiki.org/Basil\\_the\\_Great](http://www.orthodoxwiki.org/Basil_the_Great)) article from *Orthodox Wikipedia* has a slightly longer article on St. Basil
- *The Heritage of the Holy Fathers* (<http://pagez.ru/lsn/>) has a more complete collection of his homilies (and some other works, but only a few of his letters)—in Russian
- Excerpts from Basil the Great (<http://victorcauchi.fortunecity.com/christwrit/basil.htm>)
- Catholic Online: *St. Basil the Great* ([http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint\\_id=261](http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=261))
- 🌐 "St. Basil the Great". *Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. 1913.
- American Catholic: *St. Basil the Great* (<http://www.americancatholic.org/Features/SaintOfDay/default.asp?id=1248>)
- *Basil of Caesarea and His Influence on Monastic Mission* (<http://www.benedictines.org.uk/theology/2005/tredget.pdf>) [benedictines.org.uk](http://www.benedictines.org.uk)
- Preface to the *Asketikon* (<http://fds.oup.com/www.oup.co.uk/pdf/0-19-927351-0.pdf>) English translation by Oxford University Press
- St. Basil the Great the Archbishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia (<http://ocafs.oca.org/FeastSaintsViewer.asp?SID=4&ID=1&FSID=100003>) Orthodox icon and synaxarion
- St. Basil's Sermons About Fasting (<http://bible.org/seriespage/appendix-1-basil-s-sermons-about-fasting>), translated by Kent Berghuis
- Gregory of Nyssa, *A Eulogy for Basil the Great* (<http://www.aug.edu/augusta/iconography/hagiographies/basilEulogyNyssa.html>)

# Euthymius the Great

Saint Euthymius the Great



Born	377 Melitene, Lesser Armenia
Died	20 January 473
Honored in	Eastern Orthodoxy Roman Catholicism
Feast	January 20

**Saint Euthymius** (377-473), often styled *the Great*, was an abbot in Palestine venerated in both Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches.

## Biography

He was born in Melitene in Lesser Armenia. Christian tradition states that his parents had prayed for a son at the church of Saint Polyeuctus in Melitene.<sup>[1]</sup>

He was educated by Bishop Otreius of Melitene, who afterwards ordained him priest and placed him in charge of all the monasteries in the Diocese of Melitene. At about thirty years of age he secretly set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and remained for some time in a cave near a settlement of monks at a *laura* called Pharan, about six miles east of Jerusalem.<sup>[2][3]</sup>

In 411, he withdrew, with St. Theoctistus, a fellow-hermit, into the wilderness, living in a rough cavern on the banks of a torrent. When many disciples gathered around them they turned the cavern into a church and built a monastery which was placed in the charge of St. Theoctistus. Euthymius, despite retaining his solitary lifestyle, gave direction for the others.<sup>[2]</sup>

A miraculous cure which Euthymius was believed to have effected for Terebon, the son of the Saracen chief Aspebetus, spread the fame of the holy hermit far beyond the confines of Palestine. Aspebetus was afterwards ordained priest and became bishop over his tribe, in which capacity he attended the Council of Ephesus in 431.

When the report of this miracle had made the name of Euthymius famous throughout Palestine, and large crowds came to visit him in his solitude, he retreated with his disciple Domitian to the wilderness of Ruba, near the Dead Sea, living for some time on a remote mountain called Marda,<sup>[4]</sup> whence he afterwards withdrew to the desert of Zipho (the ancient Engaddi).

When large crowds followed him to this place also, he returned to the neighbourhood of the monastery of Theoctistus, where he took up his abode in a cavern. Every Sunday he came to the monastery to take part in the divine services. At length, because numerous disciples desired him as their spiritual guide, he founded in 420, on the right side of the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, a *laura* similar to that of Pharan. The church connected with this

laura was dedicated in 428 by Juvenal, the first Patriarch of Jerusalem.

When the Fourth Œcumenical Synod (451) condemned the errors of Eutyches and Dioscorus, it was greatly due to the authority of Euthymius that most of the Eastern recluses accepted its decrees. The Empress Eudoxia was converted to Catholic unity through his efforts.

## Veneration

The Church celebrates his feast on 20 January, the day of his death.

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- [1] Lives of all saints commemorated on January 9 (<http://www.oca.org/FSLivesAllSaints.asp?SID=4&M=1&D=9>)
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- [4] Euthymius and his monastery in the Judean Desert (<http://198.62.75.1/www1/ofm/sbf/Books/LA43/43339YH.pdf>) Hirschfeld, Yizhar. Israel Antiquities Authority

## External links

- St Euthymius the Great (<http://ocafs.oca.org/FeastSaintsViewer.asp?SID=4&ID=1&FSID=100238>) Orthodox Icon and Synaxarion (January 20)
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# Gertrude the Great

Saint Gertrude



Saint Gertrude of Helfta

Virgin

Born	January 6, 1256 Eisleben, Thuringia, Holy Roman Empire
Died	November 17, 1302 (aged 46) Helfta, Saxony
Honored in	Roman Catholic Church
Feast	November 16
Attributes	crown, lily, taper
Patronage	West Indies; travelers; Naples (co-patron)

**Gertrude the Great** (or **Saint Gertrude of Helfta**) (Italian: *Santa Gertrude*) (January 6, 1256 – ca. 1302) was a German Benedictine, mystic, and theologian.

She is recognized as a saint by the Roman Catholic Church, and is inscribed in the General Roman Calendar, for celebration throughout the Latin Rite on November 16.

Gertrude was born January 6, 1256, in Eisleben, Thuringia (within the Holy Roman Empire). Nothing is known of her parents, so she was probably an orphan. As a young girl, she joined the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary at Helfta, under the direction of its abbess, Gertrude of Hackeborn. She is sometimes confused with her abbess, which is why she is often incorrectly depicted in art holding a crosier. Some scholars refer to the monastery as Cistercian, since it was founded by seven sisters from the Cistercian community of Halberstadt. However, it could not have had this status officially since it was founded in 1229, the year after the Cistercian men decided they would sponsor no more convents. She dedicated herself to her studies, becoming an expert in literature and philosophy. She later experienced a conversion to God and began to strive for perfection in her religious life, turning her scholarly talents to scripture and theology. Gertrude produced numerous writings, but only the *Herald of God's Loving-Kindness*, partly written by other nuns and formerly known as her *Life and Revelations*, and the *Spiritual Exercises* remain today. She had various mystical experiences, including a vision of Jesus, who invited her to rest her head on his breast to hear the beating of his heart, and the piercing of her heart with divine love.

Gertrude died at Helfta, near Eisleben, Saxony, around 1302. Her feastday is celebrated on November 16, but the exact date of her death is unknown; the November date stems from a confusion with Abbess Gertrude of Hackeborn.

Though Gertrude was never formally canonized, nevertheless she received equipotent canonization, and a universal feast day was declared in the year 1677 by Pope Clement XII.<sup>[1]</sup>

Gertrude showed "tender sympathy towards the souls in purgatory" and urged prayers for them. She is therefore invoked for souls in purgatory.

Perhaps for that reason, to her name has been attached a prayer that, according to a legend of uncertain origin and date (neither are found in the *Revelations of Saint Gertrude the Great*), *Christ promised to release a thousand souls from purgatory each time it was said. The prayer was extended to include living sinners as well.*

Eternal Father, I offer Thee the most Precious Blood of Thy Divine Son, Jesus Christ, in union with the Masses said throughout the world today, for all the Holy Souls in Purgatory, for sinners everywhere, for sinners in the Universal Church, for those in my own home and within my family. Amen.

## Notes

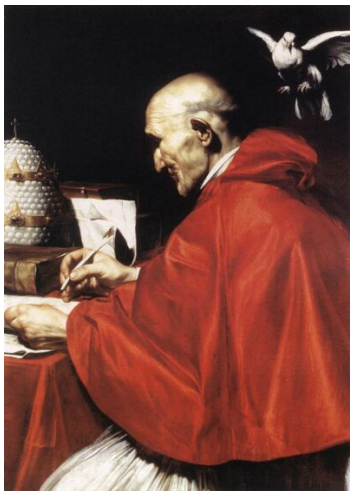
[1] Patron Saints Index: "Saint Gertrude the Great" (<http://saints.sqpn.com/saintg08.htm>)

## External links

- The Life and Revelations of Saint Gertrude the Great* - the full text online. (<http://gertrude.99k.org/>)
- "St. Gertrude the Great" (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06534a.htm>). *Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. 1913.

# Pope Gregory I

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Pope Gregory I	
	
<b>Papacy began</b>	3 September 590
<b>Papacy ended</b>	12 March 604
<b>Predecessor</b>	Pelagius II
<b>Successor</b>	Sabinian
<b>Orders</b>	



<b>Consecration</b>	3 September 590
<b>Personal details</b>	
<b>Birth name</b>	Gregorius
<b>Born</b>	c. 540 Rome, Kingdom of the Ostrogoths
<b>Died</b>	12 March 604 (age 64) Rome, Byzantine Empire
<b>Buried</b>	St. Peter's Basilica (1606)
<b>Residence</b>	Rome
<b>Parents</b>	Gordianus, Silvia
<b>Sainthood</b>	
<b>Feast day</b>	3 September, 12 March
Other Popes named Gregory	

**Pope Gregory I** (Latin: Gregorius I) (c. 540 – 12 March 604), better known in English as **Gregory the Great**, was pope from 3 September 590 until his death. Gregory is well known for his writings, which were more prolific than those of any of his predecessors as pope.<sup>[1]</sup>

Throughout the Middle Ages he was known as "the Father of Christian Worship" because of his exceptional efforts in revising the Roman worship of his day.<sup>[2]</sup>

He is also known as **St. Gregory the Dialogist** in Eastern Orthodoxy because of his *Dialogues*. For this reason, English translations of Orthodox texts will sometimes list him as "Gregory Dialogus". He was the first of the popes to come from a monastic background. Gregory is a Doctor of the Church and one of the Latin Fathers. He is considered a saint in the Roman Catholic Church, Eastern Orthodox Church, Anglican Communion, and some Lutheran churches. Immediately after his death, Gregory was canonized by popular acclaim.<sup>[3]</sup> The Protestant reformer, John Calvin, admired Gregory and declared in his Institutes that Gregory was the last good pope.<sup>[4]</sup> He is the patron saint of musicians, singers, students, and teachers.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Early life

The exact date of Gregory's birth is uncertain, but is usually estimated to be around the year<sup>[6]</sup> 540,<sup>[7]</sup> in the city of Rome. His parents named him *Gregorius*, which according to Aelfric in *An Homily on the Birth-Day of S. Gregory*, "... is a Greek Name, which signifies in the Latin Tongue *Vigilantius*, that is in English, Watchful..."<sup>[8]</sup> The medieval writers who give this etymology<sup>[9]</sup> do not hesitate to apply it to the life of Gregory. Aelfric, for example, goes on: "He was very diligent in God's Commandments."<sup>[10]</sup>

When Gregory was a child, Italy was retaken from the Goths by Justinian I, emperor of the Roman Empire ruling from Constantinople. The war was over by 552. An invasion of the Franks was defeated in 554. The Western Roman Empire had long since vanished in favor of the Gothic kings of Italy. After 554 there was peace in Italy and the appearance of restoration, except that the government now resided in Constantinople. Italy was still united into one country, "Rome" and still shared a common official language, the very last of classical Latin.

From 542 the so-called Plague of Justinian swept through the provinces of the empire, including Italy. The plague caused famine, panic, and sometimes rioting. In some parts of the country, over 1/3 of the population was wiped out or destroyed. This had heavy spiritual and emotional effects on the people of the Empire.<sup>[11]</sup>

As the fighting had been mainly in the north, the young Gregorius probably saw little of it. Totila sacked and vacated Rome in 547, destroying most of its ancient population, but in 549 he invited those who were still alive to return to the empty and ruinous streets. It has been hypothesized that young Gregory and his parents, Gordianus and Silvia,

retired during that intermission to Gordianus' Sicilian estates, to return in 549.<sup>[12]</sup>

Gregory had been born into a wealthy noble Roman family with close connections to the church. The Lives in Latin use *nobilis* but they do not specify from what historical layer the term derives or identify the family. No connection to patrician families of the Roman Republic has been demonstrated.<sup>[13]</sup> Gregory's great-great-grandfather had been Pope Felix III,<sup>[14]</sup> but that pope was the nominee of the Gothic king, Theodoric.<sup>[13]</sup> Gregory's election to the throne of St Peter made his family the most distinguished clerical dynasty of the period.<sup>[15]</sup> The family owned and resided in a *villa suburbana* on the Caelian Hill, fronting the same street, now the Via di San Gregorio, with the former palaces of the Roman emperors on the Palatine Hill opposite. The north of the street runs into the Colosseum; the south, the Circus Maximus. In Gregory's day the ancient buildings were in ruins and were privately owned.<sup>[16]</sup> Villas covered the area. Gregory's family also owned working estates in Sicily<sup>[17]</sup> and around Rome.<sup>[18]</sup>

Gregory's father, Gordianus, held the position of Regionarius in the Roman Church. Nothing further is known about the position. Gregory's mother, Silvia, was well-born and had a married sister, Pateria, in Sicily. Gregory later had portraits done in fresco in their former home on the Caelian and these were described 300 years later by John the Deacon. Gordianus was tall with a long face and light eyes. He wore a beard. Silvia was tall, had a round face, blue eyes and a cheerful look. They had another son whose name and fate are unknown.<sup>[19]</sup>

The monks of St. Andrew's (the ancestral home on the Caelian) had a portrait of Gregory made after his death, which John the Deacon also saw in the 9th century. He reports the picture of a man who was "rather bald" and had a "tawny" beard like his father's and a face that was intermediate in shape between his mother's and father's. The hair that he had on the sides was long and carefully curled. His nose was "thin and straight" and "slightly aquiline." "His forehead was high." He had thick, "subdivided" lips and a chin "of a comely prominence" and "beautiful hands."<sup>[20]</sup>

Gregory was well educated, with Gregory of Tours reporting that "in grammar, dialectic and rhetoric ... he was second to none...."<sup>[21]</sup> He wrote correct Latin but did not read or write Greek. He knew Latin authors, natural science, history, mathematics and music and had such a "fluency with imperial law" that he may have trained in law, it has been suggested, "as a preparation for a career in public life."<sup>[21]</sup>

While his father lived, Gregory took part in Roman political life and at one point was Prefect of the City.

In the modern era, Gregory is often depicted as a man at the border, poised between the Roman and Germanic worlds, between East and West, and above all, perhaps, between the ancient and medieval epochs.<sup>[22]</sup>

## Monastic years

"Gregory had a deep respect for the monastic life. He viewed being a monk as the 'ardent quest for the vision of our Creator.'<sup>[23]</sup>

His three paternal aunts were nuns renowned for their sanctity. However, after the two eldest passed away after seeing a vision of their ancestor Pope Felix, the youngest soon abandoned the religious life and married the steward of her estate. Gregory's response to this family scandal was "many are called but few are chosen."<sup>[24]</sup> Gregory's mother Silvia herself is a saint. On his father's death, he converted his family *villa suburbana*, located on the Caelian Hill just opposite the Circus Maximus, into a monastery dedicated to the apostle Saint Andrew. After his death it was rededicated as San Gregorio Magno al Celio. In his life of

contemplation, Gregory concluded that "in that silence of the heart, while we keep watch within through contemplation, we are as if asleep to all things that are without."<sup>[25]</sup> Gregory was not always forgiving, or pleasant

for that matter, even in his monastic years. For example, a monk lying on his death bed confessed to stealing three gold pieces. Gregory forced the monk to die friendless and alone, then threw his body and coins on a manure heap to



Jerome and Gregory.

rot with a curse, "Take your money with you to perdition". Gregory believed that punishment of sins can begin, even on one's deathbed.<sup>[26]</sup> Eventually, Pope Pelagius II ordained him a deacon and solicited his help in trying to heal the schism of the Three Chapters in northern Italy. However, Italy was not healed until well after Gregory was gone.<sup>[27]</sup>

## Apocrisiariate (579–585)



Illumination in a 12th century manuscript of a letter of Gregory's to Saint Leander, bishop of Seville (Bibl. Municipale, MS 2, Dijon).

In 579, Pelagius II chose Gregory as his *apocrisiarius* (ambassador to the imperial court in Constantinople).<sup>[28]</sup> Gregory was part of the Roman delegation (both lay and clerical) that arrived in Constantinople in 578 to ask the emperor for military aid against the Lombards.<sup>[29]</sup> With the Byzantine military focused on the East, these entreaties proved unsuccessful; in 584, Pelagius II wrote to Gregory as *apocrisiarius*, detailing the hardships that Rome was experiencing under the Lombards and asking him to ask Emperor Maurice to send a relief force.<sup>[29]</sup> Maurice, however, had long ago determined to limit his efforts against the Lombards to intrigue and diplomacy, pitting the Franks against them.<sup>[29]</sup> It soon became obvious to Gregory that the Byzantine emperors were unlikely to send such a force, given their more immediate difficulties with the Persians in the East and the Avars and Slavs to the North.<sup>[30]</sup>

According to Ekonomou, "if Gregory's principle task was to plead Rome's cause before the emperor, there seems to have been little left for him to do once imperial policy toward Italy became evident. Papal representatives who pressed their claims with excessive

vigor could quickly become a nuisance and find themselves excluded from the imperial presence altogether".<sup>[30]</sup> Gregory had already drawn an imperial rebuke for his lengthy canonical writings on the subject of the legitimacy of John III Scholasticus, who had occupied the Patriarchate of Constantinople for twelve years prior to the return of Eutychius (who had been driven out by Justinian).<sup>[30]</sup> Gregory turned himself to cultivating connections with the Byzantine elite of the city, where he became extremely popular with the city's upper class, "especially aristocratic women".<sup>[30]</sup> Ekonomou surmises that "while Gregory may have become spiritual father to a large and important segment of Constantinople's aristocracy, this relationship did not significantly advance the interests of Rome before the emperor".<sup>[30]</sup> Although the writings of John the Deacon claim that Gregory "labored diligently for the relief of Italy", there is no evidence that his tenure accomplished much towards any of the objectives of Pelagius II.<sup>[31]</sup>


Gregory's theological disputes with Patriarch Eutychius would leave a "bitter taste for the theological speculation of the East" with Gregory that continued to influence him well into his papacy.<sup>[32]</sup> According to Western sources, Gregory's very public debate with Eutychian culminated in an exchange before Tiberius II where Gregory cited a biblical passage ("*Palpate et videte, quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere*") in support of the view that Christ was corporeal and palpable after his Resurrection; allegedly as a result of this exchange, Tiberius II ordered Eutychian's writings burned.<sup>[32]</sup> Ekonomou views this argument, though exaggerated in Western sources, as Gregory's "one achievement of an otherwise fruitless *apokrasiariat*".<sup>[33]</sup> In reality, Gregory was forced to rely on Scripture because he could not read the untranslated Greek authoritative works.<sup>[33]</sup> Gregory left Constantinople for

Rome in 585, returning to his monastery on the Caelian Hill.<sup>[34]</sup> Gregory was elected by acclamation to succeed Pelagius II in 590, when the latter died of the plague spreading through the city.<sup>[34]</sup> Gregory was approved by an Imperial *iussio* from Constantinople the following September (as was the norm during the Byzantine Papacy).<sup>[34]</sup>

Missions

Amid all his burdens and anxieties, it seems that the Pope had never forgotten the English slaves whom he had once seen in the Roman Forum.<sup>[35]</sup> Pope Gregory had strong convictions on missions. "Almighty God places good men in authority that He may impart through them the gifts of His mercy to their subjects. And this we find to be the case with the British over whom you have been appointed to rule, that through the blessings bestowed on you the blessings of heaven might be bestowed on your people also."<sup>[36]</sup>

Papacy (590–604)

Saint Gregory the Great	
	
Pope Gregory I, by Francisco de Zurbarán.	
Pope, Dialogist, Church Father, Monk and Doctor of the Church	
Born	c. AD 540 Rome
Died	c. AD 604 Rome
Honored in	Catholic Church, Eastern Orthodox Church, Anglican Communion, Lutheranism
Major shrine	St. Peter's Basilica
Feast	3rd September, 12th March
Major work(s)	<i>Dialogues of Gregory I</i>

Although Gregory was resolved to retire into the monastic lifestyle of contemplation, he was unwillingly forced back into a world that, although he loved, he no longer wanted to be a part of.<sup>[37]</sup> In texts of all genres, especially those produced in his first year as pope, Gregory bemoaned the burden of office and mourned the loss of the undisturbed life of prayer he had once enjoyed as monk.<sup>[38]</sup> When he became Pope in 590, among his first acts was writing a series of letters disavowing any ambition to the throne of Peter and praising the contemplative life of the monks. At that time, for various reasons, the Holy See had not exerted effective leadership in the West since the pontificate of Gelasius I. The episcopacy in Gaul was drawn from the great territorial families, and identified with them: the parochial horizon of Gregory's contemporary, Gregory of Tours, may be considered typical; in Visigothic Spain the bishops had little contact with Rome; in Italy the territories which had *de facto* fallen under the administration of the papacy were beset by the violent Lombard dukes and the rivalry of the Jews in the Exarchate of Ravenna and in the south.

Gregory is credited with re-energizing the Church's missionary work among the non-Christian peoples of northern Europe. He is most famous for sending a mission, often called the Gregorian mission, under Augustine of Canterbury, prior of Saint Andrew's, where he had perhaps succeeded Gregory, to evangelize the pagan Anglo-Saxons of England. The mission was successful, and it was from England that missionaries later set out for the Netherlands and Germany. The preaching of the Catholic faith and the elimination of all deviations from it was a key element in Gregory's worldview, and it constituted one of the major continuing policies of his pontificate.<sup>[39]</sup>

According to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, he was declared a saint immediately after his death by "popular acclamation".<sup>[40]</sup>

In his official documents, Gregory was the first to make extensive use of the term "Servant of the Servants of God" (*servus servorum Dei*) as a papal title, thus initiating a practice that was to be followed by most subsequent popes.<sup>[41]</sup>

## Works

### Liturgical reforms

In letters, Gregory remarks that he moved the *Pater Noster* (Our Father) to immediately after the Roman Canon and immediately before the Fraction. This position is still maintained today in the Roman Liturgy. The pre-Gregorian position is evident in the Ambrosian Rite. Gregory added material to the *Hanc Igitur* of the Roman Canon and established the nine *Kyries* (a vestigial remnant of the litany which was originally at that place) at the beginning of Mass. He also reduced the role of deacons in the Roman Liturgy.

Sacramentaries directly influenced by Gregorian reforms are referred to as *Sacrementaria Gregoriana*. With the appearance of these sacramentaries, the Western liturgy begins to show a characteristic that distinguishes it from Eastern liturgical traditions. In contrast to the mostly invariable Eastern liturgical texts, Roman and other Western liturgies since this era have a number of prayers that change to reflect the feast or liturgical season; These variations are visible in the collects and prefaces as well as in the Roman Canon itself.

A system of writing down reminders of chant melodies, known as neumes, was devised by monks in the early 9th century to aid in unifying the church service throughout the Frankish empire. Charlemagne brought cantors from the Papal chapel in Rome to instruct his clerics in the "authentic" liturgy. A program of propaganda spread the idea that the chant used in Rome came directly from Gregory the Great, who had died two centuries earlier and was universally venerated. Pictures were made to depict the dove of the Holy Spirit perched on Gregory's shoulder, singing God's authentic form of chant into his ear. This gave rise to calling the music "Gregorian chant". Gregorian chanting is a type of plainsong or plainchant.

In the Eastern Orthodox Church, Gregory is credited with compiling the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. This liturgy is celebrated on Wednesdays, Fridays, and certain other weekdays during Great Lent in the Eastern Orthodox Church and those Eastern Catholic Churches which follow the Byzantine Rite.

Gregory wrote over 850 letters in the last 13 years of his life (590–604) that give us an accurate picture of his work.<sup>[42]</sup> A truly autobiographical presentation is nearly impossible for Gregory. The development of his mind and personality remains purely speculative in nature.<sup>[43]</sup>

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## Writings

Gregory is commonly accredited with founding the medieval papacy and so many attribute the beginning of medieval spirituality to him.<sup>[44]</sup> Gregory is the only Pope between the fifth and the eleventh centuries whose correspondence and writings have survived enough to form a comprehensive *corpus*. Some of his writings are:

- Sermons (forty on the Gospels are recognized as authentic, twenty-two on Ezekiel, two on the *Song of Songs*)
- *Dialogues*, a collection of miracles, signs, wonders, and healings including the popular life of Saint Benedict<sup>[45]</sup>
- *Commentary on Job*, frequently known even in English-language histories by its Latin title, *Magna Moralia*
- *The Rule for Pastors*, in which he contrasted the role of bishops as pastors of their flock with their position as nobles of the church: the definitive statement of the nature of the episcopal office
- Copies of some 854 letters have survived, out of an unknown original number recorded in Gregory's time in a register. It is known to have existed in Rome, its last known location, in the 9th century. It consisted of 14 papyrus rolls, now missing. Copies of letters had begun to be made, the largest batch of 686 by order of Adrian I. The majority of the copies, dating from the 10th to the 15th century, are stored in the Vatican Library.<sup>[46]</sup>

Opinions of the writings of Gregory vary. "His character strikes us as an ambiguous and enigmatic one," Cantor observed. "On the one hand he was an able and determined administrator, a skilled and clever diplomat, a leader of the greatest sophistication and vision; but on the other hand, he appears in his writings as a superstitious and credulous monk, hostile to learning, crudely limited as a theologian, and excessively devoted to saints, miracles, and relics".<sup>[47]</sup>

## Controversy with Eutychius

In Constantinople, Gregory took issue with the aged Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople, who had recently published a treatise, now lost, on the General Resurrection. Eutychius maintained that the resurrected body "will be more subtle than air, and no longer palpable".<sup>[48]</sup> Gregory opposed with the palpability of the risen Christ in Luke 24:39. As the dispute could not be settled, the Byzantine emperor, Tiberius II Constantine, undertook to arbitrate. He decided in favor of palpability and ordered Eutychius' book to be burned. Shortly after both Gregory and Eutychius became ill; Gregory recovered, but Eutychius died on 5 April 582, at age 70. On his deathbed Eutychius recanted inpalpability and Gregory dropped the matter. Tiberius also died a few months after Eutychius.



## Iconography



Gregory and his Dove, Corpus Christi College,  
Cambridge Ms 389

In art Gregory is usually shown in full pontifical robes with the tiara and double cross, despite his actual habit of dress. Earlier depictions are more likely to show a monastic tonsure and plainer dress. Orthodox icons traditionally show St. Gregory vested as a bishop, holding a Gospel Book and blessing with his right hand. It is recorded that he permitted his depiction with a square halo, then used for the living.<sup>[49]</sup> A dove is his attribute, from the well-known story recorded by his friend Peter the Deacon,<sup>[50]</sup> who tells that when the pope was dictating his homilies on Ezechiel a curtain was drawn between his secretary and himself. As, however, the pope remained silent for long periods at a time, the servant made a hole in the curtain and, looking through, beheld a dove seated upon Gregory's head with its beak between his lips. When the dove withdrew its beak the pope spoke and the secretary took down his words; but when he became silent the servant again applied his eye to the hole and saw the dove had replaced its beak between his lips.<sup>[51]</sup>

This scene is shown as a version of the traditional Evangelist portrait (where the Evangelists' symbols are also sometimes shown dictating) from the tenth century onwards. An early example is the dedication miniature from the an eleventh century manuscript of St. Gregory's *Moralia in Job*.<sup>[52]</sup> The miniature shows the scribe, Bebo of Seeon Abbey, presenting the manuscript to the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry II. In the upper left the author is seen writing the text under divine inspiration. Usually the dove is shown whispering in Gregory's ear for a clearer composition.

The imaginative and anachronistic example at the top of this article is from the studio of Carlo Saraceni or by a close follower, ca. 1610. From the Giustiniani collection, the painting is conserved in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome.<sup>[53]</sup> The face of Gregory is a caricature of the features described by John the Deacon mentioned under his early life above: total baldness, outthrust chin, beak-like nose, where John had described partial baldness, a mildly protruding chin, slightly aquiline nose and strikingly good looks. In this picture also Gregory has his monastic back on the world, which the real Gregory, despite his reclusive intent, was seldom allowed to have.

The late medieval subject of the Mass of St Gregory shows a version of a 7th century story that was elaborated in later hagiography. Gregory is shown saying Mass when Christ as the Man of Sorrows appears on the altar. The subject was most common in the 15th and 16th centuries, and was an reflected growing emphasis on the Real Presence, and after the Protestant Reformation was an assertion of the doctrine against Protestant theology.<sup>[54]</sup>

## Alms

Alms in Christianity is defined by passages of the New Testament such as Matthew 19:21, which commands "...go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor ... and come and follow me." A donation on the other hand is a gift to some sort of enterprise, profit or non-profit.

On the one hand the alms of St. Gregory are to be distinguished from his donations, but on the other he probably saw no such distinction.

The church had no interest in secular profit and as pope Gregory did his utmost to encourage that high standard among church personnel. Apart from maintaining its facilities and supporting its personnel the church gave most of the donations it received as alms.

Gregory is known for his administrative system of charitable relief of the poor at Rome. They were predominantly refugees from the incursions of the Lombards. The philosophy under which he devised this system is that the wealth belonged to the poor and the church was only its steward. He received lavish donations from the wealthy families of Rome, who, following his own example, were eager to expiate to God for their sins. He gave alms equally as lavishly both individually and en masse. He wrote in letters:<sup>[55]</sup>

"I have frequently charged you ... to act as my representative ... to relieve the poor in their distress ...."

"... I hold the office of steward to the property of the poor ...."

The church received donations of many different kinds of property: consumables such as food and clothing; investment property: real estate and works of art; and capital goods, or revenue-generating property, such as the Sicilian *latifundia*, or agricultural estates, staffed and operated by slaves, donated by Gregory and his family. The church already had a system for circulating the consumables to the poor: associated with each parish was a *diaconium* or office of the deacon. He was given a building from which the poor could at any time apply for assistance.<sup>[56][57]</sup>

The state in which Gregory became pope in 590 was a ruined one. The Lombards held the better part of Italy. Their predations had brought the economy to a standstill. They camped nearly at the gates of Rome. The city was packed with refugees from all walks of life, who lived in the streets and had few of the necessities of life. The seat of government was far from Rome in Constantinople, which appeared unable to undertake the relief of Italy. The pope had sent emissaries, including Gregory, asking for assistance, to no avail.

In 590, Gregory could wait for Constantinople no longer. He organized the resources of the church into an administration for general relief. In doing so he evidenced a talent for and intuitive understanding of the principles of accounting, which was not to be invented for centuries. The church already had basic accounting documents: every expense was recorded in journals called *regesta*, "lists" of amounts, recipients and circumstances. Revenue was recorded in *polyptici*, "books". Many of these *polyptici* were ledgers recording the operating expenses of the church and the assets, the *patrimonia*. A central papal administration, the *notarii*, under a chief, the *primicerius notariorum*, kept the ledgers and issued *brevia patrimonii*, or lists of property for which each *rector* was responsible.<sup>[58]</sup>



The Mass of St Gregory, by Robert Campin, 15th century

Gregory began by aggressively requiring his churchmen to seek out and relieve needy persons and reprimanded them if they did not. In a letter to a subordinate in Sicily he wrote: "I asked you most of all to take care of the poor. And if you knew of people in poverty, you should have pointed them out ... I desire that you give the woman, Pateria, forty solidi for the children's shoes and forty bushels of grain ...."<sup>[59]</sup> Soon he was replacing administrators who would not cooperate with those who would and at the same time adding more in a build-up to a great plan that he had in mind. He understood that expenses must be matched by income. To pay for his increased expenses he liquidated the investment property and paid the expenses in cash according to a budget recorded in the *polyptici*. The churchmen were paid four times a year and also personally given a golden coin for their trouble.<sup>[60]</sup>

Money, however, was no substitute for food in a city that was on the brink of famine. Even the wealthy were going hungry in their villas. The church now owned between 1300 and 1800 square miles (**unknown operator: u'strong'** and **unknown operator: u'strong'** km<sup>2</sup>) of revenue-generating farmland divided into large sections called *patrimonia*. It produced goods of all kinds, which were sold, but Gregory intervened and had the goods shipped to Rome for distribution in the *diaconia*. He gave orders to step up production, set quotas and put an administrative structure in place to carry it out. At the bottom was the *rusticus* who produced the goods. Some *rustici* were or owned slaves. He turned over part of his produce to a *conductor* from whom he leased the land. The latter reported to an *actionarius*, the latter to a *defensor* and the latter to a *rector*. Grain, wine, cheese, meat, fish and oil began to arrive at Rome in large quantities, where it was given away for nothing as alms.<sup>[61]</sup>

Distributions to qualified persons were monthly. However, a certain proportion of the population lived in the streets or were too ill or infirm to pick up their monthly food supply. To them Gregory sent out a small army of charitable persons, mainly monks, every morning with prepared food. It is said that he would not dine until the indigent were fed. When he did dine he shared the family table, which he had saved (and which still exists), with 12 indigent guests. To the needy living in wealthy homes he sent meals he had cooked with his own hands as gifts to spare them the indignity of receiving charity. Hearing of the death of an indigent in a back room he was depressed for days, entertaining for a time the conceit that he had failed in his duty and was a murderer.<sup>[60]</sup>

These and other good deeds and charitable frame of mind completely won the hearts and minds of the Roman people. They now looked to the papacy for government, ignoring the rump state at Constantinople, which had only disrespect for Gregory, calling him a fool for his pacifist dealings with the Lombards. The office of urban prefect went without candidates. From the time of Gregory the Great to the rise of Italian nationalism the papacy was most influential in ruling Italy.

## Famous quotes and anecdotes

- Non Angli, sed angeli* – "They are not Angles, but angels".

Aphorism, summarizing words reported to have been spoken by Gregory when he first encountered pale-skinned English boys at a slave market, sparking his dispatch of St. Augustine of Canterbury to England to convert the English, according to Bede.<sup>[62]</sup> He said: "Well named, for they have angelic faces and ought to be co-heirs with the angels in heaven."<sup>[63]</sup> Discovering that their province was Deira, he went on to add that they would be rescued *de ira*, "from the wrath", and that their king was named Aella, *Alleluia*, he said.<sup>[64]</sup>
- Ecce locusta* – "Look at the locust." Gregory himself wanted to go to England as a missionary and started out for there. On the fourth day as they stopped for lunch a locust landed on the edge of the Bible Gregory was reading. He exclaimed *ecce locusta*, "look at the locust", but reflecting on it he saw it as a sign from Heaven since the similar sounding *loco sta* means "stay in place." Within the hour an emissary of the pope<sup>[65]</sup> arrived to recall him.<sup>[63]</sup>
- "I beg that you will not take the present amiss. For anything, however trifling, which is offered from the prosperity of St. Peter should be regarded as a great blessing, seeing that he will have power both to bestow on you greater things, and to hold out to you eternal benefits with Almighty God."
- Pro cuius amore in eius eloquio nec mihi parco* – "For the love of whom (God) I do not spare myself from His Word."<sup>[66][67]</sup> The sense is that since the creator of the human race and redeemer of him unworthy gave him the power of the tongue so that he could witness, what kind of a witness would he be if he did not use it but preferred to speak infirmly?
- "For the place of heretics is very pride itself...for the place of the wicked is pride just as conversely humility is the place of the good."<sup>[39]</sup>
- Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt* – "Things are not to be loved for the sake of a place, but places are to be loved for the sake of their good things." When Augustine asked whether to use Roman or Gallican customs in the mass in England, Gregory said, in paraphrase, that it was not the place that imparted goodness but good things that graced the place, and it was more important to be pleasing to the Almighty. They should pick out what was "pia", "religiosa" and "recta" from any church whatever and set that down before the English minds as practice.<sup>[68]</sup>
- "For the rule of justice and reason suggests that one who desires his own orders to be observed by his successors should undoubtedly keep the will and ordinances of his predecessor."<sup>[69]</sup> In his letters, Gregory often emphasized the importance of giving proper deference to last wills and testaments, and of respecting property rights.
- "Compassion should be shown first to the faithful and afterwards to the enemies of the church."<sup>[70]</sup>
- "At length being anxious to avoid all these inconveniences, I sought the haven of the monastery... For as the vessel that is negligently moored, is very often (when the storm waxes violent) tossed by the water out of its shelter on the safest shore, so under the cloak of the Ecclesiastical office, I found myself plunged on a sudden in a sea of secular matters, and because I had not held fast the tranquillity of the monastery when in possession, I learnt by losing it, how closely it should have been held."<sup>[71]</sup> In *Moralia, sive Expositio in Job* ("Commentary on Job," also known as *Magna Moralia*), Gregory describes to the Bishop Leander the circumstances under which he became a monk.
- "Illiterate men can contemplate in the lines of a picture what they cannot learn by means of the written word."<sup>[72]</sup>



19th century mosaic in Westminster Cathedral,  
*Non Angli sed Angeli*



## Memorials

### Lives

In Britain, appreciation for Gregory remained strong even after his death, with him being called *Gregorius noster* ("our Gregory") by the British.<sup>[73]</sup> It was in Britain, at a monastery in Whitby, that the first full length life of Gregory was written, in c. 713.<sup>[74]</sup> Appreciation of Gregory in Rome and Italy itself, however, did not come until later. The first *vita* of Gregory written in Italy was not produced until John the Deacon in the 9th century.

### Monuments

The namesake church of San Gregorio al Celio (largely rebuilt from the original edifices during the 17th and 18th centuries) remembers his work. One of the three oratories annexed, the oratory of St. Silvia, is said to lie over the tomb of Gregory's mother.

In England, Gregory is revered as the apostle of the land. They regarded him as the source of their conversion.<sup>[75]</sup>

### Music

Composer Alan Hovhaness wrote an elegiac intermezzo for strings and trumpet called the *Prayer of Saint Gregory* (Op. 62b).

Italian composer Ottorino Respighi composed a piece named St. Gregory the Great (*San Gregorio Magno*) that features as the fourth and final part of his **Church Windows** (*Vetrata di Chiesa*) works, written in 1925.

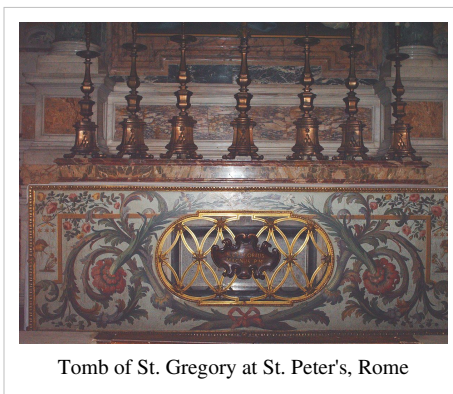
### Feast day

The current Roman Catholic calendar of saints, revised in 1969 as instructed by the Second Vatican Council,<sup>[76]</sup> celebrates St. Gregory the Great on 3 September. Before that, the General Roman Calendar assigned his feast day to 12 March, the day of his death in 604. This day always falls within Lent, during which there are no obligatory memorials. For this reason his feast day was moved to 3 September the day of his episcopal consecration in 590.<sup>[77]</sup>

The Eastern Orthodox Church and the associated Eastern Catholic Churches continue to commemorate St. Gregory on 12 March. The occurrence of this date during Great Lent is considered appropriate in the Byzantine Rite, which traditionally associates Saint Gregory with the Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, celebrated only during that liturgical season.

Other Churches also honour Saint Gregory: the Church of England on 3 September, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the Episcopal Church in the United States on 12 March.

A traditional procession is held in Żejtun, Malta in honour of Saint Gregory (San Girgor) on Easter Wednesday, which most often falls in April, the range of possible dates being 25 March to 28 April. The feast day of St. Gregory also serves as a commemorative Day for the former pupils of Downside School, the so-called Old Gregorians. Traditionally, the OG ties are worn by all of the society's members on this day.



Tomb of St. Gregory at St. Peter's, Rome

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- [2] *Christian Life and Worship (Dissertations in European Economic History)*, 1948, 1979, Gerald Ellard (1894-1963), Arno Press, ISBN 0405108192 ISBN 9780405108198, p. 125. ([http://books.google.com/books?id=PmFgHy8KwMEC&pg=PA125&dq=father+of+christian+worship"&hl=en&ei=KrryTYLtB9ObtwepmJSNBw&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CC4Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=father+of+christian+worship"&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=PmFgHy8KwMEC&pg=PA125&dq=father+of+christian+worship))
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- [5] "St. Gregory the Great" (<http://www.scborromeo.org/saints/gregory.htm>). Web site of Saint Charles Borromeo Catholic Church. . Retrieved 2009-11-14.
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- [7] Gregory mentions in Dialogue 3.2 that he was alive when Totila attempted to murder Carbonius, Bishop of Populonia, probably in 546. In a letter of 598 (*Register*, Book 9, Letter 1) he rebukes Bishop Januarius of Cagliari, Sardinia, excusing himself for not observing 1 Timothy 5.1, which cautions against rebuking elders. 5.9 defines elderly women to be 60 and over, which may apply to everyone. Gregory appears not to consider himself an elder, limiting his birth to no earlier than 539, but 540 is the typical selection. Dudden (1905), page 3, notes 1–3.
- [8] Aelfric; Elizabeth Elstob (translator); William Elstob (1709). *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory: Anciently Used in the English-Saxon Church, Giving an Account of the Conversion of the English from Paganism to Christianity*. London: W. Bowyer. pp. 4.
- [9] Elizabeth goes on to state that "Paulus Diaconus, who first writ the life of St. Gregory, and is followed by all the after Writers on that subject, observes that 'ex Greco eloquio in nostra lingua ... vigilator, seu vigilans sonat.'" However, Paul the deacon is too late for the first *vita*, or life.
- [10] The name is Biblical, derived from New Testament contexts: grēgorein is a present, continuous aspect, meaning to be watchful of forsaking Christ. It is derived from a more ancient perfect, egrēgora, "roused from sleep", of egeirein, "to awaken someone." Thayer, Joseph Henry (1962). *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti Translated Revised and Enlarged*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House.
- [11] Markus pg 4-5
- [12] Dudden (1905), pages 36–37.
- [13] Dudden (1905), page 4.
- [14] Whether III or IV depends on whether Antipope Felix II is to be considered pope.
- [15] Richards
- [16] Dudden (1905), pages 11–15.
- [17] Dudden (1905), pages 106–107.
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- [19] Dudden (1905), pages 7–8.
- [20] Richards (1980), page 44.
- [21] Richards (1980), page 26.
- [22] Leyser pg 132
- [23] Markus- pg 69
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- [25] Cavadini pg 155
- [26] Straw pg 47
- [27] Gregory the great and his world pg 3
- [28] Ekonomou, 2007, p. 8.
- [29] Ekonomou, 2007, p. 9.
- [30] Ekonomou, 2007, p. 10.
- [31] Ekonomou, 2007, pp. 10–11.
- [32] Ekonomou, 2007, p. 11.
- [33] Ekonomou, 2007, p. 12.
- [34] Ekonomou, 2007, p. 13.
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- [39] Richards pg 228
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- [43] Gregory the great and his world. pg. 2
- [44] Straw pg 4



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- [51] *Catholic Encyclopedia* article – see links, below.
- [52] Bamberg State Library, Msc.Bibl.84
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## External links

- "Documenta Catholica Omnia: Gregorius I Magnus" ([http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/01\\_01\\_0590-0604-\\_Gregorius\\_I,\\_Magnus,\\_Sanctus.html](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/01_01_0590-0604-_Gregorius_I,_Magnus,_Sanctus.html)). Cooperatorum Veritatis Societas. 2006. Retrieved 2008-08-10. (Latin). Index of 70 downloadable .pdf files containing the texts of Gregory I.
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- *Women's Biography: Barbara and Antonina* (<http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/woman/136.html>), contains two of his letters.

# Hiyya the Great

*For the Amora sage of the Land of Israel, of the 3d Amora Generation, see Rabbi Hiyya b. Abba.*  
*For the Amora sage of Babylon, of the 2nd and 3d Amora Generation, and Dean of the Pumbedita Academy, see Huna b. Hiyya.*

Rabbinical Eras
<div><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Chazal<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Zugot</li><li>Tannaim</li><li>Amoraim</li><li>Savoraim</li></ul></li><li>Geonim</li><li>Rishonim</li><li>Acharonim</li></ul></div>




**Rabbi Hiyya** or **Hiyya the Great** (Hebrew: רבי חייא, or רבי חייא הגדול) was a Jewish sage of the Land of Israel during the transitional generation between the Tannaic and Amoraic Jewish sages eras (1st Amora Generation). He is accounted as one of the notable sages of these times,<sup>[1]</sup> and was the son of Abba Karsala from Kafri in Babylon.<sup>[2]</sup>

## References

[1] According to Rashi in the Babylon Talmud, Tractate Kethuboth, 62b, he descended from Jesse, the father of King David and not from King David himself, and thus Judah haNasi did not engage in the arrangements for the marriage with him

[2] Babylon Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin, 5a

# Pope John Paul II

John Paul II	
<div></div>	
John Paul II in 1993	
Papacy began	16 October 1978
Papacy ended	2 April 2005
Predecessor	John Paul I
Successor	Benedict XVI
Orders	
Ordination	1 November 1946 by Adam Stefan Sapieha
Consecration	28 September 1958 by Eugeniusz Baziak
Created Cardinal	26 June 1967
Personal details	
Birth name	Karol Józef Wojtyła
Born	18 May 1920 Wadowice, Republic of Poland
Died	2 April 2005 (aged 84) Apostolic Palace, Vatican City
Nationality	Polish
Previous post	<div><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Auxiliary Bishop of Kraków, Poland (1958–1964)</li><li>Titular Bishop of Ombi (1958–1964)</li><li>Archbishop of Kraków, Poland (1964–1978)</li><li>Cardinal-Priest of San Cesareo in Palatio (1967–1978)</li></ul></div>
Motto	<i>Totus Tuus</i> meaning "totally yours"
Signature	
Coat of arms	

Sainthood	
<b>Feast day</b>	22 October
<b>Beatified</b>	1 May 2011 Saint Peter's Square, Vatican City by Pope Benedict XVI
<b>Patronage</b>	World Youth Day (Co- Patron)
Other Popes named John Paul	

**Pope John Paul II** (Latin: *Ioannes Paulus PP. II*, Italian: *Giovanni Paolo II*, Polish: *Jan Paweł II*), born **Karol Józef Wojtyła** (Polish: [ˈkarɔl ˈjuzɛf vɔjˈtɕwa];) (18 May 1920 – 2 April 2005), reigned as Pope of the Catholic Church from 1978 until his death in 2005. He was the second-longest serving Pope in history and the first non-Italian since 1523.

John Paul II was acclaimed as one of the most influential leaders of the 20th century. He was instrumental in ending communism in his native Poland and eventually all of Europe.<sup>[1]</sup> John Paul II significantly improved the Catholic Church's relations with Judaism, Islam, the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the Anglican Communion. Though criticised by progressives for upholding the Church's teachings against artificial contraception and the ordination of women, and by traditionalists for his support of the Church's Second Vatican Council and its reform, he was also widely praised for his firm, orthodox Catholic stances.

He was one of the most-travelled world leaders in history, visiting 129 countries during his pontificate. As part of his special emphasis on the universal call to holiness, he beatified 1,340 people and canonised 483 saints, more than the combined tally of his predecessors during the preceding five centuries. He named most of the present College of Cardinals, consecrated or co-consecrated a large number of the world's past and current bishops, and ordained many priests.<sup>[2]</sup> A key goal of his papacy was to transform and reposition the Catholic Church. His wish was "to place his Church at the heart of a new religious alliance that would bring together Jews, Muslims and Christians in a great [religious] armada".<sup>[3][4]</sup> 19 December 2009, John Paul II was proclaimed venerable by his successor Pope Benedict XVI and was beatified on 1 May 2011.

## Biography

### Early life

Karol Józef Wojtyła (Anglicised: *Charles Joseph Wojtyla*) was born in the Polish town of Wadowice<sup>[5][6]</sup> and was the youngest of three children of Karol Wojtyła, an ethnic Pole,<sup>[7]</sup> and Emilia Kaczorowska, who is described as being of Lithuanian<sup>[7]</sup> and possibly Ukrainian ancestry.<sup>[8]</sup> Emilia died on 13 April 1929,<sup>[9]</sup> when Wojtyła was eight years old.<sup>[10]</sup> His elder sister Olga had died before his birth, but he was close to his brother Edmund, nicknamed *Mundek*, who was 14 years his senior. Edmund's work as a physician eventually led to his death from scarlet fever, which affected Wojtyła.<sup>[7][10]</sup>

As a boy, Wojtyła was athletic, often playing football as goalkeeper.<sup>[11]</sup> During his childhood, Wojtyła had contact with Wadowice's large Jewish community. School football games were often organised between teams of Jews and Catholics, and Wojtyła often played on the Jewish side.<sup>[7][11]</sup> "I remember that at least a third of my classmates at elementary school in Wadowice were Jews. At elementary school there were fewer. With some I was on very friendly terms. And what struck me about some of them was their Polish patriotism."<sup>[12]</sup> Wojtyła's first, and possibly only, love affair was with a Jewish girl, Ginka Beer, who was described as "slender", "a superb actress" and "having stupendous dark eyes and jet black hair".<sup>[4]</sup> On 13 April 1929, Wojtyła's mother died in childbirth.<sup>[8]</sup>

In mid-1938, Wojtyła and his father left Wadowice and moved to Kraków, where he enrolled at Jagiellonian University. While studying such topics as philology and various languages, he worked as a volunteer librarian and was required to participate in compulsory military training in the Academic Legion, but he refused to fire a weapon. He performed with various theatrical groups and worked as a playwright.<sup>[13]</sup> During this time, his talent for language blossomed, and he learned as many as 12 foreign languages, nine of which he used extensively as Pope.<sup>[5]</sup>

In 1939, Nazi German occupation forces closed the university after invading Poland.<sup>[5]</sup> Able-bodied males were required to work, so from 1940 to 1944 Wojtyła variously worked as a messenger for a restaurant, a manual labourer in a limestone quarry and for the Solvay chemical factory, to avoid deportation to Germany.<sup>[6][13]</sup> His father, a non-commissioned officer in the Polish Army, died of a heart attack in 1941,<sup>[8]</sup> leaving Wojtyła as the immediate family's only surviving member.<sup>[7][9][14]</sup> "I was not at my mother's death, I was not at my brother's death, I was not at my father's death," he said, reflecting on these times of his life, nearly forty years later, "At twenty, I had already lost all the people I loved."<sup>[14]</sup>

After his father's death, he started thinking seriously about the priesthood.<sup>[15]</sup> In October 1942, while the war continued, he knocked on the door of the Archbishop's Palace in Kraków and asked to study for the priesthood.<sup>[15]</sup>



Emilia and Karol Wojtyła Sr. wedding portrait



Courtyard within the family home of the Wojtyłas



Soon after, he began courses in the clandestine underground seminary run by the Archbishop of Kraków, Adam Stefan Cardinal Sapieha. On 29 February 1944, Wojtyła was knocked down by a German truck. German Wehrmacht officers tended to him and sent him to a hospital. He spent two weeks there recovering from a severe concussion and a shoulder injury. It seemed to him that this accident and his survival was confirmation of his vocation. On 6 August 1944, 'Black Sunday',<sup>[16]</sup> the Gestapo rounded up young men in Kraków to avoid an uprising similar<sup>[16]</sup> to the recent uprising in Warsaw.<sup>[17][18]</sup> Wojtyła escaped by hiding in the basement of his uncle's house at 10 Tyniecka Street, while the German troops searched above.<sup>[15][17][18]</sup> More than eight thousand men and boys were taken that day, while Wojtyła escaped to the Archbishop's Palace,<sup>[15][16][17]</sup> where he remained until after the Germans had left.<sup>[7][15][17]</sup>

On the night of 17 January 1945, the Germans fled the city, and the students reclaimed the ruined seminary. Wojtyła and another seminarian volunteered for the task of clearing away piles of frozen excrement from the toilets.<sup>[19]</sup> Wojtyła also helped a 14-year-old Jewish refugee girl named Edith Zierer,<sup>[20]</sup> who had run away from a Nazi labour camp in Częstochowa.<sup>[20]</sup> Edith had collapsed on a railway platform, so Wojtyła carried her to a train and stayed with her throughout the journey to Kraków. Edith credits Wojtyła with saving her life that day.<sup>[21][22][23]</sup> B'nai B'rith and other authorities have said that Wojtyła helped protect many other Polish Jews from the Nazis. In Wojtyła's last book *Memory and Identity* he described the 12 years of the Nazi régime as 'bestiality',<sup>[24]</sup> quoting from Polish theologian and philosopher Konstanty Michalski.<sup>[25]</sup>

## Priesthood

On finishing his studies at the seminary in Kraków, Wojtyła was ordained as a priest on All Saints' Day, 1 November 1946,<sup>[9]</sup> by the Archbishop of Kraków, Cardinal Sapieha.<sup>[6][26][27]</sup> He then studied theology in Rome, at the Pontifical International Athenaeum *Angelicum*,<sup>[26][27]</sup> where he earned a licentiate and later a doctorate in sacred theology.<sup>[5]</sup> This doctorate, the first of two, was based on the Latin dissertation *The Doctrine of Faith According to Saint John of the Cross*.

He returned to Poland in the summer of 1948 with his first pastoral assignment in the village of Niegowić, fifteen miles from Kraków. He arrived at Niegowić at harvest time, where his first action was to kneel and kiss the ground.<sup>[28]</sup> This gesture, which he adapted from French saint Jean Marie Baptiste Vianney,<sup>[28]</sup> would become a 'trademark' action during his Papacy.



Pontifical International Athenaeum  
*Angelicum* in Rome

In March 1949, Wojtyła was transferred to the parish of Saint Florian in Kraków. He taught ethics at Jagiellonian University and subsequently at the Catholic University of Lublin. While teaching, he gathered a group of about 20 young people, who began to call themselves *Rodzinka*, the "little family". They met for prayer, philosophical discussion, and to help the blind and sick. The group eventually grew to approximately 200 participants, and their activities expanded to include annual skiing and kayaking trips.<sup>[29]</sup>

In 1954, he earned a second doctorate, in philosophy,<sup>[30]</sup> evaluating the feasibility of a Catholic ethic based on the ethical system of phenomenologist Max Scheler, a German philosopher who founded a broad philosophical movement which emphasised the study of conscious experience. However, the Communist authorities intervened to prevent him from receiving the degree until 1957.<sup>[27]</sup> Wojtyła developed a theological approach which combined traditional Catholic Thomism with the ideas of personalism, a philosophical approach

deriving from phenomenology, which was popular amongst Catholic intellectuals in Kraków during Wojtyła's intellectual development. He translated Scheler's *Formalism and the Ethics of Substantive Values*.<sup>[31]</sup>

During this period, Wojtyła wrote a series of articles in Kraków's Catholic newspaper *Tygodnik Powszechny* ("Universal Weekly") dealing with contemporary church issues.<sup>[32]</sup> He focused on creating original literary work

during his first dozen years as a priest. War, life under Communism, and his pastoral responsibilities all fed his poetry and plays. Wojtyła published his work under two pseudonyms – *Andrzej Jawień* and *Stanisław Andrzej Gruda*<sup>[13][32]</sup> – to distinguish his literary from his religious writings, (under his own name) and also so that his literary works would be considered on their merits.<sup>[13][32]</sup> In 1960, Wojtyła published the influential theological book *Love and Responsibility*, a defence of traditional Church teachings on marriage from a new philosophical standpoint.<sup>[13][33]</sup>

## Bishop and cardinal

On 4 July 1958,<sup>[27]</sup> while Wojtyła was on a kayaking holiday in the lakes region of northern Poland, Pope Pius XII appointed him as the auxiliary bishop of Kraków. He was then summoned to Warsaw to meet the Primate of Poland, Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, who informed him of his appointment.<sup>[34][35]</sup> He agreed to serve as Auxiliary Bishop to Kraków's Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak, and he was ordained to the Episcopate (as Titular Bishop of Ombi) on 28 September 1958. Baziak was the principal consecrator. Then-Auxiliary Bishop Bolesław Kominek (Titular Bishop of Sophene and Vaga; of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Wrocław and future Cardinal Archbishop of Wrocław) and then-Auxiliary Bishop Franciszek Jop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Sandomierz (Titular Bishop of Daulia; later Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Wrocław and then Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Opole) were the principal co-consecrators.<sup>[27]</sup> At the age of 38, Wojtyła became the youngest bishop in Poland. Baziak died in June 1962 and on 16 July Wojtyła was selected as *Vicar Capitular (temporary administrator)* of the Archdiocese until an Archbishop could be appointed.<sup>[5][6]</sup>

In October 1962, Wojtyła took part in the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965),<sup>[5][27]</sup> where he made contributions to two of its most historic and influential products, the *Decree on Religious Freedom* (in Latin, *Dignitatis Humanae*) and the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes)*.<sup>[27]</sup> Wojtyła and the Polish bishops contributed a draft text to the Council for *Gaudium et Spes*. According to the historian John W. O'Malley, the draft text *Gaudium et Spes* which Wojtyła and the Polish delegation sent "had some influence on the version that was sent to the council fathers that summer but was not accepted as the base text".<sup>[36]</sup> According to John F. Crosby, as Pope, John Paul II used the words of *Gaudium et Spes* later to introduce his own views on the nature of the human person in relation to God: man is "the only creature on earth that God has wanted for its own sake", but man "can fully discover his true self only in a sincere giving of himself".<sup>[37]</sup>

He also participated in the assemblies of the Synod of Bishops.<sup>[5][6]</sup> On 13 January 1964, Pope Paul VI appointed him Archbishop of Kraków.<sup>[38]</sup> On 26 June 1967, Paul VI announced Archbishop Karol Wojtyła's promotion to the Sacred College of Cardinals.<sup>[27][38]</sup> Wojtyła was named Cardinal-Priest of the titulus of San Cesareo in Palatio.

In 1967, he was instrumental in formulating the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, which dealt with the same issues that forbid abortion and artificial birth control.<sup>[27][39][40]</sup>

## Election to the papacy

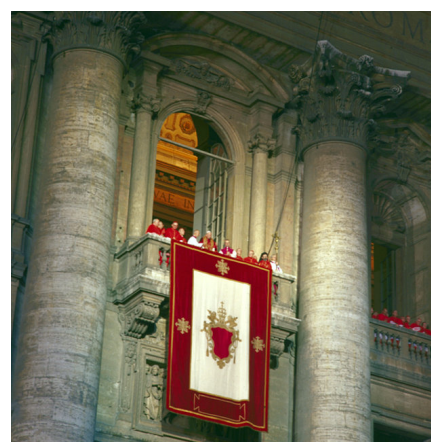
In August 1978, following the death of Pope Paul VI, Cardinal Wojtyła voted in the Papal conclave which elected Pope John Paul I, who at 65 was considered young by papal standards. John Paul I died after only 33 days as Pope, triggering another conclave.<sup>[6][27][41]</sup>

The second conclave of 1978 started on 14 October, ten days after the funeral. It was split between two strong candidates for the papacy: Giuseppe Cardinal Siri, the conservative Archbishop of Genoa, and the liberal Archbishop of Florence, Giovanni Cardinal Benelli, a close friend of John Paul I.<sup>[42]</sup>

Supporters of Benelli were confident that he would be elected, and in early ballots, Benelli came within nine votes of success.<sup>[42]</sup> However, both men faced sufficient opposition that neither was likely to prevail. Franz Cardinal König, Archbishop of Vienna suggested to his fellow electors a compromise candidate: the Polish Cardinal, Karol Józef Wojtyła.<sup>[42]</sup> Wojtyła won on the eighth ballot on the second day with, according to the Italian press, 99 votes from the 111 participating electors. He subsequently chose the name John Paul II<sup>[27][42]</sup> in honour of his immediate predecessor, and the traditional white smoke informed the crowd gathered in St. Peter's Square that a pope had been chosen.<sup>[41]</sup> He accepted his election with these words: 'With obedience in faith to Christ, my Lord, and with trust in the Mother of Christ and the Church, in spite of great difficulties, I accept.'<sup>[43][44]</sup> When the new pontiff appeared on the balcony, he broke tradition by addressing the gathered crowd.<sup>[43]</sup>

Dear brothers and sisters, we are saddened at the death of our beloved Pope John Paul I, and so the cardinals have called for a new bishop of Rome. They called him from a faraway land – far and yet always close because of our communion in faith and Christian traditions. I was afraid to accept that responsibility, yet I do so in a spirit of obedience to the Lord and total faithfulness to Mary, our most Holy Mother. I am speaking to you in your – no, our Italian language. If I make a mistake, please *'kirrect'* [*sic*] me...<sup>[43][45]</sup>

Wojtyła became the 264th Pope according to the chronological list of popes, the first non-Italian in 455 years.<sup>[46]</sup> At only 58 years of age, he was the youngest pope since Pope Pius IX in 1846, who was 54.<sup>[27]</sup> Like his predecessor, Pope John Paul II dispensed with the traditional Papal coronation and instead received ecclesiastical investiture with the simplified Papal inauguration on 22 October 1978. During his inauguration, when the cardinals were to kneel before him to take their vows and kiss his ring, he stood up as the Polish prelate Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński knelt down, stopped him from kissing the ring, and simply hugged him.<sup>[47]</sup>



The newly elected Pope John Paul II stands on the balcony

## Pastoral trips

During his pontificate, Pope John Paul II made trips to 129 countries,<sup>[49]</sup> travelling more than 1100000 kilometres (**unknown operator: u'strong'** mi) whilst doing so. He consistently attracted large crowds, some amongst the largest ever assembled in human history, such as the Manila World Youth Day, which gathered up to 4 million people, the largest Papal gathering ever, according to the Vatican.<sup>[50][51]</sup> John Paul II's earliest official visits were to the Dominican Republic and Mexico in January 1979.<sup>[52]</sup> While some of his trips (such as to the United States and the Holy Land) were to places previously visited by Pope Paul VI, John Paul II became the first pope to visit the White House in October 1979, where he was greeted warmly by then-President Jimmy Carter. He was the first Pope ever to visit several countries, starting in 1979 with Mexico<sup>[53]</sup> and Ireland.<sup>[54]</sup> He was the first reigning pope to travel to the United Kingdom, in 1982, where he met Queen Elizabeth II, the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. He travelled to Haiti in 1983, where he spoke in Creole to thousands of impoverished Catholics gathered to greet him at the airport. His message, "things must change in Haiti", referring to the disparity between the wealthy and the poor, was met with thunderous applause.<sup>[55]</sup> In 2000, he was the first modern pope to visit Egypt,<sup>[56]</sup> where he met with the Coptic pope, Pope Shenouda III<sup>[56]</sup> and the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>[56]</sup> He was the first Catholic pope to visit and pray in an Islamic mosque, in Damascus, Syria, in 2001. He visited the Umayyad Mosque, a former Christian church where John the Baptist is believed to be interred,<sup>[57]</sup> where he made a speech calling for Muslims, Christians and Jews to live together.<sup>[57]</sup>



A statue of John Paul II made entirely with keys donated by the Mexican people to symbolise that they had given him the keys to their hearts.<sup>[48]</sup>

On 15 January 1995, during the X World Youth Day, he offered mass to an estimated crowd of between five and seven million in Luneta Park,<sup>[51]</sup> Manila, Philippines, which was considered to be the largest single gathering in Christian history.<sup>[51]</sup> In March 2000, while visiting Jerusalem, John Paul became the first pope in history to visit and pray at the Western Wall.<sup>[58][59]</sup> In September 2001, amid post-11 September concerns, he travelled to Kazakhstan, with an audience largely consisting of Muslims, and to Armenia, to participate in the celebration of 1,700 years of Armenian Christianity.<sup>[60]</sup>

## Trip to Poland

In June 1979, Pope John Paul II traveled to Poland where ecstatic crowds constantly surrounded him.<sup>[61]</sup> This first trip to Poland uplifted the nation's spirit and sparked the formation of the Solidarity movement in 1980, which later brought freedom and human rights to his troubled homeland.<sup>[39]</sup> While Poland's Communist leaders intended to use the Pope's visit to show the people that even though the Pope was Polish it did not alter their capacity to govern, oppress, and distribute the goods of society. They also hoped that if the Pope abided by the rules they set, that the Polish people would see his example and follow them as well. If the Pope's visit inspired a riot, the Communist leaders of Poland were prepared to crush the uprising and blame the suffering on the Pope.<sup>[62]</sup>

"The Pope won that struggle by transcending politics. His was what Joseph Nye calls 'soft power'— the power of attraction and repulsion. He began with an enormous advantage, and exploited it to the utmost: He headed the one institution that stood for the polar opposite of the Communist way of life that the Polish people hated. He was a Pole, but beyond the regime's reach. By identifying with him, Poles would have the chance to cleanse themselves of the compromises they had to make to live under the regime. And so they came to him by the millions. They listened. He told them to be good, not to compromise themselves, to stick by one another, to

be fearless, and that God is the only source of goodness, the only standard of conduct. 'Be not afraid,' he said. Millions shouted in response, 'We want God! We want God! We want God!' The regime cowered. Had the Pope chosen to turn his soft power into the hard variety, the regime might have been drowned in blood. Instead, the Pope simply led the Polish people to desert their rulers by affirming solidarity with one another. The Communists managed to hold on as despots a decade longer. But as political leaders, they were finished. Visiting his native Poland in 1979, Pope John Paul II struck what turned out to be a mortal blow to its Communist regime, to the Soviet Empire, [and] ultimately to Communism."<sup>[63]</sup>

On later trips to Poland, he gave tacit support to the organisation.<sup>[39]</sup> Successive Polish trips reinforced this message and contributed to the collapse of East European Communism that took place between 1989/1990 with the reintroduction of democracy in Poland, and which then spread through Eastern Europe (1990–1991) and South-Eastern Europe (1990–1992).<sup>[45][49][61][64][65]</sup>

## Teachings

As pope, John Paul II wrote 14 papal encyclicals and taught about "The Theology of the Body". Some key elements of his strategy to "reposition the Catholic Church" were encyclicals such as *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, *Reconciliatio et Paenitentia* and *Redemptoris Mater*. In his *At the beginning of the new millennium (Novo Millennio Ineunte)*, he emphasised the importance of "starting afresh from Christ": "No, we shall not be saved by a formula but by a Person." In *The Splendour of the Truth (Veritatis Splendor)*, he emphasised the dependence of man on God and His Law ("Without the Creator, the creature disappears") and the "dependence of freedom on the truth". He warned that man "giving himself over to relativism and scepticism, goes off in search of an illusory freedom apart from truth itself". In *Fides et Ratio (On the Relationship between Faith and Reason)* John Paul promoted a renewed interest in philosophy and an autonomous pursuit of truth in theological matters. Drawing on many different sources (such as Thomism), he described the mutually supporting relationship between faith and reason, and emphasised that theologians should focus on that relationship. John Paul II wrote extensively about workers and the social doctrine of the Church, which he discussed in three encyclicals: *Laborem Exercens*, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, and *Centesimus Annus*. Through his encyclicals and many Apostolic Letters and Exhortations, John Paul II talked about the dignity of women and the importance of the family for the future of humanity.<sup>[39]</sup> Other encyclicals include *The Gospel of Life (Evangelium Vitae)* and *Ut Unum Sint (That They May Be One)*. Though critics accused him of inflexibility, he explicitly re-asserted Catholic moral teachings against capital punishment, euthanasia and abortion that have been in place for well over a thousand years.<sup>[39]</sup>

## Social and political stances

John Paul II was considered a conservative on doctrine, and issues relating to sexual reproduction and the ordination of women.<sup>[66]</sup>

While the Pope was visiting the United States of America he said, "All human life, from the moments of conception and through all subsequent stages, is sacred."<sup>[67]</sup>

A series of 129 lectures given by John Paul II during his Wednesday audiences in Rome between September 1979 and November 1984 were later compiled and published as a single work entitled *Theology of the Body*, an extended meditation on human sexuality. He extended it to the condemnation of abortion, euthanasia and virtually all capital punishment,<sup>[68]</sup> calling them all a part of the "culture of death" that is pervasive in the modern world. He campaigned for world debt forgiveness and social justice.<sup>[39][66]</sup> He coined the term "social mortgage", which related that all private property had a social dimension, namely, that "the goods of this are originally meant for all."<sup>[69]</sup> In 2000, he publicly endorsed the Jubilee 2000 campaign on African debt relief fronted by Irish rock stars Bob Geldof and Bono, once famously interrupting a U2 recording session by telephoning the studio and asking to speak to Bono.<sup>[70]</sup>

Pope John Paul II, who was present and very influential at the Vatican II (1962–65), affirmed the teachings of that Council and did much to implement them. Nevertheless, his critics often wished that he would embrace the so-called "progressive" agenda that some hoped would evolve as a result of the Council. In fact, the Council did not advocate "progressive" changes in these areas; for example, they still condemned abortion as an unspeakable crime. Pope John Paul II continued to declare that contraception, abortion, and homosexual acts were gravely sinful, and, with Joseph Ratzinger (future Pope Benedict XVI), opposed Liberation theology.

Following the Church's exaltation of the marital act of sexual intercourse between a baptised man and woman within sacramental marriage as proper and exclusive to the sacrament of marriage, John Paul II believed that it was, in every instance, profaned by contraception, abortion, divorce followed by a 'second' marriage, and by homosexual acts. His beliefs were often assumed to be a rejection of women. In 1994 John Paul II asserted the Church's lack of authority to ordain women to the priesthood, claiming that without such authority ordination is not legitimately compatible with fidelity to Christ. This was also deemed a repudiation of calls to break with the constant tradition of the Church by ordaining women to the priesthood.<sup>[71]</sup> In addition, John Paul II chose not to end the discipline of mandatory priestly celibacy, although in a small number of unusual circumstances, he did allow certain married clergymen of other Christian traditions who later became Catholic to be ordained as Catholic priests.

## Evolution

On 22 October 1996, in a speech to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences plenary session at the Vatican, Pope John Paul II said of evolution that "this theory has been progressively accepted by researchers, following a series of discoveries in various fields of knowledge. The convergence, neither sought nor fabricated, of the results of work that was conducted independently is in itself a significant argument in favour of this theory." The Pope qualified this by noting that, "rather than the theory of evolution, we should speak of several theories of evolution." Some of these theories, he noted, have a purely materialistic philosophical underpinning which is not compatible with the Catholic faith: "Consequently, theories of evolution which, in accordance with the philosophies inspiring them, consider the mind as emerging from the forces of living matter, or as a mere epiphenomenon of this matter, are incompatible with the truth about man".<sup>[72][73][74][75]</sup>

Although generally accepting the theory of evolution, John Paul II made one major exception – the human soul. "If the human body has its origin in living material which pre-exists it, the spiritual soul is immediately created by God".<sup>[72][74][75]</sup>

## Liberation theology

In 1984 and 1986, through Cardinal Ratzinger (now Pope Benedict XVI), then-leader of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, John Paul II officially condemned aspects of Liberation theology, which had many followers in South America. Visiting Europe, Óscar Romero unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a Vatican condemnation of El Salvador's regime, for violations of human rights and its support of death squads. In his travel to Managua, Nicaragua in 1983, John Paul II harshly condemned what he dubbed the "popular Church"<sup>[76]</sup> (i.e. "ecclesial base communities" supported by the CELAM), and the Nicaraguan clergy's tendencies to support the leftist Sandinistas, reminding the clergy of their duties of obedience to the Holy See.<sup>[76]</sup> During that visit Ernesto Cardenal, a priest and minister in the Sandinista government, knelt to kiss his hand. John Paul withdrew it, wagged his finger in Cardenal's face, and told him, "You must straighten out your position with the church."<sup>[77]</sup>



## Views on sexuality

While taking a traditional position on sexuality, defending the Church's moral opposition to marriage for same-sex couples, Pope John Paul II asserted that persons with homosexual inclinations possess the same inherent dignity and rights as everybody else.<sup>[78]</sup> In his book, *Memory and Identity*, he referred to the "strong pressures" by the European Parliament to recognise homosexual unions as an alternative type of family, with the right to adopt children. In the book, as quoted by Reuters, he wrote: "It is legitimate and necessary to ask oneself if this is not perhaps part of a new ideology of evil, more subtle and hidden, perhaps, intent upon exploiting human rights themselves against man and against the family [*sic*]."<sup>[39][79]</sup> A 1997 study determined that 3% of the pope's statements were about the issue of sexual morality.<sup>[80]</sup>

## Relations with other faiths

Pope John Paul II travelled extensively and met with believers from many divergent faiths. At the World Day of Prayer for Peace, held in Assisi on 27 October 1986, more than 120 representatives of different religions and Christian denominations spent a day together with fasting and praying.<sup>[81]</sup>

### Anglicanism

Pope John Paul II had good relations with the Church of England, referred to by his predecessor Pope Paul VI, as "*our beloved Sister Church*".<sup>[82]</sup> He preached in Canterbury Cathedral during his visit to London, and received the Archbishop of Canterbury with friendship and courtesy. However, John Paul II was disappointed by the Church of England's decision to offer the Sacrament of Holy Orders to women and saw it as a step in the opposite direction from unity between the Anglican Communion and the Catholic Church.<sup>[82]</sup>

In 1980 John Paul II issued a Pastoral Provision allowing married former Episcopal priests to become Catholic priests, and for the acceptance of former Episcopal Church parishes into the Catholic Church. He allowed the creation of the Anglican Use form of the Latin Rite, which incorporates the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. John Paul II helped establish 'Our Lady of the Atonement Catholic Church', together with Archbishop Patrick Flores of San Antonio, Texas, as a place where Anglicans and Catholics could worship together.<sup>[83]</sup>

### Buddhism

Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama, visited Pope John Paul II eight times, more than any other single dignitary. The Pope and the Dalai Lama held many similar views and understood similar plights, both coming from nations damaged by communism and both serving as heads of major religious bodies.<sup>[84][85]</sup>

### Eastern Orthodox Church

In May 1999, John Paul II visited Romania on the invitation from Patriarch Teoctist Arăpașu of the Romanian Orthodox Church. This was the first time a Pope had visited a predominantly Eastern Orthodox country since the Great Schism in 1054.<sup>[86]</sup> On his arrival, the Patriarch and the President of Romania, Emil Constantinescu, greeted the Pope.<sup>[86]</sup> The Patriarch stated, "The second millennium of Christian history began with a painful wounding of the unity of the Church; the end of this millennium has seen a real commitment to restoring Christian unity."<sup>[86]</sup>

On 23–27 June 2001 John Paul II visited Ukraine, another heavily Orthodox nation, at the invitation of the President of Ukraine and bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.<sup>[87]</sup> The Pope spoke to leaders of the All-Ukrainian Council of Churches and Religious Organisations, pleading for "open, tolerant and honest dialogue".<sup>[87]</sup> About 200 thousand people attended the liturgies celebrated by the Pope in Kiev, and the liturgy in Lviv gathered nearly one and a half million faithful.<sup>[87]</sup> John Paul II stated that an end to the Great Schism was one of his fondest wishes.<sup>[87]</sup> Healing divisions between the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches regarding Latin and Byzantine traditions was clearly of great personal interest. For many years, John Paul II sought to facilitate dialogue and unity stating as early as 1988 in *Euntes in mundum* that "Europe has two lungs, it will never breathe easily until it uses both of them".

During his 2001 travels, John Paul II became the first Pope to visit Greece in 1291 years.<sup>[88][89]</sup> In Athens, the Pope met with Archbishop Christodoulos, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>[88]</sup> After a private 30 minute meeting, the two spoke publicly. Christodoulos read a list of "13 offences" of the Roman Catholic Church against the Eastern Orthodox Church since the Great Schism,<sup>[88]</sup> including the pillaging of Constantinople by crusaders in 1204, and bemoaned the lack of apology from the Roman Catholic Church, saying "Until now, there has not been heard a single request for pardon" for the "maniacal crusaders of the 13th century."<sup>[88]</sup>

The Pope responded by saying "For the occasions past and present, when sons and daughters of the Catholic Church have sinned by action or omission against their Orthodox brothers and sisters, may the Lord grant us forgiveness," to which Christodoulos immediately applauded. John Paul II said that the sacking of Constantinople was a source of "profound regret" for Catholics.<sup>[88]</sup> Later John Paul II and Christodoulos met on a spot where Saint Paul had once preached to Athenian Christians. They issued a 'common declaration', saying "We shall do everything in our power, so that the Christian roots of Europe and its Christian soul may be preserved. ... We condemn all recourse to violence, proselytism and fanaticism, in the name of religion".<sup>[88]</sup> The two leaders then said the Lord's Prayer together, breaking an Orthodox taboo against praying with Catholics.<sup>[88]</sup>

The Pope had said throughout his pontificate that one of his greatest dreams was to visit Russia, but this never occurred. He attempted to solve the problems that had arisen over centuries between the Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches, and in 2004 gave them a 1730 copy of the lost icon of Our Lady of Kazan.

## Islam

Pope John Paul II made considerable efforts to improve relations between Catholicism and Islam.<sup>[90]</sup>

On 6 May 2001, Pope John Paul II became the first Catholic pope to enter and pray in a mosque. Respectfully removing his shoes, he entered the Umayyad Mosque, a former Byzantine era Christian church dedicated to John the Baptist (who was believed to be interred there) in Damascus, Syria, and gave a speech including the statement: "For all the times that Muslims and Christians have offended one another, we need to seek forgiveness from the Almighty and to offer each other forgiveness."<sup>[57]</sup> He kissed the Qur'an in Syria,<sup>[91]</sup> an act which made him popular amongst Muslims but which disturbed many Catholics.<sup>[91]</sup>

In 2004, Pope John Paul II hosted the "Papal Concert of Reconciliation", which brought together leaders of Islam with leaders of the Jewish community and of the Catholic Church at the Vatican for a concert by the Kraków Philharmonic Choir from Poland, the London Philharmonic Choir from the United Kingdom, the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra from the United States, and the Ankara State Polyphonic Choir of Turkey.<sup>[92][93][94][95]</sup> The event was conceived and conducted by Sir Gilbert Levine, KCSG and was broadcast throughout the world.<sup>[92][93][94][95]</sup>

John Paul II oversaw the publication of the Catechism of the Catholic Church which makes a special provision for Muslims; therein, it is written, "The plan of salvation also includes those who acknowledge the Creator, in 'the first place amongst whom are the Muslims'; these profess to hold the faith of Abraham, and together with us they adore the one, merciful God, mankind's judge on the last day."<sup>[96]</sup>

## Judaism

Relations between Catholicism and Judaism improved during the pontificate of John Paul II.<sup>[39][59]</sup> He spoke frequently about the Church's relationship with the Jewish faith.<sup>[39]</sup>

In 1979, John Paul II became the first pope to visit the German Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland, where many of his compatriots (mostly Polish Jews) had perished during the Nazi occupation in World War II. In 1998 he issued *"We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah"* which outlined his thinking on the Holocaust.<sup>[97]</sup> He became the first pope known to have made an official papal visit to a synagogue, when he visited the Great Synagogue of Rome on 13 April 1986.<sup>[98][99]</sup>

In 1994, John Paul II established formal diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the State of Israel, acknowledging its centrality in Jewish life and faith.<sup>[98]</sup> In honour of this event, Pope John Paul II hosted *The Papal Concert to Commemorate the Holocaust*. This concert, which was conceived and conducted by American Maestro Gilbert Levine, was attended by the Chief Rabbi of Rome, the President of Italy, and survivors of the Holocaust from around the world.<sup>[100][101]</sup>

In March 2000, John Paul II visited Yad Vashem, the national Holocaust memorial in Israel, and later made history by touching one of the holiest sites in Judaism, the Western Wall in Jerusalem,<sup>[59]</sup> placing a letter inside it (in which he prayed for forgiveness for the actions against Jews).<sup>[58][59][98]</sup> In part of his address he said: "I assure the Jewish people the Catholic Church... is deeply saddened by the hatred, acts of persecution and displays of anti-Semitism directed against the Jews by Christians at any time and in any place", he added that there were "no words strong enough to deplore the terrible tragedy of the Holocaust".<sup>[58][59]</sup> Israeli cabinet minister Rabbi Michael Melchior, who hosted the Pope's visit, said he was "very moved" by the Pope's gesture.<sup>[58][59]</sup>

It was beyond history, beyond memory.<sup>[58]</sup>

We are deeply saddened by the behaviour of those who in the course of history have caused these children of yours to suffer, and asking your forgiveness we wish to commit ourselves to genuine brotherhood with the people of the Covenant.<sup>[102]</sup>

In October 2003, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) issued a statement congratulating John Paul II on entering the 25th year of his papacy. In January 2005, John Paul II became the first Pope in history known to receive a priestly blessing from a rabbi, when Rabbis Benjamin Blech, Barry Dov Schwartz, and Jack Bemporad visited the Pontiff at Clementine Hall in the Apostolic Palace.<sup>[103]</sup>

Immediately after John Paul II's death, the ADL issued a statement that Pope John Paul II had revolutionised Catholic-Jewish relations, saying that "more change for the better took place in his 27 year Papacy than in the nearly 2,000 years before."<sup>[104]</sup> In another statement issued by the Australia/Israel & Jewish Affairs Council, Director Dr Colin Rubenstein said, "The Pope will be remembered for his inspiring spiritual leadership in the cause of freedom and humanity. He achieved far more in terms of transforming relations with both the Jewish people and the State of Israel than any other figure in the history of the Catholic Church".<sup>[98]</sup>

With Judaism, therefore, we have a relationship which we do not have with any other religion. You are our dearly beloved brothers, and in a certain way, it could be said that you are our *elder* brothers.<sup>[105]</sup>

## Lutheranism

On 15–19 November 1980 John Paul II visited the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>[106]</sup> on his first trip to a country with a large Lutheran population. In Mainz he met with leaders of the Lutheran and other Protestant Churches, and with representatives of other Christian denominations.

On 11 December 1983 John Paul II participated in an ecumenical service in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Rome,<sup>[107]</sup> the first papal visit ever to a Lutheran church. The visit took place 500 years after the birth of Martin Luther, the German Augustinian monk who initiated the Lutheran reformation.

In his apostolic pilgrimage to Norway, Iceland, Finland, Denmark and Sweden of June 1989,<sup>[108]</sup> John Paul II became the first pope to visit countries with Lutheran majorities. In addition to celebrating Mass with Catholic believers, he participated in ecumenical services at places that had been Catholic shrines before the 16th century Lutheran reformation: Nidaros Cathedral in Norway; near St. Olav's Church at Thingvellir in Iceland; Turku Cathedral in Finland; Roskilde Cathedral in Denmark; and Uppsala Cathedral in Sweden.

On 31 October 1999 (the 482nd anniversary of Reformation Day, Martin Luther's posting of the 95 Theses), representatives of the Vatican and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) signed a Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification, as a gesture of unity. The signing was a fruit of a theological dialogue that had been going on between the LWF and the Vatican since 1965.

## Role in the fall of Communism

John Paul II has been credited with being instrumental in bringing down communism in Central and Eastern Europe,<sup>[39][45][49][64][65][109]</sup> by being the spiritual inspiration behind its downfall and catalyst for "a peaceful revolution" in Poland. Lech Wałęsa, the founder of 'Solidarity', credited John Paul II with giving Poles the courage to demand change.<sup>[39]</sup> According to Wałęsa, "Before his pontificate, the world was divided into blocs. Nobody knew how to get rid of communism. In Warsaw, in 1979, he simply said: 'Do not be afraid', and later prayed: 'Let your Spirit descend and change the image of the land... this land'."<sup>[109]</sup> It has also been widely alleged that the Vatican Bank covertly funded Solidarity.<sup>[110][111]</sup>



Russian President Vladimir Putin meeting Pope John Paul II

President Ronald Reagan's correspondence with the pope reveals "a continuous scurrying to shore up Vatican support for U.S. policies. Perhaps most surprisingly, the papers show that, as late as 1984, the pope did not believe the Communist Polish government could be changed."<sup>[112]</sup>

In December 1989, John Paul II met with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the Vatican and each expressed his respect and admiration for the other. Gorbachev once said "The collapse of the Iron Curtain would have been impossible without John Paul II".<sup>[45][64]</sup> On John Paul's death, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "Pope John Paul II's devotion to his followers is a remarkable example to all of us."<sup>[65][109]</sup>

In February 2004, Pope John Paul II was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize honouring his life's work in opposing Communist oppression and helping to reshape the world.<sup>[113]</sup>

President George W. Bush presented the Presidential Medal of Freedom, America's highest civilian honour, to Pope John Paul II during a ceremony at the Vatican 4 June 2004. The president read the citation that accompanied the medal, which recognised "this son of Poland" whose "principled stand for peace and freedom has inspired millions and helped to topple communism and tyranny."<sup>[114]</sup> After receiving the award, John Paul II said, "May the desire for freedom, peace, a more humane world symbolised by this medal inspire men and women of goodwill in every time and place."<sup>[115]</sup>



US President George W. Bush presents the Medal of Freedom to Pope John Paul II, in June 2004

Warsaw, Moscow, Budapest, Berlin, Prague, Sofia and Bucharest have become stages in a long pilgrimage toward liberty. It is admirable that in these events, entire peoples spoke out – women, young people, men, overcoming fears, their irrepressible thirst for liberty speeded up developments, made walls tumble down and opened gates.<sup>[116]</sup>

## Assassination attempts

As he entered St. Peter's Square to address an audience on 13 May 1981,<sup>[117]</sup> Pope John Paul II was shot and critically wounded by Mehmet Ali Ağca,<sup>[5][49][118]</sup> an expert Turkish gunman who was a member of the militant fascist group Grey Wolves.<sup>[119]</sup> The assassin used a Browning 9 mm semi-automatic pistol,<sup>[120]</sup> shooting the pope in the abdomen and perforating his colon and small intestine multiple times.<sup>[45]</sup> John Paul II was rushed into the Vatican complex and then to the Gemelli Hospital. En route to the hospital, he lost consciousness. Even though the two bullets missed his mesenteric artery and abdominal aorta, he lost nearly three-quarters of his blood. He underwent five hours of surgery to treat his wounds.<sup>[121]</sup> Surgeons performed a colostomy, temporarily rerouting the upper part of the large intestine to let the damaged lower part heal.<sup>[121]</sup> When he briefly gained consciousness before

being operated on, he instructed the doctors not to remove his Brown Scapular during the operation.<sup>[122]</sup> The pope stated that Our Lady of Fátima helped keep him alive throughout his ordeal.<sup>[49][118][123]</sup>

Could I forget that the event in St. Peter's Square took place on the day and at the hour when the first appearance of the Mother of Christ to the poor little peasants has been remembered for over sixty years at Fátima, Portugal? For in everything that happened to me on that very day, I felt that extraordinary motherly protection and care, which turned out to be stronger than the deadly bullet.<sup>[124]</sup>

Ağca was caught and restrained by a nun and other bystanders until police arrived. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. Two days after Christmas in 1983, John Paul II visited Ağca in prison. John Paul II and Ağca spoke privately for about twenty minutes.<sup>[49][118]</sup> John Paul II said, "What we talked about will have to remain a secret between him and me. I spoke to him as a brother whom I have pardoned and who has my complete trust."



The site of the shooting is marked by a small marble tablet bearing John Paul's papal coat of arms and the date in Roman numerals.

On 2 March 2006 the Italian parliament's Mitrokhin Commission, set up by Silvio Berlusconi and headed by *Forza Italia* senator Paolo Guzzanti, concluded that the Soviet Union was behind the attempt on John Paul II's life,<sup>[119][125]</sup> in retaliation for the pope's support of Solidarity, the Catholic, pro-democratic Polish workers' movement, a theory which had already been supported by Michael Ledeen and the United States Central Intelligence Agency at the time.<sup>[119][125]</sup> The Italian report stated that Communist Bulgarian security departments were utilised to prevent the Soviet Union's role from being uncovered.<sup>[125]</sup> The report stated that Soviet military intelligence (*Glavnoye Razvedyvatel'noye Upravleniye*), not the KGB, were responsible.<sup>[125]</sup> Russian Foreign Intelligence Service spokesman Boris Labusov called the accusation 'absurd'.<sup>[125]</sup> The Pope declared during a May 2002 visit to Bulgaria that the country's Soviet bloc-era leadership had nothing to do with the assassination attempt.<sup>[119][125]</sup> However, his secretary, Cardinal Stanisław Dziwisz, alleged in his book *A Life with Karol*, that the pope was convinced privately that the former Soviet Union was behind the attack.<sup>[126]</sup> It was later discovered that many of John Paul II's aides had foreign government attachments;<sup>[127]</sup> Bulgaria and Russia disputed the Italian commission's conclusions, pointing out that the Pope had publicly denied the Bulgarian connection.<sup>[125]</sup> A second assassination attempt took place on 12 May 1982, just a day before the anniversary of the first attempt on his life, in Fátima, Portugal when a man tried to stab John Paul II with a bayonet.<sup>[128][129][130]</sup> He was stopped by security guards, although Stanisław Dziwisz later claimed that John Paul II had been injured during the attempt but managed to hide a non-life threatening wound.<sup>[128][129][130]</sup> The assailant, a traditionalist Spanish priest named Juan María Fernández y Krohn,<sup>[128]</sup> was ordained as a priest by Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre of the Society of Saint Pius X and was opposed to the changes caused by the Second Vatican Council, claiming that the pope was an agent of Communist Moscow and of the Marxist Eastern Bloc.<sup>[131]</sup> Fernández y Krohn subsequently left the priesthood and served three years of a six-year sentence.<sup>[129][130][131]</sup> The ex-priest was treated for mental illness and then expelled from Portugal to become a solicitor in Belgium.<sup>[131]</sup>

Pope John Paul II was also a target of the Al-Qaeda-funded Bojinka plot during a visit to the Philippines in 1995. The first plan was to kill him in the Philippines during World Youth Day 1995 celebrations. On 15 January 1995, a suicide bomber was planning to dress as a priest, while John Paul II passed in his motorcade on his way to the San Carlos Seminary in Makati City. The would-be-assassin intended to get close and detonate the bomb. The assassination was supposed to divert attention from the next phase of the operation. However, a chemical fire inadvertently started by the cell alerted police to their whereabouts, and all were arrested a week before the Pope's visit, confessing to the plot.<sup>[132]</sup>

In 2009 journalist and former army intelligence officer John Koehler published *Spies in the Vatican: The Soviet Union's Cold War Against the Catholic Church*.<sup>[133]</sup> Mining mostly East German and Polish secret police archives, Koehler says the assassination attempts were "KGB-backed" and gives details.<sup>[134]</sup> During John Paul II's reign there were many clerics within the Vatican who on nomination, declined to be ordained, and then mysteriously left the church. There is wide speculation that they were, in reality, KGB agents.

## Health

When he became pope in 1978, John Paul II was still an avid sportsman. At the time, the 58-year old was extremely healthy and active, jogging in the Vatican gardens, weight training, swimming, and hiking in the mountains. He was fond of football. The media contrasted the new Pope's athleticism and trim figure to the poor health of John Paul I and Paul VI, the portliness of John XXIII and the constant claims of ailments of Pius XII. The only modern pope with a fitness regimen had been Pope Pius XI (1922–1939) who was an avid mountaineer.<sup>[135][136]</sup> An *Irish Independent* article in the 1980s labelled John Paul II the *keep-fit pope*.



The ailing Pope John Paul II riding in the Popemobile on 22 September 2004

However, after over twenty-five years on the papal throne, two assassination attempts (one of which resulted in severe physical injury to the Pope), and a number of cancer scares, John Paul's physical health declined. In 2001 he was diagnosed as suffering from Parkinson's disease.<sup>[137]</sup> International observers had suspected this for some time but it was only publicly acknowledged by the Vatican in 2003. Despite difficulty speaking more than a few sentences at a time, trouble hearing and severe osteoarthritis, he continued to tour the world, although rarely walking in public.

## Death and funeral

On 31 March 2005 following a urinary tract infection,<sup>[138]</sup> Pope John Paul II developed septic shock, a form of infection with a high fever and low blood pressure, but was not hospitalised. Instead, he was monitored by a team of consultants at his private residence. This was taken as an indication that the pope and those close to him believed that he was nearing death; it would have been in accordance with his wishes to die in the Vatican.<sup>[138]</sup> Later that day, Vatican sources announced that John Paul II had been given the Anointing of the Sick by his friend and secretary Stanisław Dziwisz. During the final days of the Pope's life, the lights were kept burning through the night where he lay in the Papal apartment on the top floor of the Apostolic Palace. Tens of thousands of people assembled and held vigil in St. Peter's Square and the surrounding streets for two days. Upon hearing of this, the dying pope was said to have stated: "I have searched for you, and now you have come to me, and I thank you."<sup>[139]</sup>



(l-r): U.S. President George W. Bush, First Lady Laura Bush, former Presidents Bush and Clinton, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, and White House Chief of Staff Andrew Card pay their respects to John Paul II lying in state at St. Peter's Basilica, 6 April 2005.

On Saturday 2 April 2005, at about 15:30 CEST, John Paul II spoke his final words, "*Pozwólcie mi odejść do domu Ojca*", ("Let me depart to the house of the Father"), to his aides, and fell into a coma about four hours later.<sup>[139][140]</sup> The mass of the vigil of the Second Sunday of Easter commemorating the canonisation of Saint Maria Faustina on 30 April 2000, had just been celebrated at his bedside, presided over by Stanisław Dziwisz and two Polish associates. Present at the bedside was a cardinal from Ukraine who served as a priest with John Paul in Poland, along with



Polish nuns of the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, who ran the papal household. He died in his private apartment, at 21:37 CEST<sup>[140][141][142]</sup> (19:37 UTC) of heart failure from profound hypotension and complete circulatory collapse from septic shock, 46 days short of his 85th birthday. John Paul had no close family by the time he died, and his feelings are reflected in his words, as written in 2000, at the end of his Last Will and Testament.<sup>[143]</sup>

The death of the pontiff set in motion rituals and traditions dating back to medieval times. The Rite of Visitation took place from 4 to 7 April at St. Peter's Basilica. The Testament of Pope John Paul II published on 7 April<sup>[144]</sup> revealed that the pontiff contemplated being buried in his native Poland but left the final decision to The College of Cardinals, which in passing, preferred burial beneath St. Peter's Basilica, honouring the pontiff's request to be placed "in bare earth". The Mass of Requiem on 8 April was said to have set world records both for attendance and number of heads of state present at a funeral.<sup>[145][146][147][148]</sup> (*See: List of Dignitaries*). It was the single largest gathering of heads of state in history, surpassing the funerals of Winston Churchill (1965) and Josip Broz Tito (1980). Four kings, five queens, at least 70 presidents and prime ministers, and more than 14 leaders of other religions attended alongside the faithful.<sup>[146]</sup> It is likely to have been the largest single pilgrimage of Christianity ever, with numbers estimated in excess of four million mourners gathering in Rome.<sup>[145][147][148][149]</sup> Between 250,000 and 300,000 watched the event from within the Vatican walls.<sup>[148]</sup> The Dean of the College of Cardinals, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, who would become the next pope, conducted the ceremony. John Paul II was interred in the grottoes under the basilica, the Tomb of the Popes. He was lowered into a tomb created in the same alcove previously occupied by the remains of Pope John XXIII. The alcove had been empty since Pope John's remains had been moved into the main body of the basilica after his beatification.

## Posthumous recognition

### Title "the Great"

Upon the death of John Paul II, a number of clergy at the Vatican and laymen throughout the world<sup>[45][145][150]</sup> began referring to the late pontiff as "John Paul the Great"—only the fourth pope to be so acclaimed, and the first since the first millennium.<sup>[45][150][151][152]</sup> Scholars of Canon Law say that there is no official process for declaring a pope "Great"; the title simply establishes itself through popular and continued usage,<sup>[145][153][154]</sup> as was the case with celebrated secular leaders (for example, Alexander III of Macedon became popularly known as Alexander the Great). The three popes who today commonly are known as "Great" are Leo I, who reigned from 440–461 and persuaded Attila the Hun to withdraw from Rome; Gregory I, 590–604, after whom the Gregorian Chant is named; and Pope Nicholas I, 858–867.<sup>[150]</sup>

His successor, Pope Benedict XVI, referred to him as "the great Pope John Paul II" in his first address<sup>[155]</sup> from the loggia of St. Peter's Church, and Angelo Cardinal Sodano referred to Pope John Paul II as "the Great" in his published written homily for the Mass of Repose.<sup>[156]</sup>

Since giving his homily at the funeral of Pope John Paul, Pope Benedict XVI has continued to refer to John Paul II as "the Great." At the 20th World Youth Day in Germany 2005, Pope Benedict XVI, speaking in Polish, John Paul's native language, said, "As the Great Pope John Paul II would say: keep the flame of faith alive in your lives and your people." In May 2006, Pope Benedict XVI visited John Paul's native Poland. During that visit, he repeatedly made references to "the great John Paul" and "my great predecessor".<sup>[157]</sup>



Tomb of John Paul II in The Chapel of St. Sebastian

In addition to the Vatican calling him "the great," numerous newspapers have done so. For example, the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* called him "the Greatest" and the South African Catholic newspaper, *The Southern Cross*, has called him "John Paul II The Great".<sup>[158]</sup> and many Catholic schools worldwide have been named after him using this title, for example recently renamed John Paul the Great Catholic University and John Paul the Great Catholic High School.

## Beatification

Inspired by calls of "*Santo Subito!*" ("[Make him a] Saint Immediately!") from the crowds gathered during the funeral mass which he performed,<sup>[145][161][162][163][164][165]</sup> Benedict XVI began the beatification process for his predecessor, bypassing the normal restriction that five years must pass after a person's death before beginning the beatification process.<sup>[162][163][166][167]</sup> In an audience with Pope Benedict XVI, Camillo Ruini, Vicar General of the Diocese of Rome who was responsible for promoting the cause for canonisation of any person who died within that diocese, cited "exceptional circumstances" which suggested that the waiting period could be waived.<sup>[6][145][168]</sup> This decision was announced on 13 May 2005, the Feast of Our Lady of Fátima and the 24th anniversary of the assassination attempt on John Paul II at St. Peter's Square.<sup>[169]</sup>

In early 2006, it was reported that the Vatican was investigating a possible miracle associated with John Paul II. Sister Marie Simon-Pierre, a French nun and a member of the Congregation of Little Sisters of Catholic Maternity Wards, confined to her bed by Parkinson's Disease,<sup>[163][170]</sup> was reported to have experienced a "complete and lasting cure after members of her community prayed for the intercession of Pope John Paul II".<sup>[110][145][161][163][171][172]</sup> As of May 2008, Sister Marie-Simon-Pierre, then 46,<sup>[161][163]</sup> was working again at a maternity hospital run by her order.<sup>[167][170][173][174]</sup>

"I was sick and now I am cured," she told reporter Gerry Shaw. "I am cured, but it is up to the church to say whether it was a miracle or not."<sup>[170][173]</sup>

On 28 May 2006, Pope Benedict XVI said Mass before an estimated 900,000 people in John Paul II's native Poland. During his homily, he encouraged prayers for the early canonisation of John Paul II and stated that he hoped canonisation would happen "in the near future."<sup>[170][175]</sup>

In January 2007, Stanisław Cardinal Dziwisz of Kraków, his former secretary, announced that the interview phase of the beatification process, in Italy and Poland, was nearing completion.<sup>[145][170][176]</sup> In February 2007, relics of Pope John Paul II—pieces of white papal cassocks he used to wear—were freely distributed with prayer cards for the cause, a typical pious practice after a saintly Catholic's death.<sup>[177][178]</sup> On 8 March 2007, the Vicariate of Rome announced that the diocesan phase of John Paul's cause for beatification was at an end. Following a ceremony on 2 April 2007 – the second anniversary of the Pontiff's death – the cause proceeded to the scrutiny of the committee of lay, clerical, and episcopal members of the Vatican's Congregation for the Causes of Saints, to conduct a separate investigation.<sup>[170][176][179]</sup> On the fourth anniversary of Pope John Paul's death, 2 April 2009, Cardinal Dziwisz, told reporters of a presumed miracle that had recently occurred at the former pope's tomb in St. Peter's Basilica.<sup>[173][179][180][181]</sup> A nine year-old Polish boy from Gdańsk, who was suffering from kidney cancer and was completely unable to walk, had been visiting the tomb with his parents. On leaving St. Peter's Basilica, the boy told



Beatification of John Paul II, on *Divine Mercy Sunday* 1 May 2011 for which over a million pilgrims went to Rome.<sup>[159][160]</sup>

them, "I want to walk," and began walking normally.<sup>[179][180][181][182]</sup> On 16 November 2009, a panel of reviewers at the Congregation for the Causes of Saints voted unanimously that Pope John Paul II had lived a life of virtue.<sup>[183][184]</sup> On 19 December 2009, Pope Benedict XVI signed the first of two decrees needed for beatification and proclaimed John Paul II "Venerable", asserting that he had lived a heroic, virtuous life.<sup>[183][184]</sup> The second vote and the second signed decree certify the authenticity of his first miracle, the curing of Sister Marie Simon-Pierre, a French nun, from Parkinson's disease. Once the second decree is signed, the *positio* (the report on the cause, with documentation about his life and writings and with information on the cause) is complete.<sup>[184]</sup> He can then be beatified.<sup>[183][184]</sup> Some speculated that he would be beatified sometime during (or soon after) the month of the 32nd anniversary of his 1978 election, in October 2010. As Monsignor Oder noted, this course would have been possible if the second decree were signed in time by Benedict XVI, stating that a posthumous miracle directly attributable to his intercession had occurred, completing the *positio*.

The Vatican announced on 14 January 2011 that Pope Benedict XVI had confirmed the miracle involving Sister Marie Simon-Pierre and that John Paul II was to be beatified on 1 May, the Feast of Divine Mercy.<sup>[185]</sup> 1 May is commemorated in former communist countries, such as Poland, and some Western European countries as May Day, and Pope John Paul II was well-known for his contributions to communism's relatively peaceful demise.<sup>[45][64]</sup> In March 2011 the Polish mint issued a gold 1,000 Polish złoty coin (equivalent to US\$350), with the Pope's image to commemorate his beatification.<sup>[186]</sup>

On 29 April 2011, Pope John Paul II's coffin was exhumed from the grotto beneath St. Peter's Basilica ahead of his beatification, as tens of thousands of people arrived in Rome for one of the biggest events since his funeral.<sup>[187]</sup> John Paul II's remains (in a closed coffin) were placed in front of the Basilica's main altar, where believers could pay their respect before and after the beatification mass in St. Peter's Square on 1 May. On 3 May 2011 Blessed Pope John Paul II was given a new resting place in the marble altar in Pier Paolo Cristofari's Chapel of St. Sebastian, which is where Pope Innocent XI was buried. This more prominent location, next to the Chapel of the Pieta, the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament and statues of Popes Pius XI and Pius XII, was intended to allow more pilgrims to view his memorial.

## Criticism and controversy

John Paul II was widely criticised, amongst other things,<sup>[188]</sup> for his views against the ordination of women and contraception, his support for the Second Vatican Council and its reform of the Liturgy, and his stance on the sanctity of marriage.<sup>[5][189]</sup>

## Opposition to his beatification

Some Catholic theologians disagree with the call for beatification of Pope John Paul II. Eleven dissident theologians, including Jesuit professor Jose Maria Castillo and Italian theologian Giovanni Franzoni raised seven points, including his stance against contraception and the ordination of women as well as the Church scandals that presented "facts which according to their consciences and convictions should be an obstacle to beatification".



In 1998 the Croatian war-time Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac (far right) was declared a martyr and beatified by John Paul II. Critics say that Stepinac was pro-Ustaše, tolerating the forced conversions of Orthodox Serbs to Catholicism.

## Child sex abuse scandals

John Paul II was also criticised for failing to respond quickly enough to the sex abuse crisis. In his response, he stated that "there is no place in the priesthood and religious life for those who would harm the young".<sup>[190]</sup> The Church instituted reforms to prevent future abuse by requiring background checks for Church employees<sup>[191]</sup> and, because a significant majority of victims were teenage boys, disallowing ordination of men with "deep-seated homosexual tendencies".<sup>[192][193]</sup> They now require dioceses faced with an allegation to alert the authorities, conduct an investigation and remove the accused from duty.<sup>[191][194]</sup> In 2008, the Church asserted that the scandal was a very serious problem and estimated that it was "probably caused by 'no more than 1 per cent' " (or 5,000) of the over 500,000 Catholic priests worldwide.<sup>[195][196]</sup>

In April 2002, John Paul II, despite being frail from Parkinson's disease, read a statement intended for the American cardinals, calling the sex abuse "*an appalling sin*" and said the priesthood had no room for such men.<sup>[197]</sup>

In 2003 John Paul II reiterated that "there is no place in the priesthood and religious life for those who would harm the young".<sup>[190]</sup> and in April 2003, the Pontifical Academy for Life organised a three-day conference, entitled "Abuse of Children and Young People by Catholic Priests and Religious", where eight non-Catholic psychiatric experts were invited to speak to near all Vatican dicasteries' representatives. The panel of experts overwhelmingly opposed implementation of policies of "zero-tolerance" such as was proposed by the US Conference of Catholic Bishops. One expert called such policies a "case of overkill" since they do not permit flexibility to allow for differences among individual cases.<sup>[198]</sup>

In 2004 Pope John Paul II appointed Bernard Francis Law as Archpriest of the Papal Basilica of Saint Mary Major in Rome. Law had previously resigned as archbishop of Boston in 2002 in response to the Roman Catholic Church sex abuse scandal after Church documents were revealed which suggested he had covered up sexual abuse committed by priests in his archdiocese.<sup>[199]</sup> Law resigned from this position in November 2011.<sup>[197]</sup>

## Opus Dei controversies

John Paul II was criticised for his support of the Opus Dei prelature and the 2002 canonisation of its founder, Josemaría Escrivá, whom he called 'the saint of ordinary life'.<sup>[200][201]</sup> Other movements and religious organisations of the Church went decidedly under his wing (Legion of Christ, the Neocatechumenal Way, Schoenstatt, the charismatic movement, etc.) and he was accused repeatedly of waving a soft hand on them, especially in the case of Rev. Marcial Maciel, founder of the Legion of Christ.<sup>[202]</sup> In 1984 Pope John Paul II appointed Joaquín Navarro-Valls, a member of Opus Dei, as Director of the Vatican Press Office. An Opus Dei spokesman says "the influence of Opus Dei in the [Vatican] has been exaggerated."<sup>[203]</sup> Of the nearly 200 cardinals in the Roman Catholic Church, only two are known to be members of Opus Dei.<sup>[204]</sup>

## Banco Ambrosiano scandal

Pope John Paul was alleged to have links with Banco Ambrosiano, an Italian bank which collapsed in 1982.<sup>[110]</sup> At the centre of the bank's failure was its chairman, Roberto Calvi and his membership in the illegal Masonic Lodge Propaganda Due (aka P2). The Vatican Bank was Banco Ambrosiano's main shareholder, and the death of Pope John Paul I in 1978 is rumoured to be linked to the Ambrosiano scandal.<sup>[111]</sup>

Calvi, often referred to as "God's Banker", was also involved the Vatican Bank, Istituto per le Opere di Religione, in his dealings, and was close to Bishop Paul Marcinkus, the bank's chairman. Ambrosiano also provided funds for political parties in Italy, and for both the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua and its Sandinista opposition. There are also rumours that it provided money for Solidarity in Poland. It has been widely alleged that the Vatican Bank funded Solidarity.<sup>[110][111]</sup>

Calvi used his complex network of overseas banks and companies to move money out of Italy, to inflate share prices, and to secure massive unsecured loans. In 1978, the Bank of Italy produced a report on Ambrosiano that predicted future disaster.<sup>[111]</sup> On 5 June 1982, two weeks before the collapse of Banco Ambrosiano, Calvi had written a letter of warning to Pope John Paul II, stating that such a forthcoming event would "provoke a catastrophe of unimaginable

proportions in which the Church will suffer the gravest damage."<sup>[205]</sup> On 18 June 1982 Calvi's body was found hanging from scaffolding beneath Blackfriars Bridge in the financial district of London. Calvi's clothing was stuffed with bricks, and contained cash valued at US\$14,000, in three different currencies.<sup>[206]</sup>

### **Birth control and gender roles**

John Paul II's defence of traditional moral teachings of the Catholic Church regarding gender roles, sexuality, euthanasia, artificial contraception and abortion came under attack. Some feminists criticised his traditional positions on the roles of women, which included rejecting women priests. According to Aisha Taylor, coordinator of the Young Feminist Network:

The legacy of Pope John Paul II is vibrant and extraordinary, yet painfully inconsistent. The contradiction in his legacy lies in his teaching and actions on the dignity of women. John Paul II called for women to be included as decision makers in secular governments. However, when it came to bringing women into the decision making bodies of his church, he slammed the door in our faces, barring us from ordination and locking the door by stating the discussion about women's ordination is closed.<sup>[207]</sup>

### **Gay rights activists**

Many gay rights activists and others criticised him for maintaining the Church's unbroken opposition to homosexual behaviour and same-sex marriage. During John Paul II's reign, the Vatican described homosexuality as an "objective disorder" and in his own book *Memory and Identity* John Paul II describes the concept of gay families as an "ideology of evil",<sup>[79]</sup> phrases which incensed many parts of the LGBT community.<sup>[208]</sup>

### **Problems with Traditionalists**

In addition to all the criticism from those demanding modernisation, traditionalist Catholics sometimes denounced him as well. These issues included demanding a return to the Tridentine Mass<sup>[209]</sup> and repudiation of the reforms instituted after the Second Vatican Council, such as the use of the vernacular language in the formerly Latin Roman Rite Mass, ecumenism, and the principle of religious liberty. He was also accused by these critics for allowing and appointing liberal bishops in their sees and thus silently promoting Modernism, which was firmly condemned as the "synthesis of all heresies" by his predecessor Pope St. Pius X. In 1988, the controversial traditionalist Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, founder of the Society of St. Pius X (1970), was excommunicated under John Paul II because of the unapproved ordination of four bishops, which was called by the Holy See a "schismatic act".

The World Day of Prayer for Peace,<sup>[210]</sup> with a meeting in Assisi, Italy, in 1986, in which the Pope prayed only with the Christians,<sup>[211]</sup> was heavily criticised as giving the impression that syncretism and indifferentism were openly embraced by the Papal Magisterium. When a second 'Day of Prayer for Peace in the World'<sup>[212]</sup> was held, in 2002, it was condemned as confusing the laity and compromising to "false religions". Likewise criticised was his kissing<sup>[213]</sup> of the Qur'an in Damascus, Syria, on one of his travels on 6 May 2001. His call for religious freedom was not always supported; bishops like Antônio de Castro Mayer promoted religious tolerance, but at the same time rejected the Vatican II principle of religious liberty as being liberalist and already condemned by Pope Pius IX in his '*Syllabus errorum*' (1864) and at the First Vatican Council.

Some Catholics oppose his beatification and potential canonisation for the above reasons.<sup>[214]</sup>

## Religion and AIDS

John Paul's position against artificial birth control, including the use of condoms to prevent the spread of HIV,<sup>[189]</sup> was harshly criticised by doctors and AIDS activists, who said that it led to countless deaths and millions of AIDS orphans.<sup>[215]</sup> Critics have also claimed that large families are caused by lack of contraception and exacerbate Third World poverty and problems such as street children in South America. The Catholic Agency for Overseas Development published a paper stating, "Any strategy that enables a person to move from a higher-risk towards the lower end of the continuum, [we] believe, is a valid risk reduction strategy."<sup>[216]</sup>

## Centralisation

He was criticised for recentralising power back to the Vatican following what some viewed as a decentralisation by Pope John XXIII. As such he was regarded by some as a strict authoritarian. Conversely, he was also criticised for spending far too much time preparing for and undertaking foreign travel. The frequency of his trips, it was said, not only undermined the "specialness" of papal visits, but took him away from important business at the Vatican and allowed the Church, administratively speaking, to drift. Especially in South America, he was criticised for conservative bias in his appointments of bishops; with an unusually long reign of over 25 years, the majority of bishops in place at his death had been appointed by him.

## Social programs

There was strong criticism of the pope for the controversy surrounding the alleged use of charitable social programs as a means of converting people in the Third World to Catholicism.<sup>[217][218]</sup> The Pope created an uproar in the Indian subcontinent when he suggested that a great harvest of faith would be witnessed on the subcontinent in the third Christian millennium.<sup>[219]</sup>

## Protestant fundamentalists

In 1988, when Pope John Paul II was delivering a speech to the European Parliament, then-leader of the Democratic Unionist Party and Moderator of the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster, Ian Paisley, shouted "I denounce you as the antichrist!"<sup>[220]</sup> and held up a red banner reading "Pope John Paul II ANTICHRIST". Archduke Otto of Austria, the last Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary snatched Lord Paisley's banner and, along with other MEPs, helped eject him from the chamber.<sup>[221][222][223][224]</sup> The Pope continued with his address after Lord Paisley had been ejected.<sup>[221][225][226]</sup>

## Apologies

John Paul II apologised to almost every group who had suffered at the hands of the Catholic Church through the years.<sup>[39][227]</sup> Even before he became Pope, he was a prominent editor and supporter of initiatives like the Letter of Reconciliation of the Polish Bishops to the German Bishops from 1965. As Pope, he officially made public apologies for over 100 wrongdoings, including:

- The legal process on the Italian scientist and philosopher Galileo Galilei, himself a devout Catholic, around 1633 (31 October 1992).<sup>[145][228]</sup>
- Catholics' involvement with the African slave trade (9 August 1993).
- The Church Hierarchy's role in burnings at the stake and the religious wars that followed the Protestant Reformation (May 1995, in the Czech Republic).
- The injustices committed against women, the violation of women's rights and the historical denigration of women (10 July 1995, in a letter to "every woman").
- The inactivity and silence of many Catholics during the Holocaust (see the article Religion in Nazi Germany) (16 March 1998).



On 20 November 2001, from a laptop in the Vatican, Pope John Paul II sent his first e-mail apologising for the Catholic sex abuse cases, the Church-backed "Stolen Generations" of Aboriginal children in Australia, and to China for the behaviour of Catholic missionaries in colonial times.<sup>[229]</sup>

## Medjugorje apparitions

A number of quotes about the apparitions of Medjugorje have been attributed to John Paul II.<sup>[230]</sup> In 1998, when a certain German gathered various statements which were supposedly made by the Pope and Cardinal Ratzinger, and then forwarded them to the Vatican in the form of a memorandum, Ratzinger responded in writing on 22 July 1998: "The only thing I can say regarding statements on Medjugorje ascribed to the Holy Father and myself is that they are complete invention"<sup>[231]</sup>

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## Further reading


- For a comprehensive list of books written by and about Pope John Paul II, please see Bibliography of Pope John Paul II
- For other references see Cultural References to Pope John Paul II
- Works by or about Pope John Paul II (<http://worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n80-55818>) in libraries (WorldCat catalog)

## External links

- John Paul the Great Catholic University (<http://www.jpccatholic.com/>)
- The Holy See – The Holy Father – John Paul II ([http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/index.htm](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/index.htm))
- A Tribute to Pope John Paul II on the Occasion of his Beatification (<http://www.johnpaulii.va/en/>)

# Pope Leo I

Pope Saint Leo I	
	
Papacy began	29 September 440
Papacy ended	10 November 461
Predecessor	Sixtus III
Successor	Hilarius
Personal details	
Birth name	Leo
Born	c. 391 or 400 Tuscany, Western Roman Empire
Died	10 November 461 Rome, Western Roman Empire
Sainthood	
Feast day	10 November; 11 April
Venerated in	Roman Catholic and Eastern Catholic Churches, Eastern Orthodoxy, Anglicanism
Other Popes named Leo	

Papal styles of Pope Leo I	
	
Reference style	His Holiness
Spoken style	Your Holiness
Religious style	Holy Father
Posthumous style	Saint

**Pope Leo I**, also known as **Leo the Great** (c. 391 or 400 – 10 November 461) was the Bishop of Rome—the Pope—of the Catholic Church from 29 September 440 to his death on 10 November 461.

He was an Italian aristocrat, and was the first pope of the Catholic Church to have been called "the Great". He is perhaps best known for having met Attila the Hun in 452 and persuading him to turn back from his invasion of Italy. He is also a Doctor of the Church, most remembered theologically for issuing the Tome of Leo, a document which



was foundational to the debates of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon. The Council of Chalcedon, the fourth ecumenical council, dealt primarily with Christology, and elucidated the orthodox definition of Christ's being as the hypostatic union of two natures—divine and human—united in one person, "with neither confusion nor division". The Council of Chalcedon gave rise to the first major schism in Christian history, the Monophysite schism.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Early life

According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, he was a native of Tuscany. By 431, as a deacon, he occupied a sufficiently important position for Cyril of Alexandria to apply to him in order that Rome's influence should be thrown against the claims of Juvenal of Jerusalem to patriarchal jurisdiction over Palestine—unless this letter is addressed rather to Pope Celestine I. About the same time John Cassian dedicated to him the treatise against Nestorius written at his request. But nothing shows more plainly the confidence felt in him than his being chosen by the emperor to settle the dispute between Aëtius and Caecina Decius Aginatus Albinus, the two highest officials in Gaul.

During his absence on this mission, Pope Sixtus III died (11 August 440), and Leo was unanimously elected by the people to succeed him. On 29 September he entered upon a pontificate which was to be epoch-making for the centralization of the government of the Roman Church.

## Papal authority

### Decree of Valentinian

Leo was a significant contributor to the centralisation of spiritual authority within the Church and in reaffirming papal authority. While the bishop of Rome had always been viewed as the chief patriarch in the Western church, much of the pope's authority was delegated to local diocesan bishops. Not without serious opposition did he succeed in reasserting his authority in Gaul. Patroclus of Arles (d. 426) had received from Pope Zosimus the recognition of a subordinate primacy over the Gallican Church which was strongly asserted by his successor Hilary of Arles. An appeal from Chelidonius of Besançon gave Leo the opportunity to reassert the pope's authority over Hilary, who defended himself stoutly at Rome, refusing to recognize Leo's judicial status. Feeling that the primatial rights of the bishop of Rome were threatened, Leo appealed to the civil power for support, and obtained from Valentinian III the famous decree of June 6, 445, which recognized the primacy of the bishop of Rome based on the merits of Peter, the dignity of the city, and the Nicene Creed (in their interpolated form); ordained that any opposition to his rulings, which were to have the force of ecclesiastical law, should be treated as treason; and provided for the forcible extradition by provincial governors of anyone who refused to answer a summons to Rome. Faced with this decree, Hilary submitted to the pope, although under his successor, Ravennius, Leo divided the metropolitan rights between Arles and Vienne (450).

### Dispute with Dioscorus of Alexandria

In 445, Leo disputed with Patriarch Dioscorus, St. Cyril's successor as Patriarch of Alexandria, insisting that the ecclesiastical practice of his see should follow that of Rome on the basis that Mark the Evangelist, the disciple of Saint Peter and founder of the Alexandrian Church, could have had no other tradition than that of the prince of the apostles. This, of course, was not the position of the Copts, who saw the ancient patriarchates as equals.

### Other regions

Regarding Africa, the fact that the African province of Mauretania Caesariensis had been preserved to the empire and thus to the Nicene faith during the Vandal invasion, and in its isolation was disposed to rest on outside support, gave Leo an opportunity to assert his authority there, which he did decisively in regard to a number of questions of discipline.

Regarding Italy, in a letter to the bishops of Campania, Picenum, and Tuscany (443) he required the observance of all his precepts and those of his predecessors; and he sharply rebuked the bishops of Sicily (447) for their deviation from the Roman custom as to the time of baptism, requiring them to send delegates to the Roman synod to learn the proper practice.

Regarding Greece, because of the earlier line of division between the western and eastern parts of the Roman Empire, Illyria was ecclesiastically subject to Rome. Pope Innocent I had constituted the metropolitan of Thessalonica his vicar, in order to oppose the growing influence of the patriarch of Constantinople in the area. In a letter of about 446 to a successor bishop of Thessalonica, Anastasius, Leo reproached him for the way he had treated one of the metropolitan bishops subject to him; after giving various instructions about the functions entrusted to Anastasius and stressing that certain powers were reserved to the pope himself, Leo wrote: "The care of the universal Church should converge towards Peter's one seat, and nothing anywhere should be separated from its Head."<sup>[2]</sup>

## Council of Chalcedon

A favorable occasion for extending the authority of Rome in the East was offered in the renewal of the Christological controversy by Eutyches, who in the beginning of the conflict appealed to Leo and took refuge with him on his condemnation by Flavian. But on receiving full information from Flavian, Leo took his side decisively. In 451 at the Council of Chalcedon, after Leo's Tome<sup>[3]</sup> on the two natures of Christ was read out, the bishops participating in the Council cried out: "This is the faith of the fathers ... Peter has spoken thus through Leo ..."<sup>[4]</sup>

## Battling heresies

An uncompromising foe of heresy, Leo found that in the diocese of Aquileia, Pelagians were received into church communion without formal repudiation of their errors; he wrote to rebuke them, making accusations of culpable negligence, and required a solemn abjuration before a synod.

Manicheans fleeing before the Vandals had come to Rome in 439 and secretly organized there; Leo learned of this around 443, and proceeded against them by holding a public debate with their representatives, burning their books, and warning the Roman Christians against them.

Nor was his attitude less decided against the Priscillianists. Bishop Turrubius of Astorga, astonished at the spread of this sect in Spain, had addressed the other Spanish bishops on the subject, sending a copy of his letter to Leo, who took the opportunity to exercise Roman policy in Spain. He wrote an extended treatise (21 July 447), against the sect, examining its false teaching in detail, and calling for a Spanish general council to investigate whether it had any adherents in the episcopate, but this was prevented by the political circumstances of Spain.

## The *Tome*

At the Second Council of Ephesus (commonly called the Robber Council of Ephesus) in 449, Leo's representatives delivered his famous *Tome* (Latin text, a letter), or statement of the faith of the Roman Church in the form of a letter addressed to Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople, which repeats, in close adherence to Augustine, the formulas of western Christology. The council did not read the letter, and paid no attention to the protests of Leo's legates, but deposed Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, who appealed to Rome. Partially due to this, the council was never recognized as ecumenical, and was later repudiated by the Council of Chalcedon.

It was presented again at the subsequent Council of Chalcedon as offering a solution to the Christological controversies still raging between East and West. This time it was read out. The acts of the council report: "After the reading of the foregoing epistle, the most reverend bishops cried out: This is the faith of the fathers, this is the faith of the Apostles. So we all believe, thus the orthodox believe. Anathema to him who does not thus believe. Peter has spoken thus through Leo. So taught the Apostles. Piously and truly did Leo teach, so taught Cyril. Everlasting be the memory of Cyril. Leo and Cyril taught the same thing, anathema to him who does not so believe. This is the true

faith. Those of us who are orthodox thus believe. This is the faith of the fathers. Why were not these things read at Ephesus? These are the things Dioscorus hid away."<sup>[5]</sup><sup>[6]</sup>

## Politics of East and West

Leo demanded of the emperor that an ecumenical council should be held in Italy, and in the meantime, at a Roman synod in October 449, repudiated all the decisions of the "Robber Synod". Without going into a critical examination of its dogmatic decrees, in his letters to the emperor and others he demanded the deposition of Eutyches as a Manichean and Docetic heretic.

With the death of Theodosius II in 450 and the sudden change in the Eastern situation, Anatolius, the new patriarch of Constantinople fulfilled Leo's requirements, and his *Tome* was everywhere read and recognized.

Leo was now no longer desirous of having a council, especially since it was not to be held in Italy. Instead, it was called to meet at Nicaea, then subsequently transferred to Chalcedon, where his legates held at least an honorary presidency, and where the bishops recognized him as the interpreter of the voice of Peter and as the head of their body, requesting of him the confirmation of their decrees.

He firmly declined to confirm their disciplinary arrangements, which seemed to allow Constantinople a practically equal authority with Rome and regarded the civil importance of a city as a determining factor in its ecclesiastical position; but he strongly supported its dogmatic decrees, especially when, after the accession of Leo I the Thracian (457), there seemed to be a disposition toward compromise with the Eutychians.

He succeeded in having an imperial patriarch, and not the Oriental Orthodox Pope Timotheus Aelurus, chosen as Coptic Orthodox Pope of Alexandria on the murder of Greek Patriarch Proterius of Alexandria.

The approaching collapse of the Western Empire gave Leo a further opportunity to appear as the representative of lawful authority.

## Leo and Attila

In 452, Attila invaded Italy, sacking cities such as Aquileia and heading for Rome. He allegedly demanded that the sister of the reigning Emperor Valentinian III be sent to him with a dowry. In response, the Emperor sent three envoys to negotiate with Attila: Gennadius Avienus, one of the consuls of 450, Memmius Aemilius Trygetius, the former urban prefect, and Leo. We do not know much about the negotiations, but Attila

withdrew. This outcome has been debated among historians for centuries. A large sum of gold that the pope possibly carried with him or Attila's logistical and strategic concerns may have been the true reasons for Attila's mercy. His army was probably laden with booty from plunder; a plague broke out in northern Italy; food shortages may also be responsible for Attila's withdrawal, as well as military actions of the Eastern Emperor Marcianus on the Danube frontier. Furthermore, we know next to nothing of the whereabouts of Aëtius at that time; perhaps Attila or his warriors felt endangered by their arch-enemy from the Catalaunian plains. The pope's plea for mercy may well have merely served as an honorable excuse for not continuing on and sacking the Roman capital.

John B. Bury remarked:

"The fact of the embassy cannot be doubted. The distinguished ambassadors visited the Hun's camp near the south shore of Lake Garda. It is also certain that Attila suddenly retreated. But we are at a loss to know what considerations



Raphael's *The Meeting between Leo the Great and Attila* depicts Leo, escorted by Saint Peter and Saint Paul, meeting with the Hun king outside Rome

were offered him to induce him to depart. It is unreasonable to suppose that this heathen king would have cared for the thunders or persuasions of the Church. The Emperor refused to surrender Honoria, and it is not recorded that money was paid. A trustworthy chronicle hands down another account which does not conflict with the fact that an embassy was sent, but evidently furnishes the true reasons which moved Attila to receive it favourably. Plague broke out in the barbarian host and their food ran short, and at the same time troops arrived from the east, sent by Marcian to the aid of Italy. If his host was suffering from pestilence, and if troops arrived from the east, we can understand that Attila was forced to withdraw. But whatever terms were arranged, he did not pretend that they meant a permanent peace. The question of Honoria was left unsettled, and he threatened that he would come again and do worse things in Italy unless she were given up with the due portion of the Imperial possessions."<sup>[7]</sup>

However, Christian historians celebrated Leo's actions, giving him all the credit for this successful embassy. According to Prosper of Aquitaine, Attila was so impressed by Leo that he withdrew.<sup>[8]</sup> Jordanes says that Attila was afraid of sharing the fate of the Visigothic king Alaric, who died shortly after sacking Rome in 410.<sup>[9]</sup> Paul the Deacon, in the late 8th century, relates that an enormously huge man dressed in priestly robes and armed with a naked sword, visible only to Attila, threatened him and his army with death during his discourse with Leo, and this prompted Attila to submit to his request.<sup>[10]</sup> Unfortunately Leo's intercession could not prevent the sack of the city by the Vandals in 455, but murder and arson were repressed by his influence. He died probably on November 10, 461.

## On Dignity and Equality

In his *Nativitate Domini*, in the Christmas Day sermon "Christian, Remember your Dignity" Leo appears to articulate a fundamental and inclusive human dignity and equality: The saint, the sinner, and the unbeliever are all equal as sinners, and none is excluded in the call to "happiness":

Our Saviour, dearly-beloved, was born today: let us be glad. For there is no proper place for sadness, when we keep the birthday of the Life, which destroys the fear of mortality and brings to us the joy of promised eternity. No one is kept from sharing in this happiness. There is for all one common measure of joy, because as our Lord the destroyer of sin and death finds none free from charge, so is He come to free us all. Let the saint exult in that he draws near to victory. Let the sinner be glad in that he is invited to pardon. Let the gentile take courage in that he is called to life.<sup>[11]</sup>

## Leo's significance

The significance of Leo's pontificate lies in his assertion of the universal jurisdiction of the Roman bishop, as expressed in his letters, and still more in his 96 extant orations. This assertion is commonly referred to as the doctrine of Petrine supremacy.

According to Leo and several Church Fathers, as well as certain interpretations of the Scriptures, the Church is built upon Peter, in pursuance of the promise of Matthew 16:16-19. Peter participates in everything which is Christ's; what the other apostles have in common with him they have through him. What is true of Peter is true also of his successors. Every other bishop is charged with the care of his particular flock, the Roman pontiff with that of the whole Church. Other bishops are his assistants in this great task. In Leo's eyes the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon acquired their validity from his confirmation.

Leo's letters and sermons reflect the many aspects of his career and personality, including his great personal influence for good, and are invaluable historical sources. His rhythmic prose style, called *cursus leonicus*, influenced ecclesiastical language for centuries.

The Roman Catholic Church marks November 10 as the feast day of Saint Leo, given in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum and the 8th-century Calendar of Saint Willibrord as the date of his death and entry to heaven. His feast was once celebrated in Rome on June 28, the anniversary of the placing of his relics in Saint Peter's Basilica,

but in the 12th century the Gallican Rite feast of April 11 was admitted to the General Roman Calendar, which maintained that date until 1969.<sup>[12]</sup> Some traditionalist Catholics continue to observe pre-1970 versions of that calendar.

The Eastern Catholic Churches as well as the Eastern Orthodox Church celebrate Saint Leo on February 18.

## Burial

Leo was originally buried in his own monument. However, some years after his death, his remains were put into a tomb that contained the first four Pope Leos. In the 18th century Leo the Great's relics were separated from those of the other Leo's and he was given his own chapel.<sup>[13]</sup>

## Hymns

Troparion (Tone 3)

You were the Church's instrument  
in strengthening the teaching of true doctrine;  
you shone forth from the West like a sun dispelling the errors of the heretics.  
Righteous Leo, entreat Christ God to grant us His great mercy.

Troparion (Tone 8)

O Champion of Orthodoxy, and teacher of holiness,  
The enlightenment of the universe and the inspired glory of true believers.  
O most wise Father Leo, your teachings are as music of the Holy Spirit for us!  
Pray that Christ our God may save our souls!

Kontakion (Tone 3)

Seated upon the throne of the priesthood, glorious Leo,  
you shut the mouths of the spiritual lions.  
With divinely inspired teachings of the honored Trinity,  
you shed the light of the knowledge of God up-on your flock.  
Therefore, you are glorified as a divine initiate of the grace of God.


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- St Leo the Great the Pope of Rome (<http://ocafs.oca.org/FeastSaintsViewer.asp?SID=4&ID=1&FSID=100553>) Orthodox icon and synaxarion
- Opera Omnia by Migne Patrologia Latina with analytical indexes ([http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/01\\_01\\_0440-0461-\\_Leo\\_I,\\_Magnus,\\_Sanctus.html](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/01_01_0440-0461-_Leo_I,_Magnus,_Sanctus.html))

## External links

- "St. Leo the Great, Pope" (<http://www.bartleby.com/210/4/111.html>), *Butler's Lives of the Saints*
- St Leo of Rome (<http://ocafs.oca.org/FeastSaintsViewer.asp?SID=4&ID=1&FSID=100553>) Orthodox Synaxarion (February 18)
- Early Church Fathers: Leo the Great (<http://earlyfathers.com/leo-the-great/>)



# Macarius of Egypt

Saint Macarius of Egypt	
 <p>An icon of Saint Macarius of Egypt</p>	
<b>Born</b>	ca. 300 Shabsheer (Shanshour), Al Minufiyah Governorate, Egypt
<b>Died</b>	391 Scetes, Egypt
<b>Honored in</b>	Roman Catholic Church Eastern Orthodox Churches Oriental Orthodox Churches
<b>Major shrine</b>	Monastery of Saint Macarius the Great, Scetes, Egypt
<b>Feast</b>	15 January (West) 19 January (Eastern Orthodox) 27 Paremhat (= 4 April) (Oriental Orthodox)

**Macarius of Egypt** (ca. 300 – 391) was an Egyptian Christian monk and hermit. He is also known as **Macarius the Elder**, **Macarius the Great** and **The Lamp of the Desert**.

## Life

Macarius was born in Upper Egypt. A late tradition places his birthplace in the village of Shabsheer (Shanshour), in Al Minufiyah Governorate, Egypt around 300 A.D. At some point before his pursuit of asceticism, Macarius made his living smuggling niter in the vicinity of Nitria, a vocation which taught him how to survive in and travel across the wastes in that area.<sup>[1]</sup>

At a young age, Macarius was forced to get married against his will. Thus, he pretended to be sick and ask for his parents' permission to go to the wilderness to relax. At his return, he found that his wife had died, and shortly after, his parents departed as well. Macarius subsequently distributed all his money among the poor and needy. Seeing his virtues, the people of his village brought him to the bishop of Ashmoun who ordained him priest.

A while later, a pregnant woman accused him of having defiled her. Macarius did not attempt to defend himself, and accepted the accusation in silence. However, when the woman's delivery drew near, her labor became exceedingly difficult. She did not manage to give birth until she confessed Macarius's innocence. A multitude of people then came asking for his forgiveness, but he fled to the Nitrian Desert to escape all mundane glory.

While at the desert, he visited Anthony the Great and learned from him the laws and rules of monasticism. When he returned to the Scetic Desert at the age of forty, he presided over its monastic community for the rest of his life. Ten years after going into the desert, he became a priest.<sup>[2]</sup>

For a brief period of time, Macarius was banished to an island in the Nile by the Emperor Valens, along with Saint Macarius of Alexandria, during a dispute over the doctrine of the Nicene Creed. At their return on 13 Paremhat, they were met by a multitude of monks of the Nitrian Desert, numbered fifty thousand, among whom were Saint Pishoy and Saint John the Dwarf.

## Death and Relics

Macarius died in the year 391. After his death, the natives of his village of Shabsheer stole the body and built a great church for him in their village. During the papacy of Pope Michael V of Alexandria, who brought the relics of Saint Macarius back to the Nitrian Desert on 19 Messori. Today, the body of Saint Macarius is found in his monastery, the Monastery of Saint Macarius the Great in Scetes, Egypt.

## Legacy and Monastery

Macarius is a saint in the Roman Catholic Church and Eastern Catholic Churches, the Eastern Orthodox Churches, and the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Saint Macarius of Egypt founded a monastery that bears his name, the Monastery of Saint Macarius the Great, which has been continuously inhabited by monks since its foundation in the fourth century. Today it belongs to the Coptic Orthodox Church. The entirety of the Nitrian Desert is sometimes called *the Desert of Macarius*, for he was the pioneer monk in the region. The ruins of numerous monasteries in this region almost confirm the local tradition that the cloisters of Macarius were equal in number to the days of the year.

## Writings



St. Macarius the Great standing next to a seraph.

Gennadius (*De viris illustribus* 10) recognizes only one genuine letter of Macarius, which is addressed to younger monks. Although fifty *Spiritual Homilies* were ascribed to Macarius a few generations after his death, modern patristic scholars have established that it is not likely that Macarius the Egyptian was their author.<sup>[3]</sup> Exactly who the author of these fifty *Spiritual Homilies* was has not been definitively established, although it is evident from statements in them that the author was from Upper Mesopotamia, where the Roman Empire bordered the Persian Empire, and that they were not written later than 534.<sup>[4]</sup> In addition to the homilies, a number of letters have been ascribed to Macarius. The first letter, called "Ad filios Dei," may indeed be the genuine letter by Macarius the Egyptian that is mentioned by Gennadius (*Vir. Ill.* 10), but the other letters are probably not by Macarius. The second letter, the so-called "Great Letter" used the *De instituto christiana* of Gregory of Nyssa, which was written c. 390; the style and content of the "Great Letter" suggest that its author is the same anonymous Mesopotamian who wrote the fifty *Spiritual Homilies*.<sup>[5]</sup>

The seven so-called *Opuscula ascetica* edited under his name by Petrus Possinus (Paris, 1683) are merely later compilations from the homilies, made by Simeon the Logothete, who is probably identical with Simeon Metaphrastes (d. 950). The teachings of Macarius are characterized by a strong Pneumatic emphasis that closely intertwines the salvific work of Jesus Christ (as the 'Spirit of Christ') with the supernatural workings of the Holy Spirit. This 'Pneumatic' thrust in the *Spiritual Homilies* is often termed 'mystical'

and as such is a spiritual mode of thought which has endeared him to Christian mystics of all ages, although, on the other hand, in his anthropology and soteriology he frequently approximates the standpoint of St. Augustine. Certain passages of his homilies assert the entire depravity of man, while others postulate free will, even after the fall of Adam, and presuppose a tendency toward virtue, or, in semi-Pelagian fashion, ascribe to man the power to attain a degree of readiness to receive salvation.

The debate concerning the 'extraordinary giftings' of the Holy Spirit in the post-apostolic age is given textual support by the Macarian Homilies in favor of a post-apostolic attestation of 'miraculous' Pneumatic giftings to include healings, visions, exorcisms, etc. The Macarian Homilies have thus influenced Pietist groups ranging from the Spiritual Franciscans (West) to Eastern Orthodox monastic practice to John Wesley to modern charismatic Christianity.

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Macarius was not semi-Pelagian. He fought Pelagianism, specifically the Messalians, who argued that by struggling against Satan, one could compel grace to be drawn down. Macarius was clear that theosis or sanctification was the work of the Holy Spirit, Who entered the believers at baptism. His work was the forerunner and held argument with Augustine's latter and more popularized writings against Pelagius.

John Meyendorff *St Gergory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*, page 21

## External links

- Spiritual Homilies 1-5 ([http://www.seanmultimedia.com/Pie\\_Macarius\\_Egyptian\\_Homilies\\_1-5.html](http://www.seanmultimedia.com/Pie_Macarius_Egyptian_Homilies_1-5.html)), 6-11 ([http://www.seanmultimedia.com/Pie\\_Macarius\\_Egyptian\\_Homilies\\_6-11.html](http://www.seanmultimedia.com/Pie_Macarius_Egyptian_Homilies_6-11.html)), 12-22 ([http://www.seanmultimedia.com/Pie\\_Macarius\\_Egyptian\\_Homilies\\_12-22.html](http://www.seanmultimedia.com/Pie_Macarius_Egyptian_Homilies_12-22.html))
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# Pope Nicholas I

Saint Nicholas I	
	
Papacy began	24 April 858
Papacy ended	13 November 867
Predecessor	Benedict III
Successor	Adrian II
Personal details	
Birth name	???
Born	c. 800 ???
Died	13 November 867 ???
Other Popes named Nicholas	

**Pope Nicholas I**, (c. 800 – 13 November 867), or **Saint Nicholas the Great**, reigned from 24 April 858 until his death. He is remembered as a consolidator of papal authority and power, exerting decisive influence upon the historical development of the papacy and its position among the Christian nations of Western Europe. Nicholas asserted that the pope should have suzerain authority over all Christians, even royalty, in matters of faith and morals.<sup>[1]</sup>

He is venerated as a saint in the Roman Catholic Church, with a feast day on 13 November.<sup>[2]</sup>

He refused to grant an annulment to King Lothair II of Lotharingia from Teutberga so that Lothar could marry his mistress Waldrada. When a Council pronounced in favor of annulment, Nicholas I declared the Council to be deposed, its messengers excommunicated, and its decisions void. Despite pressure from the Carolingians, who laid siege to Rome, his decision held. During his reign, relations with the Byzantine Empire soured over his support for Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had been removed from his post in favor of Photius.

## Early life

Born to a distinguished family in Rome, son of the Defensor Theodore, Nicholas received excellent training. Distinguished for his piety, benevolence, competence, knowledge, and eloquence, he entered the service of the Church at an early age. He was made a subdeacon by Pope Sergius II (844–847) and a deacon by Leo IV (847–855). After the death of Benedict III (7 April 858), Holy Roman Emperor Louis II, who was in the neighbourhood of Rome, came into the city to exert his influence upon the election. On 24 April Nicholas was elected pope, consecrated, and enthroned in St. Peter's Basilica in the presence of the emperor. Three days after, he held a farewell banquet for the emperor and afterward, accompanied by the Roman nobility, visited him in his camp before the city, on which occasion the emperor came to meet the pope and led his horse for some distance.

## Papacy

To a spiritually exhausted and politically uncertain Western Europe beset by Muslim and Norse incursions, Pope Nicholas appeared as a conscientious representative of Roman primacy in the Church. He was filled with a high conception of his mission for the vindication of Christian morality and the defence of God's law against powerful, worldly failings.

## Bishops

Archbishop John of Ravenna oppressed the inhabitants of the papal territory, treated his suffragan bishops with violence, made unjust demands upon them for money, and illegally imprisoned priests. He also forged documents to support his claims against the Roman See and maltreated the papal legates. As the warnings of the pope were without result, and the archbishop ignored a thrice-repeated summons to appear before the papal tribunal, he was excommunicated. Having first visited the Emperor Louis at Pavia, the archbishop repaired, with two imperial delegates to Rome, where Nicholas cited him before the Roman synod assembled in the autumn of 860. Upon this John fled from Rome.

Going in person to Ravenna, the pope then investigated and equitably regulated everything. Again appealing to the emperor, the archbishop was recommended by him to submit to the pope, which he did at the Roman Synod of November 861. Later on, however, he entered into a pact with the excommunicated Archbishops of Trier and Cologne, was himself again excommunicated, and once more forced to make his submission to the pope. Another conflict arose between Nicholas and Archbishop Hincmar of Reims: this concerned the prerogatives of the papacy. Bishop Rothad of Soissons had appealed to the pope against the decision of the Synod of Soissons of 861, which had deposed him. Hincmar opposed the appeal to the pope, but eventually had to acknowledge the right of the papacy to take cognizance of important legal causes (*causae majores*) and pass independent judgment upon them. A further dispute broke out between Hincmar and the pope as to the elevation of the cleric Wulfad to the archiepiscopal See of Bourges, but here again, Hincmar finally submitted to the decrees of the Apostolic See, and the Frankish synods passed corresponding ordinances.

## Marriage laws

Nicholas showed the same zeal in other efforts to maintain ecclesiastical discipline, especially as to the marriage laws. Ingiltrud, wife of Count Boso, had left her husband for a paramour; Nicholas commanded the bishops in the dominions of Charles the Bald to excommunicate her unless she returned to her husband. As she paid no attention to the summons to appear before the Synod of Milan in 860, she was put under the ban.

The pope was also involved in a desperate struggle with the bishops of Lotharingia over the inviolability of marriage. King Lothair II had abandoned his lawful wife Teutberga to marry Waldrada. At the Synod of Aachen on 28 April 862, the bishops of Lotharingia approved this union, contrary to ecclesiastical law. At the Synod of Metz, June 863, the papal legates, bribed by the king, assented to the Aachen decision, and condemned the absent Teutberga. Upon this the pope brought the matter before his own tribunal. The two archbishops, Günther of Cologne and Thietgaud of Trier, who had come to Rome as delegates, were summoned before the Lateran Synod of October 863, when the pope condemned and deposed them as well as John of Ravenna and Hagano of Bergamo. The Emperor Louis II took up the cause of the deposed bishops, while King Lothair advanced upon Rome with an army and laid siege to the city, so that the pope was confined for two days in St. Peter's without food. Yet Nicholas did not waver in his determination; after being reconciled with the pope, the emperor withdrew from Rome and commanded the former Archbishops of Trier and Cologne to return to their homes. Nicholas never ceased his efforts to bring about a reconciliation between Lothair and his lawful wife, but without effect.

Another matrimonial case in which Nicholas interposed was that of Judith of Flanders, daughter of Charles the Bald, who had married Baldwin I, Count of Flanders, without her father's consent. Frankish bishops had excommunicated Judith, and Hincmar of Reims had taken sides against her, but Nicholas urged leniency in order to protect freedom of marriage.

## Relations with the Eastern Church

Nicholas was seen in the East as trying to extend his papal power beyond what was the canonical authority asserting a "rulership" over the Church instead of the position of "highest honor among equals" accorded to the pope of Rome by the East. He contended that the Patriarch of Constantinople Ignatius was deposed in 857 and Photius raised to the patriarchal see in violation of ecclesiastical law. In a letter of 8 May 862 addressed to the patriarchs of the East, Nicholas called upon them and all their bishops to refuse recognition to Photius, and at a Roman synod held in April 863, he excommunicated Photius.

By the will of the Byzantine Emperor Michael III, Photius was elected lawfully and canonically in 858 according to the Church of Constantinople. This was affirmed later in 879 in a council regarded as ecumenical by some in the Orthodox Church. Ignatius' elevation to the Patriarchate was declared to be uncanonical and Photius was acclaimed as properly elected as the new Patriarch. This led to conflict between Constantinople and Rome over doctrinal issues such as the addition of the Filioque clause to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and territorial claims due to the Church of Constantinople's seizure of territory from the Roman Patriarchate in southern Italy and Sicily. The Eastern Church also resented Nicholas' pressing of the doctrine of papal primacy. A synod at Constantinople in 867 excommunicated Nicholas and rejected his claims of primacy, his efforts to convert Bulgaria to the obedience of the Roman Church, and the addition of the Filioque clause in parts of the Latin Church.

For a variety of reasons, Prince Boris I of Bulgaria became interested in converting to Christianity and undertook to do that at the hands of western clergymen to be supplied by King Louis the German of East Francia in 863. Late in the same year, the Byzantine Empire invaded Bulgaria as it suffered famine and natural disasters. Boris was forced to sue for peace. Because the majority of his people were still opposed to Christianity, he was secretly baptized according to the Byzantine rite. The Byzantine Emperor who became his godfather conceded territory in Thrace to him.

Unhappy with Byzantine influence and desiring an autocephalous status which Photius was unwilling to grant, Boris sent an embassy to Nicholas with 106 questions on the teaching and discipline of the Church in August 866.



Nicholas answered these inquiries in his "*Responsa Nicolai ad consulta Bulgarorum*" (Giovanni Domenico Mansi, "Coll. Conc.", XV, 401 sqq.) and sent missionaries under the papal legate bishop Formosus (later Pope Formosus). When Pope Adrian II rejected Boris's request that either Formosus or Deacon Marinus (later Pope Marinus I) be made Archbishop of Bulgaria, Boris began to look again towards Constantinople. In 870 a council of Constantinople granted the Church of Bulgaria autocephalous status and Greek priests were sent as missionaries; they were soon replaced by Bulgarians.

## Legacy

Nicholas encouraged the missionary activity of the Church. He sanctioned the union of the Sees of Bremen and Hamburg, and confirmed to St. Anschar, Archbishop of Bremen, and his successors the office of papal legate to the Danes, Swedes, and Slavs. In many other ecclesiastical matters, he issued letters and decisions, and he took active measures against bishops who neglected their duties.

In Rome, Nicholas rebuilt and endowed several churches, and constantly sought to encourage religious life. His led a pious personal life guided by a spirit of Christian asceticism. Regino of Prüm reports that Nicholas was highly esteemed by the citizens of Rome and by his contemporaries generally (*Chronicon*, "ad annum 868," in "Mon. Germ. Hist." Script., I.579). After his death he was regarded as a saint.


A question that is important in judging the integrity of this pope is whether he made use of the forged pseudo-Isidorian papal decretals. After exhaustive investigation, Schrörs has decided that the pope was neither acquainted with the pseudo-Isidorian collection in its entire extent, nor did he make use of its individual parts. He perhaps had a general knowledge of the false decretals, but did not base his view of the law upon them and owed his knowledge of them solely to documents that came to him from the Frankish Empire [Schrörs, "*Papst Nikolaus I. und Pseudo-Isidor*" in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXV (1904), 1 sqq.; Idem, "*Die pseudoisidorische 'Exceptio spoli'*" bei *Papst Nikolaus I*" in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXVI (1905), 275 sqq.].

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## External links

- Opera Omnia by Migne Patrologia Latina with analytical indexes ([http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/01\\_01\\_0858-0867-\\_Nicholaus\\_I,\\_Magnus,\\_Sanctus.html](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/01_01_0858-0867-_Nicholaus_I,_Magnus,_Sanctus.html))

# Photios I of Constantinople

Photios



Greek icon: Saint Photios

The Great

Born	c. 820 Constantinople
Died	February 6, 893 Bordi, Armenia
Honored in	Eastern Orthodox Church
Feast	February 6/19

**Photios I** (; Greek: Φώτιος, *Phōtios*; c. 810 – c. 893<sup>a[1]</sup>), also spelled **Photius** or **Fotios**, was the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople from 858 to 867 and from 877 to 886. He is recognized in the Eastern Orthodox churches and Byzantine Catholic churches as **St. Photios the Great**.

Photios is widely regarded as the most powerful and influential Patriarch of Constantinople since John Chrysostom, and as the most important intellectual of his time, "the leading light of the ninth-century renaissance".<sup>[1]</sup> He was a central figure in both the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity and the Photian schism.<sup>[2]</sup>

Photios was a well-educated man from a noble Constantinopolitan family. Photius's great uncle was the previous Patriarch of Constantinople, Tarasius.<sup>[3]</sup> He intended to be a monk, but chose to be a scholar and statesman instead. In 858, Emperor Michael III (r. 842–867) deposed Patriarch Ignatius of Constantinople, and Photios, still a layman, was appointed in his place.<sup>[4]</sup> Amid power struggles between the pope and the Byzantine emperor, Ignatius was reinstated.<sup>[4]</sup> Photios resumed the position when Ignatius died (877), by order of the Byzantine emperor.<sup>[4]</sup> The new pope, John VIII, approved Photios's reinstatement.<sup>[5]</sup> Catholics regard a Fourth Council of Constantinople (Roman Catholic) as anathematizing Photios as legitimate.<sup>[4]</sup> Eastern Orthodox regard a second council named the Fourth Council of Constantinople (Eastern Orthodox), reversing the first, as legitimate.<sup>[4]</sup> The contested Ecumenical Councils mark the end of unity represented by the first seven Ecumenical Councils.

## Biography

### Secular life

Most of the primary sources treating Photios's life are written by persons hostile to him. Modern scholars are thus cautious when assessing the accuracy of the information these sources provide.<sup>b[1]</sup> Little is known of Photios's origin and early years. It is known that he was born into a notable family and that his uncle Tarasios had been the Patriarch of Constantinople from 784–806 under both Empress Irene (r. 797–802) and Emperor Nikephoros I (r. 802–811).<sup>[6]</sup> During the second Iconoclasm, his family suffered persecution since his father, Sergios, was a prominent iconophile.

Sergios's family returned to favor only after the restoration of the icons in 842.<sup>[7]</sup> Certain scholars assert that Photios was, at least in part, of Armenian descent<sup>c[8]</sup> while other scholars merely refer to him as a "Greek Byzantine".<sup>[8]</sup> Byzantine writers also report that Emperor Michael III (r. 842–867) once angrily called Photios "Khazar-faced", but whether this was a generic insult or a reference to his ethnicity is unclear.<sup>[9]</sup>

Although Photios had an excellent education, we have no information about how he received this education.<sup>d[1]</sup> The famous library he possessed attests to his enormous erudition (theology, history, grammar, philosophy, law, the natural sciences, and medicine).<sup>[10]</sup> Most scholars believe that he never taught at Magnaura or at any other university;<sup>[11]</sup> Vasileios N. Tatakes asserts that, even while he was patriarch, Photios taught "young students passionately eager for knowledge" at his home, which "was a center of learning".<sup>[10]</sup>

Photios says that, when he was young, he had an inclination for the monastic life, but instead he started a secular career. The way to public life was probably opened for him by (according to one account) the marriage of his brother Sergios to Irene, a sister of the Empress Theodora, who upon the death of her husband Emperor Theophilos (r. 829–842) in 842, had assumed the regency of the Byzantine Empire. Photios became a captain of the guard (*prōtopatharios*) and subsequently chief imperial secretary (*protasēkrētis*). At an uncertain date, Photios participated in an embassy to the Abbasids of Baghdad.<sup>[12]</sup>

## Patriarch of Constantinople

Photios's ecclesiastical career took off spectacularly after Caesar Bardas and his nephew, the youthful Emperor Michael, put an end to the administration of the regent Theodora and the logothete of the drome Theoktistos in 856. In 858, Bardas found himself opposed by the then Patriarch Ignatios, who refused to admit him into Hagia Sophia, since it was believed that he was having an affair with his widowed daughter-in-law, Eudoxia Ingerina. In response, Bardas and Michael engineered Ignatios's deposition and confinement on the charge of treason, thus leaving the patriarchal throne empty. The throne was soon filled with a kinsman of Bardas, Photios himself; he was tonsured on December 20, 858, and on the four following days he was successively ordained lector, sub-deacon, deacon and priest. He was consecrated as Patriarch of Constantinople on Christmas Day.<sup>[13]</sup>

The deposition of Ignatios and the sudden promotion of Photios caused scandal and ecclesiastical division on an oecumenical scale as the Pope and the rest of the western bishops took up the cause of Ignatios. The latter's deposition without a formal ecclesiastical trial meant that Photios's election was uncanonical, and eventually Pope Nicholas I, as senior patriarch, sought to involve himself in determining the legitimacy of the succession. His legates were dispatched to Constantinople with instructions to investigate, but finding Photios well ensconced, they acquiesced in the confirmation of his election at a synod in 861. On their return to Rome, they discovered that this was not at all what Nicholas had intended, and in 863 at a synod in Rome the pope deposed Photios, and reappointed Ignatios as the rightful patriarch. Four years later, Photios was to respond on his own part by calling a Council and excommunicating the pope on grounds of heresy – over the question of the double procession of the Holy Spirit.<sup>[14]</sup> The situation was additionally complicated by the question of papal authority over the entire Church and by disputed jurisdiction over newly-converted Bulgaria. As Photios had been targeted by Pope Nicholas to be removed from his position and to be subjected to vitriol attacks with charges of ambition for power.<sup>[15]</sup>

This state of affairs changed with the murder of Photios's patron Bardas in 866 and of Emperor Michael III in 867, by his colleague Basil the Macedonian, who now usurped the throne. Photios was deposed as patriarch, not so much because he was a protégé of Bardas and Michael, but because Basil I was seeking an alliance with the Pope and the western emperor. Photios was removed from his office and banished about the end of September 867, and Ignatios was reinstated on November 23. Photios was condemned by the Council of 869–870. During his second patriarchate, Ignatios followed a policy not very different from that of Photios.

Not long after his condemnation, Photios had reingratiated himself with Basil, and became tutor to the Byzantine emperor's children. From surviving letters of Photios written during his exile at the Skepi monastery, it appears that the ex-patriarch brought pressure to bear on the Byzantine emperor to restore him. Ignatios's biographer argues that

Photios forged a document relating to the genealogy and rule of Basil's family, and had it placed in the imperial library where a friend of his was a librarian. According to this document, the Byzantine emperor's ancestors were not mere peasants as everyone believed but descendants of the Arsacid Dynasty of Armenia.<sup>[16]</sup> True or not, this story does reveal Basil's dependence on Photios for literary and ideological matters. Following Photios's recall, Ignatios and the ex-patriarch met, and publicly expressed their reconciliation. When Ignatios died on October 23, 877, it was a matter of course that his old opponent replaced him on the patriarchal throne three days later. Shaun Tougher asserts that from this point on Basil no longer simply depended on Photios, but in fact he was dominated by him.<sup>[17]</sup>

Photios now obtained the formal recognition of the Christian world in a council convened at Constantinople in November 879. The legates of Pope John VIII attended, prepared to acknowledge Photios as legitimate patriarch, a concession for which the pope was much censured by Latin opinion. The patriarch stood firm on the main points contested between the Eastern and Western Churches, the demanded apology to the Pope, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bulgaria, and the introduction of the *filioque* clause into the Nicene creed. Eventually, Photios refused to apologize or accept the *filioque*, and the papal legates made do with his return of Bulgaria to Rome. This concession, however, was purely nominal, as Bulgaria's return to the Byzantine rite in 870 had already secured for it an autocephalous church. Without the consent of Boris I of Bulgaria (r. 852–889), the papacy was unable to enforce its claims.

During the altercations between Emperor Basil I and his heir Leo VI, Photios took the side of the Byzantine emperor. In 883, Basil accused Leo of conspiracy and confined the prince to the palace; he would have even blinded him had he not been dissuaded by Photios and Stylianos Zaoutzes, the father of Zoe Zaoutzaina, Leo's mistress.<sup>[18]</sup> In 886, Basil discovered and punished a conspiracy by the domestic of the *Hikanatoi* John Kourkouas and many other officials. In this conspiracy, Leo was not implicated, but Photios was possibly one of the conspirators against Basil's authority.<sup>[19]</sup>

Basil died in 886 injured while hunting, according to the official story. Warren T. Treadgold believes that this time the evidence points to a plot on behalf of Leo VI, who became an emperor, and dismissed Photios, although the latter had been his tutor.<sup>[20]</sup> Photios was replaced by the Byzantine emperor's brother Stephen, and sent into exile to the monastery of Bordi in Armenia. It is confirmed from letters to and from Pope Stephen that Leo extracted a resignation from Photios. In 887, Leo was put on trial for treason, but no conviction against the ex-patriarch had been secured; the main witness, Theodore Santabarenos, refused to testify that Photios was behind Leo's removal from power in 883, and after the trial faced the Byzantine emperor's wrath. As a *persona non grata*, Photios probably returned to his enforced monastic retirement. Yet it appears that he did not remain reviled for the remainder of his life.<sup>[21]</sup>

Photios continued his career as a writer during the reign of Emperor Leo VI who probably rehabilitated his reputation within the next few years; in his *Epitaphios* on his brothers, a text probably written in 888, the Byzantine emperor presents Photios favorably, portraying him as the legitimate archbishop, and the instrument of ultimate unity, an image that jars with his attitude to the patriarch in 886–887.<sup>[22]</sup> Confirmation that Photios was rehabilitated comes upon his death: according to some chronicles, his body was permitted to be buried in Constantinople. In addition, according to the anti-Photian biographer of Ignatius, partisans of the ex-patriarch after his death endeavored to claim for him the "honor of sainthood". Furthermore, a leading member of Leo's court, Leo Choirospaktes, wrote poems commemorating the memory of several prominent contemporary figures, such as Leo the Mathematician and the Patriarch Stephen, and he also wrote one on Photios.<sup>[23]</sup> Shaun Tougher notes, however, that "yet Photios's passing does seem rather muted for a great figure of Byzantine history [...] Leo [...] certainly did not allow him back into the sphere of politics, and it is surely his absence from this arena that accounts for his quiet passing."<sup>[24]</sup>

The Eastern Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic churches venerate Photios as a saint; his feast day is February 6.

## Assessments

Photios is one of the most famous figures not only of 9th-century Byzantium but of the entire history of the Byzantine Empire. One of the most learned men of his age, he has earned his fame due to his part in ecclesiastical conflicts, and also for his intellect and literary works<sup>[25]</sup> Analyzing his intellectual work, Tatakis regards Photios as "mind turned more to practice than to theory". He believes that, thanks to Photios, humanism was added to Orthodoxy as a basic element of the national consciousness of the Byzantines. Tatakis also argues that, having understood this national consciousness, Photios emerged as a defender of the Greek nation and its spiritual independence in his debates with the Western Church.<sup>[26]</sup> Adrian Fortescue regards him as "the most wonderful man of all the Middle Ages", and stresses that "had not given his name to the great schism, he would always be remembered as the greatest scholar of his time".<sup>[27]</sup>

## Writings

The most important of the works of Photios is his renowned *Bibliotheca* or *Myriobiblon*, a collection of extracts and abridgements of 280 volumes of classical authors (usually cited as *Codices*), the originals of which are now to a great extent lost. The work is especially rich in extracts from historical writers.

Some older scholarship speculated that the *Bibliotheca* was in fact compiled in Baghdad at the time of Photios's embassy to the Abbasid court, since many of the mentioned works were rarely cited during the so-called Byzantine Dark Ages c. 630-c. 800, and it was known that the Abbasids were interested in works of Greek science and philosophy.<sup>[28]</sup> However, specialists of this period of Byzantine history, such as Paul Lemerle, have shown that Photios could not have compiled his *Bibliotheca* in Baghdad because he clearly states in both his introduction and his postscript that when he learned of his appointment to the embassy, he sent his brother a summary of books that he read *previously*, "since the time I learned how to understand and evaluate literature" i.e. since his youth.<sup>[29]</sup> Moreover, the Abbasids were interested only in Greek science, philosophy and medicine; they did not have Greek history, rhetoric, or other literary works translated; nor did they have Christian patristic writers translated.<sup>[30]</sup> Yet the majority of works in *Bibliotheca* are by Christian patristic authors, and most of the secular texts in *Bibliotheca* are histories, grammars or literary works, usually rhetoric, rather than science, medicine or philosophy. This further indicates that the majority of the works cannot have been read while Photios was in the Abbasid empire.

To Photios, we are indebted for almost all we possess of Ctesias, Memnon of Heraclea, Conon, the lost books of Diodorus Siculus, and the lost writings of Arrian. Theology and ecclesiastical history are also very fully represented, but poetry and ancient philosophy are almost entirely ignored. It seems that he did not think it necessary to deal with those authors with whom every well-educated man would naturally be familiar. The literary criticisms, generally distinguished by keen and independent judgment, and the excerpts vary considerably in length. The numerous biographical notes are probably taken from the work of Hesychius of Miletus.

The *Lexicon*, published later than the *Bibliotheca*, was probably in the main the work of some of his pupils. It was intended as a book of reference to facilitate the reading of old classical and sacred authors, whose language and vocabulary were out of date. The only manuscript of the *Lexicon* is the *Codex Galeanus*, which passed into the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

His most important theological work is the *Amphilochia*, a collection of some 300 questions and answers on difficult points in Scripture, addressed to Amphilochius, archbishop of Cyzicus. Other similar works are his treatise in four books against the Manichaeans and Paulicians, and his controversy with the Latins on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. Photios also addressed a long letter of theological advice to the newly-converted Boris I of Bulgaria. Numerous other *Epistles* also survive.

Photios is also the writer of two "mirrors of princes", addressed to Boris-Michael of Bulgaria (*Epistula* 1, ed. Terzaghi) and to Leo VI the Wise (*Admonitory Chapters of Basil* I).<sup>[31]</sup>

The chief contemporary authority for the life of Photios is his bitter enemy, Nicetas the Paphlagonian, the biographer of his rival Ignatios.

The first English translation, by Holy Transfiguration Monastery, of the "Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit" by Photios was published in 1983.<sup>[32]</sup> Another translation was published in 1987 with a preface by Archimandrite (now Archbishop) Chrysostomos of Etna.<sup>[33]</sup>

## Hymns

Troparion (Tone 4)

Follower of the Apostles' way  
And teacher of mankind:  
Intercede, O Photios, with the Lord of all,  
To grant peace to the world  
And to our souls great mercy!

Apolytikion, Pl. 1st Tone "Let Us Worship the Word"

As a radiant beacon of Wisdom hid in God, \*  
And a Defender of Orthodoxy revealed from on High,\*  
O Great Photios, Blest adornment of The Patriarchs, \*  
Thou didst refute the Innovations of Boastful (western) Heresy,  
O Light of the Holy Churches, \*  
Which do thou keep from all error,  
O luminary of the Dayspring on High.

Kontakion of St. Photios the Great Tone 8

With garlands of chant let us crown the Church's far-shining star,/   
the God-inspired guide of the Orthodox,   
the divinely sounded harp of the Spirit and steadfast adversary of heresy/   
and let us cry to him: Rejoice, O most venerable Photios.

## American Shrine

The Saint Photios Greek Orthodox National Shrine is located in the city of St Augustine, Florida. It is known as the "Jewel of St. George Street".<sup>[34]</sup> The Shrine commemorates the first members of the Greek Orthodox Church in North America, a group of men, women and children who were brought over to work on a plantation during Florida's English occupation. The workers were treated like slaves and eventually revolted against their masters and traveled many miles over the harsh Florida scrub to ask the English governor for their freedom. Although the Greeks were allowed to settle in St. Augustine as free persons, many had already died and two of their leaders were hanged by the English as an example to other indentured servants and slaves. The Shrine consists of a chapel and an historical exhibit about the Greek immigrants and their uprising.



## Notes

^ **a:** The exact dates of Photios's birth and death are not known. Most sources list circa 810 and others circa 820 as his year of birth. He died some time between 890 and 895 (probably 891 or 893).<sup>[35]</sup>

^ **b:** The case of pseudo-Simeon's *Chronicle* is characteristic: the author argues that Photios was educated after an agreement he concluded with a Jewish magician who offered him knowledge and secular recognition, in case he renounced his faith.<sup>[36]</sup>

^ **c:** David Marshall Lang argues that "Photius [...] was only one of many Byzantine scholars of Armenian descent".<sup>[37]</sup> Peter Charanis notes that "John the Grammarian, Photius, Caesar Bardas and Leo the Philosopher seem to have been the prime movers. All four were, at least in part, of Armenian descent [...] as for Photius, the fact is that his mother Irene, was the sister of Arshavir, the Arshavir who had married Calomaria the sister of Bardas and the empress Theodora."<sup>[38]</sup> Nicholas Adontz stresses that "Arshavir, Photius' uncle, must not be confused with Arshavir, the brother of John the Grammarian".<sup>[39]</sup>

^ **d:** G. N. Wilson regards Leo the Mathematician as Photios's teacher, but Paul Lemerle notes that Leo was not one of the persons with whom Photios had a correspondence.<sup>[40]</sup>

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- [2] Treadgold 1983, p. 1100.
- [3] Jenkins 1987, Chapter Thirteen: "Ignatius, Photius, and Pope Nicholas I", p. 168.
- [4] Cross & Livingstone 2005, "Photius".
- [5] Durant 1972, p. 529.
- [6] Photios. *Epistola II*, CII, 609; Tougher 1997, p. 68.
- [7] Tougher 1997, p. 68.
- [8] Gren 2002, p. 110: "Something of it, though, has been saved for posterity in the extracts made later by the Greek Byzantine patriarch Photios..."
- [9] Dunlop 1954, p. 194; Fortescue 2001, Chapter IV: "The Schism of Photius", pp. 146–147.
- [10] Tatakis & Moutafakis 2003, p. 102.
- [11] Mango 1980, pp. 168–169; Treadgold 1983, p. 1100.
- [12] Plexidas 2007, "Introduction", p. 17; Shepard 2002, p. 235.
- [13] Tougher 1997, p. 69.
- [14] Fortescue 2001, pp. 147–148; Louth 2007, p. 171; Tougher 1997, p. 69.
- [15] Chadwick 2003, Chapter 3: "Early Christian Diversity: The Quest for Coherence", p. 146.
- [16] Treadgold 1997, Chapter Fourteen: "External Gains, 842–912", p. 457.
- [17] Tougher 1997, pp. 70–71.
- [18] Treadgold 1997, p. 460.
- [19] Vlyssidou 1997, p. 33.
- [20] Treadgold 1997, p. 461.
- [21] Tougher 1997, p. 84.
- [22] Tougher 1997, pp. 85–86.
- [23] Tougher 1997, pp. 87–88.
- [24] Tougher 1997, p. 88.
- [25] Louth 2007, Chapter Seven: "Renaissance of Learning: East and West", p. 171; Tougher 1997, p. 68.
- [26] Tatakis & Moutafakis 2003, p. 103.
- [27] Fortescue 2001, p. 138.
- [28] Jokisch 2007, pp. 365–386.
- [29] Jokisch 2007, pp. 365–386; Lemerle 1986, p. 40.
- [30] Lemerle 1986, pp. 26–27.
- [31] Paidas 2005, passim.
- [32] Photius (1983). *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit* (<http://books.google.com/books?id=5tPYAAAAMAAJ>). Studion Publishers. ISBN 0-943670-00-4. .
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- [36] Symeon Metaphrastes (?). *Chronicle*, PG 109, 732 BC ([http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/30\\_20\\_0950-1050-Symeon\\_Metaphrastes.html](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/30_20_0950-1050-Symeon_Metaphrastes.html)); Plexidas 2007, "Introduction", p. 15.
- [37] Lang 1988, p. 54.
- [38] Charanis 1963, pp. 27–28.
- [39] Adontz 1950, p. 66.
- [40] Lemerle 1971, p. 159; Plexidas 2007, "Introduction", p. 16.

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- Patriarch Photios of Constantinople (<http://www.photius.com/photios>) Life and translations of his works
- The Excerpta of Photius (<http://www.attalus.org/translate/memnon1.html>) Photius's summary of Books 9-16 of Memnon of Heraclea's history of Heraclea Pontica
- The Myrobiblion at Tertullian.Org ([http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius\\_01toc.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius_01toc.htm))
- Catholic Encyclopedia - Photius (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12043b.htm>)
- Greek Opera Omnia by Migne Patrologia Graeca with analytical indexes ([http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/30\\_20\\_0820-0893-\\_Photius\\_Constantinopolitanus.html](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/30_20_0820-0893-_Photius_Constantinopolitanus.html))
- Saint Photius the Great, *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit* ([http://www.myriobiblos.gr/texts/english/photios\\_mystagogy.html](http://www.myriobiblos.gr/texts/english/photios_mystagogy.html)) (English translation)

# William of Maleval

William of Maleval	
	
Saint William in the Cathedral of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Laoag.	
Hermit	
Died	February 10, 1157 (aged 0) Maleval
Honored in	Roman Catholic Church Aglipayan Church
Beatified	1202
Major shrine	Laoag City
Feast	10 February
Patronage	Laoag City; Ilocos Norte
Catholic cult suppressed	cross; skull

**William of Maleval** (or **William the Great**) (died 10 February 1157) was the founder of the Catholic congregation of Williamites, a branch of the Hermits of St. Augustine. He was beatified in 1202.

The account of his life, written by his disciple Albert, who lived with him during his last year at Maleval, has been lost. Written accounts of his life by Theodobald, or Thibault, given by the Bollandists, is unreliable because it has been interpolated with the lives of at least two other Williams.

After a number of chapters in which he is confused with St. William of Gellone, Duke of Aquitaine, we are told that he went to Rome, where he had an interview with pope Eugene III, who ordered him to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in penance for his sins. Though Theodobald's account of his interview with the pope does not carry conviction, the fact of this visit and his subsequent pilgrimage to Jerusalem is supported by excerpts from the older life, which are preserved by responsories and antiphons in his liturgical feast Office. He seems to have remained at Jerusalem for one or two years, not nine as Theodobald relates. About 1153 he returned to Italy and led a hermit's life in a wood near Pisa, then on Monte Pruno, and finally in 1155 in the desert valley of Stabulum Rodis, later known as Maleval, in the political territory of Siena and in the Bishopric of Grosseto, where he was joined by Albert.

## Veneration



The Cathedral of Saint William in Laoag City.

- Cathedral of Saint William the Hermit, San Fernando, La Union
- Saint William's Cathedral, Laoag City, Ilocos Norte, Philippines



The Parish of Saint William, Talisay, Batangas, Archdiocese of Lipa

- Saint William's Parish, Talisay, Batangas, Philippines
- Saint William's Parish, Passi City, Iloilo, Philippines



The Parish of Saint William in the Philippine Independent Church Diocese of Laoag. The parish also stands as the Cathedral of the City.

- The Parish of Saint William in the Philippine Independent Church Diocese of Laoag.

## Sources

- ⓘ This article incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain: Herbermann, Charles, ed. (1913). *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Robert Appleton Company.

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# Other

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## Beli Mawr

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**Beli Mawr** (translated into English as **Beli the Great**) was an ancestor figure in medieval Welsh literature and genealogies. He is the father of Caswallawn, Arianrhod, Lludd Llaw Eraint, Llefelys, and Afallach. In certain medieval genealogies he is listed as the husband of Anna, cousin of the Virgin Mary. Several royal lines in medieval Wales traced their ancestry to him.

### Beli and Belenus

The origin of the name Beli is still a matter of debate among scholars.<sup>[1]</sup> The most popular hypothesis sees the name *Beli* as a Middle Welsh reflex of the Gaulish and Brittonic theonym *Belenus* (also attested as a personal name), but a more recent alternative is that proposed by the Celticist John Koch, who suggests <sup>[2]</sup> that *Beli* derives from an Old Celtic name *Belgius* or *Bolgios*, borne by one of the chieftains who led the Gallic invasion of Macedonia in 280-279 BCE. He therefore proposes <sup>[3]</sup> that this great leader *Belgius* came to be regarded as the namesake and ancestor of the powerful British and Gallic tribal group the Belgae, whence would have come the doctrine that Beli was the ancestor of tribal dynasties.<sup>[4]</sup>

### Beli son of Manogan

Another Beli from medieval Welsh literature, who first appears in the 9th c. *Historia Brittonum* and is often confused or conflated with Beli Mawr in both medieval and modern sources, is Beli son of Manogan (also spelled Mynogan). This Beli is actually derived from the historical pre-Roman, British king of the Catuvellauni tribe, Cunobelinus and his son Adminius (or Amminius). Via a series of textual corruptions that span several different popular books from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the names of Cunobelinus and his son Adminius were combined and then jumbled, giving way to the new Welsh literary characters Beli and Manogan<sup>[5][6]</sup>:

1. Adminio, Cunobellini Britannorum regis filio (Suetonius, *Caligula*, Ch. 44)
2. Minocynobellinum Britannorum regis filium (Orosius, *Historia Adversus Paganos*, vii 5.5)
3. Bellinus, filius Minocanni (Historia Brittonum, ch. 19)

Thus, although Beli became a separate personage in medieval pseudohistory from Cunobelinus (Welsh *Cynfelyn*, Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*), he was generally presented as a king reigning in the period immediately before the Roman invasion; his "son" Caswallawn is the historical Cassivellaunus.

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## Henry of Huntingdon's Belinus

The 12th century English historian Henry of Huntingdon, in his *Historia Anglorum* (first published in 1129 AD), follows the *Historia Brittonum* in his discussion of Julius Caesar's invasion of Britain, mentioning a *Belinus*, brother of *Cassibella(u)nus*, who are both styled sons of *Liud* (see Ludd Llaw Ereint), who is substituted for the *Historia Brittonum*'s *Minocannus*.<sup>[7]</sup>

## Geoffrey's Heli

Beli also appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's pseudo-history *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1130s) as the British king Heli, son of Digueillus and father of Lud, Cassivelaunus and Nennius. He is said to have held the throne for 40 years, after which he was succeeded by his son Lud (Llud).<sup>[8]</sup> In the Middle Welsh translations of Geoffrey's work known collectively as *Brut y Brenhinedd*, Heli's name was restored to Beli<sup>[9]</sup> and his father renamed to Manogan.

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- *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* ("Llud and Llefelys")
- *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*
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## External links

- Beli Mawr and the Belgae (<http://www.mabinogion.info/BeliMawr.htm>)

# Emmy the Great

Emmy the Great	
<div></div> <p>Emmy the Great performing at the Purcell Room in 2011</p>	
Background information	
Birth name	Emma-Lee Moss
Born	1984 (age 27–28)
Origin	London, England
Genres	Anti-folk, <sup>[1]</sup> Indie folk
Occupations	Singer-songwriter
Years active	2005–present
Labels	Fear And Records, Close Harbour
Associated acts	Younghusband, So Say So, Pengilly's, Three Trapped Tigers, Noah and the Whale, Jeremy Warmesley, Johnny Flynn, Brighton Port Authority, Lightspeed Champion, Ash
Website	Official website <sup>[2]</sup> Myspace <sup>[3]</sup>
Members	
Emma-Lee Moss Euan Hinshelwood Glenn Kerrigan Tom Rogerson Ric Hollingbery Pete Baker	

**Emma-Lee Moss** (born c. 1984<sup>[4]</sup>), known by her stage name **Emmy the Great**, is a London-based singer-songwriter. She has released two albums, *First Love* and *Virtue*.

## Early life and education

Moss was born in Hong Kong to an English father and a Chinese mother. Interested in music from a young age, she used to go by train to her nearest Tower Records shop so that she could buy the only non-Chinese music they had and, as a result, she developed a liking for bands such as Weezer, The Smashing Pumpkins, and The Lemonheads.<sup>[5]</sup>

While in Hong Kong, she attended primary school in Kowloon.

She emigrated with her family to London at the age of 12.<sup>[6]</sup> She attended the Michael Hall Rudolf Steiner School in West Sussex.

Moss is dating Tim Wheeler<sup>[7]</sup> of the band Ash, as revealed on 6 Music's coverage of Glastonbury Festival 2011, where they did an interview, followed by a cover of a Pixies track together.

## Musical career

She has performed with indie folk groups Lightspeed Champion and Noah and the Whale, but is primarily known for her solo work.<sup>[8]</sup> She first emerged under the name *Emmy the Great* in 2004, when she released a series of free demos over the internet. She says the moniker came about when "[she] wanted to be a backing singer and [...] wanted to have something to hand to people... 'Emmy' is a name they called me at university, which I hated, and 'the Great' I added on because I hated 'Emmy' so much."<sup>[9]</sup> She formed a backing band which currently includes Euan Hinshelwood of Younghusband, Glenn Kerrigan of So Say So, Tom Rogerson of Three Trapped Tigers and Ric Hollingbery of Pengilly's, and has previously included members of Noah and the Whale and Johnny Flynn.

Her debut single, *Secret Circus*, was released in April 2006.

She began writing her debut album, *First Love*, in "dilapidated studios" owned by The Earlies in rural Lancashire<sup>[10]</sup> and was released in February 2009. It spawned the singles *We Almost Had A Baby* and *First Love*. The album was received with generally positive reviews, while *The New York Times* compiled their list of "Best Albums of the Year 2009" and ranked *First Love* at #7.<sup>[11]</sup>

Her second album, *Virtue*, was released on June 13, 2011. The album's lead single "Iris" was released as a digital download on April 29, 2011. Speaking of the album's recording process, Moss said that, "It's been a very strange few months, and I can't wait to make a record of them".<sup>[12]</sup>

Both albums are released on Emmy's own label Close Harbour Records.

## Collaborations

She has collaborated with several other artists, most notably Lightspeed Champion and Fatboy Slim (as part of the Brighton Port Authority project).

She has also worked with alternative rock band Ash (for whom she has shown great admiration<sup>[13]</sup>) on an acoustic studio re-recording of the single "D" - "Tracers" and also performed with them on their A-Z tour. Moss recorded a cover of Ash's song "Burn Baby Burn" which was the B-side to her single "First Love".<sup>[14]</sup> She provided guest vocals on "Calling Out Your Name Again", the second single from Darren Hayman's *Essex Arms* album.<sup>[15]</sup>

She is a mentor for The Joe Strummer Foundation for New Music (Strummerville)<sup>[16]</sup>

In April 2011, Moss collaborated with writers Jack Underwood, Nikesh Shukla, Joe Dunthorne and Miriam Elia for the London Word Festival, along with musician Elizabeth Sankey of Summer Camp.<sup>[17]</sup>

In May 2011, Moss and Tim Wheeler covered a song<sup>[18]</sup> called "Washington Parks" raising money and awareness for multiple sclerosis and the MS Society. Moss said, "I have just recorded a song with Wheeler for the MS Society. The song is called Washington Parks and it was written by Robert Manning. Robert is the word 'awesome'. He writes a really beautiful<sup>[19]</sup> about his family life and the pain of MS treatment, and also came up with the idea to get people to record his song for charity. So far Ed Harcourt, Marissa Nadler, and loads more have signed up. Tim has a special Ash collaboration version lined up as well."

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In November 2011 Emmy and Tim Wheeler released a Christmas album, entitled *This is Christmas* (Infectious, 2011)<sup>[20]</sup>.

## Writing

Emmy has written for music magazines *The Stool Pigeon*, *Artrock* and *Drowned in Sound*, and for the QI Annual. She also has a fortnightly column in the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Pao*, and contributed writing to the BBC Radio 4 show *The Museum of Curiosity*. She claimed in an interview that she has no plans to be a music journalist. An article of hers, based on her time in Omaha with *Lightspeed Champion*, is featured in the *Stool Pigeon* compilation book *Grace Under Pressure*.<sup>[21]</sup> She stated that if she had not been a musician, "I'd be a writer of some sort, in different formats."<sup>[9]</sup> Her writing styles have been praised as being poetic.<sup>[22]</sup>

She is childhood friends with feminist and columnist Jazz Mellor, who is referenced in several Emmy the Great songs.

## Discography

### Albums

- *First Love* (Close Harbour/ Absolute, 2009)
- *Virtue* (2011)<sup>[23]</sup>
- *This is Christmas* (Infectious, 2011) with Tim Wheeler<sup>[20]</sup>

### Live albums

- *Acoustic Bonus CD - Live at 12 Bar, London* (Rough Trade Shops, 2009)

### EPs

- *Take Me I'm Free* (2006) *self released*
- *My Bad* (Moshi Moshi, 2007)
- *Chris Moss EP* (Internet release, 2007)
- *Edward* (Close Harbour/ Absolute, 2009)

### Singles

- "Secret Circus" (Drowned in Sound, 2006)
  - "The Hypnotist's Son" 7" (Drowned in Sound, 2007)
  - "Gabriel" 7" (Moshi Moshi, 2007)
  - "We Almost Had A Baby" (Close Harbour, 2008)
  - "First Love" (Close Harbour, 2009)
  - "A Woman, A Woman, A Century of Sleep" free download (2011)
  - "Iris" (2011)
-

## Music videos

- "The Easter Parade" (2007)
- "We Almost Had a Baby" (2008)
- "First Love" (2009)
- "MIA" (2009)
- "Iris" (2011)
- "Paper Forest" (2011)

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## External links

- Official Website (<http://www.emmythegreat.com/>)
- Emmy the Great on Facebook (<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Emmy-The-Great/49401939332>)
- Emmy the Great on Twitter ([http://twitter.com/emmy\\_the\\_great](http://twitter.com/emmy_the_great))
- Emmy the Great (<http://www.myspace.com/emmythegreat>) on Myspace
- *Emmy the Great* (<http://www.discogs.com/master/Emmy+The+Great>) at Discogs (list of releases)
- Exclusive Interview with Virgin Red Room (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LmTmNtj5cZI&NR=1>)

# Matteo Rosso Orsini

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**Matteo Rosso Orsini** (1178–1246), called **the Great**, was Roman politician and father of Pope Nicholas III. He was named a senator of the City of Rome by Pope Gregory IX in 1241: In this capacity he took a firm stand against the ventures in Italy of Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, and defeated him in 1243. He was an effective lord of the Eternal City during sede vacante 1241 and had a considerable influence on the papal election, 1241, when the cardinal electors were confined in Septizonium by his orders. He extended the territories of the Orsini family. He was also a personal friend of St Francis of Assisi and protector of his Order.

## External links

- The Catholic Encyclopedia: Orsini family <sup>[1]</sup>

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# Prokop the Great

**Prokop** or **Prokop the Great** (Czech: *Prokop Veliký*) (b. about 1380 at Hýlov near Tábor – d. 30 May 1434 at Lipany) was one of the most prominent Hussite generals of the Hussite Wars. His name has also been given as **Prokop Holý** ("the Shaven," in allusion to his having received the tonsure in early life), **Procopius the Great**, and **Andrew Procopius**.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Biography

Initially Prokop was a member of the Utraquists (the moderate wing of the Hussites) and was a married priest who belonged to an eminent family from Prague. He studied in Prague, and then traveled for several years in foreign countries.<sup>[1]</sup> On his return to Bohemia, though a priest and continuing to officiate as such, he became the most prominent leader of the advanced Hussite or Taborite forces during the latter part of the Hussite wars. He was not the immediate successor of Jan Žižka as leader of the Taborites, as has been frequently stated, but he commanded the forces of Tabor when they obtained their great victories over the Germans and Catholics at Ústí nad Labem in 1426 and Domažlice in 1431. The crushing defeat that he inflicted on the crusaders of the Holy Roman Empire at Domažlice led to peace negotiations (1432) at Cheb between the Hussites and representatives of the Council of Basel.

He also acted as leader of the Taborites during their frequent incursions into Hungary and Germany, particularly when in 1429 a vast Bohemian army invaded Saxony and the territory of Nuremberg. The Hussites, however, made no attempt permanently to conquer German territory, and on 6 February 1430 Prokop concluded a treaty at Kulmbach with Frederick I, burgrave of Nuremberg, by which the Hussites engaged themselves to leave Germany. When the Bohemians entered into negotiations with Sigismund and the Council of Basel and, after prolonged discussions, resolved to send an embassy to the council, Prokop the Great was its most prominent member, reaching Basel on 4 January 1433. When the negotiations there for a time proved fruitless, Prokop with the other envoys returned to Bohemia, where new internal troubles broke out.

A Taborite army led by Prokop the Great besieged Plzeň, which was then in the hands of the Catholics. The discipline in the Hussite camp had, however, slackened in the course of prolonged warfare, and the Taborites encamped before Plzen revolted against Prokop, who therefore returned to Prague.

Probably encouraged by these dissensions among the men of Tabor, the Bohemian nobility, both Catholic and Utraquist, formed a league for the purpose of opposing radicalism, which through the victories of Tabor had acquired great strength in the Bohemian towns. The struggle began at Prague. Aided by the nobles, the citizens of the Old Town took possession of the more radical New Town, Prague, which Prokop unsuccessfully attempted to defend. Prokop now called to his aid Prokop the Lesser, who had succeeded him in the command of the Taborite army before Plzen. They jointly retreated eastward from Prague, and their forces, known as the army of the towns, met the army of the nobles between Kourim and Kolín in the Battle of Lipany (30 May 1434). The Taborites were decisively defeated, and both Prokops, Great and Lesser, perished in the battle.



Prokop the Great

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